OF

WISDOM.

THREE BOOKS.

Written Originally in *French*,

BY THE

Sieur *de CHARRON*.

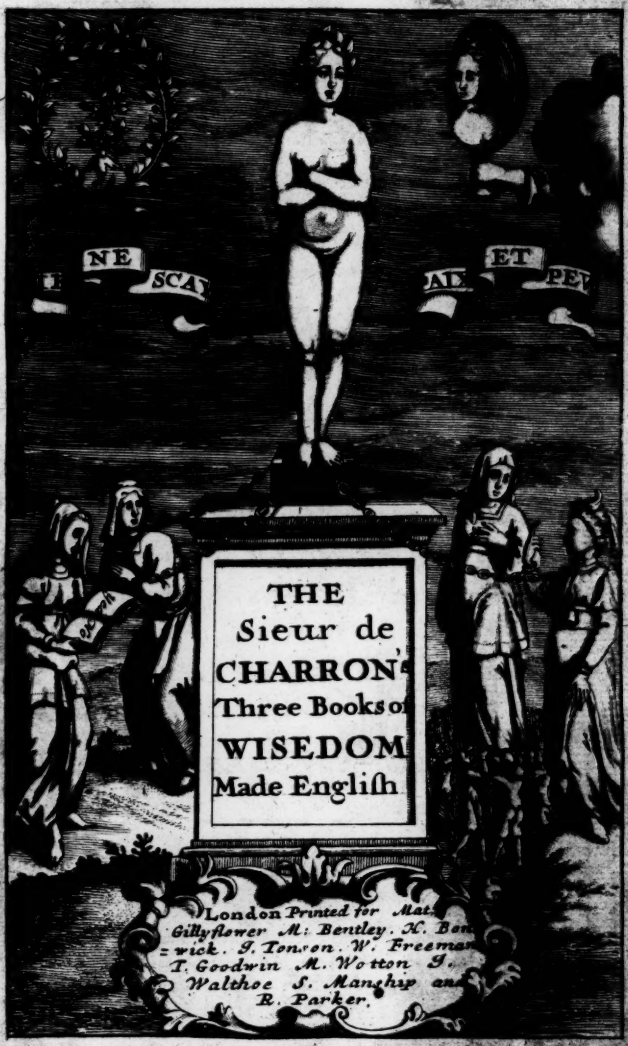
With an Account of the AUTHOR.

Made *Engliſh*

By *GEORGE STANHOPE*, D.D late Fellow of *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, from the beſt Edition, Corrected and enlarged by the Author a little before his Death.

LONDON,

Printed for *M. Gillyflower*, M. *Bentley*, *H. Bonwick*, *J. Tonſon*, *W. Freeman*, *T. Goodwin*, *M. Wotton*, *J. Walhoe*, *S. Manſhip*, and *R. Parker*, 1697.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CHARRON's
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T. Goodwin M. Wotton T.
Walthoe S. Manship and
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UMI

OF

WISDOM

THREE BOOKS.

Written originally in Greek,

BY THE

Right Reverend Father in God, SIMEON,

Lord Bishop of Durham.

LONDON,

Printed for M. Gilliflower, M. Bently, R. Basset, J. Tonson, R. Vincent, J. Osborn, M. Wotton, J. Walthoe, S. Manship, and R. Wilkin. 1697.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM
Lord *Dartmouth.*

My Lord,

IT is now near Two Years, since I was desired to employ some of my leisure Hours in considering this Book, and putting it into a Condition of becoming somewhat more useful and acceptable, than (it may without any suspicion of Vanity be said) the former Translation could pretend to be. A little Time spent in the Perusal satisfy'd me, that there was Matter in it not unworthy my Pains, and such as it was great Pity Men should want the Knowledge of, who understand not the Original. And as

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unreaſonable did it ſeem, that others ſhould be diſcouraged from enquiring into this Author, by the Misfortunes which naturally attend even the beſt Undertakings of this Nature, when Time, and Improvements of Language have given another Turn to Writing, and created a Diſreliſh for every thing, which is not ſuitable to the Genius of the preſent Age.

The greateſt Difficulty which lay upon me, was that of finding Opportunities, in the midſt of thoſe more important Cares of my Profeſſion, which neither This, nor any other Attempt or Conſideration, however commendable or beneficial in it ſelf, muſt prevail with me to neglect. But here I found even my Duty aſſiſting; for That requiring part of my Attendance in a Place of ſomewhat more Retirement and Eaſe than where Your Lordſhip's Father was pleaſed to fix me, I made uſe of thoſe Advantages to this purpoſe, and finiſhed much the greateſt part of the following Book,

Book, in a way of Diverſion, as it were, and unbending from ſeverer Studies, and a more Laborious Station.

The particular Liberty taken by this Author, is a Qualification, which the preſent Generation, at leaſt in our Parts of the World, will certainly be fond of. But it happened to have the ſame Effect upon Him ſometimes, which we are not much to wonder if we find very frequent in thoſe of leſs Judgment; and that is, over-ſtraining Points of Diſpute, by affecting to ſay all, which either the Caſe will bear, or which any other Perſon hath ſaid before. This gave Occaſion for my interpoſing ſometimes with an Advertiſement; and that I hope in ſuch a manner, as may not have injur'd the Author, while it deſigns the Benefit and Security of my Reader. One thing only I cannot forbear adding upon this Occaſion, that in the midſt of all his Free-Thinking, he conſtantly expreſſes a due and abſolute Deference for Revelation and Divine Truths. And This

indeed was by no means the Effect of his Profession, but of his Judgment; for Your Lordship is too discerning, not to know, that, as a little and superficial Knowledge in Physick makes Men Quacks, so it is not the Abundance, but the Defect of Reason and good Sense, which makes them Infidels and Scepticks in Religion.

How little the Sieur *de Charron* suffer'd his Thoughts to be under the Bondage of any private Respects, will be sufficiently evident to any considering Reader, from sundry Instances. Particularly from what he hath deliver'd upon the Subject of Government, in his *Third Book*: In which, tho' some Moot Points may seem a little uncouth to Us of this Nation, yet if we reflect upon the Constitution, under which he liv'd, we shall rather have occasion to wonder at his admitting so few reserv'd Cases, than mentioning so many. Besides, that even those mention'd would be of no mighty ill Consequence, if always confin'd to those

Conditions, and Occasions, which He hath temper'd and restrain'd them with. But, passing from the Mysteries of State, and pressing unusual Emergencies, to the Ordinary Measures of a Publick Administration, there is somewhat of an Air so full of Ingenuity, and such regard had to the Great Ends for which Government was instituted, as a very gentle Application would think an Encomium upon the *English* Constitution, and a sort of Prophetick Satyr upon the late Oppressions of a People to whom he stood nearly related.

Upon the whole Matter (My Lord) I have Reason to hope, This may prove not only a Book of Good Entertainment, but Great Benefit, to Persons who have the Capacity, and will give themselves the Pains, to consider it. Were it not so, I should not have thought it worth my Trouble; and should yet much less have presumed to make an Offer of it to Your Lordship. I may with good Confidence say, that no Man is better qualified to be a Master

ſter of the Subject it treats of. The particular and intimate Knowledge of Your Abilities, which my being Honour'd with the Care of Your Lordſhip at the Univerſity gave me, would bear me out in delivering more upon this Occaſion, than Your Modeſty will permit. And indeed the General Opinion of all that have the Honour of Your Lordſhips Acquaintance, ſaves You that Decency, and hath prevented me in this Point. The Manly Senſe, and Wonderful Penetration, which appear'd very early in You, have given me many pleaſing Reflections; and I am ſure are Foundation ſufficient for making Your Lordſhip a Greater Ornament and Honour to Your Family, than even that Nobility which You have by Deſcent.

But I muſt beg leave (My Lord) to put you in mind, that beſides Your Own, Your Lordſhip hath a mighty Stock of Honour and Eſteem to ſet out upon, deriv'd from the Memory of a Father, than whom

whom Few, if Any, of his Condition, are more univerſally loved and admir'd. I ſay, *loved*, my Lord, for This, as a more rare, ſo is it a more valuable Tribute, than that of Honour, to Perſons of Quality, and in Great Offices. For where ſo much is paid to the Station, we can make very little Judgment, what is ſincere, and what is the Effect of Formality, or Fear, or Intereſt. But in His Lordſhip's Caſe there was ſomething ſo Diſtinguiſhing, in all the Reſpects paid to Him, as plainly ſhew'd a particular Regard to his Perſon, and that the outward Teſtimonies were not Things of Courſe, but that he had engag'd the very Hearts of Thoſe who paid them.

I will not ſo far ſeem to diſtruſt Your Lordſhip's Acceptance of this Addreſs, as to make the leaſt Apology for it. You will interpret it, I doubt not, as a Teſtimony of the Honour I have for You, and a Deſire to publiſh my having it, to the World: And Your Lordſhip will do me the Juſtice

Justice too to believe, that were it in my Power to give any other Evidence of This, than such an open Declaration; nothing should be wanting on my Part, which might prove the Sincerity of those Professions I am Proud to make, of being,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Lewisham,
May. 6. 1697.

most Obedient, and

Most Devoted Servant,

Geo. Stanhope.

THE

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OF

OF

WISDOM.

Three BOOKS.

The Author's Preface.

Wherein the Title, the Subject Matter, the Deſign, and the Method of this Treatiſe are explained.

BEfore we enter upon the Book it ſelf, it is requiſite the Reader ſhould be well informed what he is to underſtand by that Wiſdom, *which is the Name, the Subject, and the End of it; and after what manner it is intended to be treated of in the following Sheets.*

Now every one at the very firſt hearing, underſtands by Wiſdom *ſome particular and uncommon Accompliſhment, whereby a Man is diſtinguiſh'd and ſet above the Vulgar, by a greater Ability, and more maſterly Readineſs, whether in Good or Evil. For tho' there be not the ſame Propriety indeed in the Expreſſion,*

when converted to the worſe Senſe; yet it is uſed either way, and the Scripture it ſelf makes mention of ſome Perſons Wiſe to do Evil. *Thus then it does not by any means import a really Good and Commendable Quality of the Mind, but in general any ſort of Knowledge or Skill, exquiſite in the Degree, be the Object and Employment of it what it will. In this Senſe a Tyrant, or a Pyrate, or a Robber, may have this Title apply'd to him; no leſs than a King, or a Pilot, or a Captain; becauſe all we intend by it is only Prudence, and Conduct, and a perfect Underſtanding in the buſineſs of his Profeſſion. Hence it comes to paſs, that Folly is oppoſed to Wiſdom, not only as it denotes Extravagance and Vice, but in general any ſort of Indiſcretion, or meanneſs of Attainments. For Wiſdom gives us an Idea of ſomething extraordinary and lofty in its kind; as the contrary does of ſomewhat little, and low, and ſhort of the common Pitch. Take Wiſdom in a Good or a Bad Senſe, Two Things are manifeſtly included in it; Firſt, A Sufficiency of Mind, which implies its being furniſhed with all things neceſſary for its purpoſe; and, Secondly, The Excellency or more than common meaſure of that Proviſion; for to give a Man right to this Denomination, it is no leſs neceſſary that he ſhould enjoy theſe Qualities in a great and eminent degree. Thus you ſee the largeſt and moſt vulgar Notion of Wiſdom, according to which Men commonly tell you; that Wiſe Men are very ſcarce; that they who are ſuch, have a Right to direct and preſide over Others;*

Others; and, in matters of difficulty, to be consulted like so many Oracles; from whence it is very frequently said, that Men take the Judgment of the Wise, and let better Heads determine for them. But now, if we come to define the thing more nicely, and fix a right Notion of it, we shall not find so general an Agreement. For Wisdom means one thing with the generality of the World, another among Philosophers, and somewhat different from both, in the Acceptation and Treatises of Divines. These Three are the several Stages and Classes of Men, under which all the World is comprehended. The Two last have the Advantage, and lead Men by Rules and Precepts, and a stricter Consideration of Things: The First looks upon Things but very slightly, and take up with very loose and imperfect Notions of them.

Now it may very truly be said, that there are Three sorts of Wisdom, Divine, Humane, and Worldly; these relate and bear proportion to God, to Nature in its primitive Purity and Perfection; and to Nature lapsed and deprav'd. Concerning each of these sorts, the Three Orders of Men just now instanc'd in deliver themselves, each according to their Condition and Capacity. But more properly and peculiarly thus; The Vulgar are most skilled and conversant in the Worldly, the Philosophers about the Humane, and the Divines about the Divine Wisdom, as their particular Business and Study.

The Lowest of these is Worldly Wisdom, and this varies according to the great Ends which it proposes to it self, Riches, Pleasure, or Ho-

nour. With regard to theſe it degenerates into Avarice, Luxury, or Ambition; according to St. John's *Diviſion of it,* All that is in the World is the Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life. *From whence St.* James *hath given it thoſe ſcandalous Characters of* Earthly, Senſual, Deviliſh. *Now This is what both Philoſophy and Divinity take upon them to reprove, and endeavour to ſuppreſs and reform. They pronounce it to be no better than Folly and Madneſs, and ſo accounted in the ſight of God. And accordingly you will find no mention made of This in the following Treatiſe of* Wiſdom, *except it be, to diſallow, and to condemn it.*

1 John iii. 16.

Jam. iii. 15

The Divine, and Higheſt of theſe Three ſorts is treated of by Philoſophy and Religion, after a manner ſomewhat different from each other. As for what the Common and Vulgar ſort of People uſually ſay, or are capable of ſaying upon this Occaſion, I omit it all, as too mean and low to have any place in our Conſideration, and rather a Profanation of the Subject, than otherwiſe. Philoſophers repreſent it as a Matter wholly Speculative, the Knowledge of Firſt Principles, and the Hidden Cauſes of Things; and laſtly, the Higheſt and Supreme Cauſe, GOD *Himſelf; which with other abſtracted Notions, is the proper Buſineſs of Metaphyſicks in particular. This reſides entirely in the Underſtanding, and is its chief Happineſs and Perfection; 'tis the firſt and moſt ſublime of all the Intellectual Virtues and Excellencies, which are capable of ſubſiſting without Probity, or Action,*

or

or any Moral Virtue. Divines on the contrary do not ſo confine it to Speculation, as not to extend it to Practice too; for they make it the Knowledge of things pertaining to God, ſuch as ſhould enable us to form a Judgment of Matters to regulate our Lives and actions by: And This they tell you is of Two Sorts; The One acquired *by Study and Induſtry, not much unlike what I mention'd to be the Science intended by Philoſophers; The Other* infuſed, *and* coming from above; *This is the Firſt of thoſe, (which are ſometimes termed the Seven) Gifts of the Spirit, with regard whereunto he is ſtyled* The Spirit of wiſdom; *ſuch as reſts only upon the Righteous, and the Pure; and, as the Book of* Wiſdom *truly obſerves,* Wiſd. i. iv. will not enter into a malicious Soul, nor dwell in the Body that is ſubject unto Sin. *This is what the preſent Treatiſe is not intended for neither; but is the Subject of my* Firſt Truth *and thoſe other Works of mine, which, are properly* Treatiſes of Divinity, *and* Religious Diſcourſes.

From hence my Reader eaſily perceives that Humane Wiſdom is the real Title, and Subject of the following Book; of which it is fit ſome ſhort Deſcription ſhould here be premiſed, which may ſtand for the Argument, or ſummary Account of the whole Work. Now, the Common Accounts of this Matter, as they are various and very diſtant from one another, ſo are they all narrow and imperfect. The vulgar and moſt general Notion of it, amounts to no more than Circumſpection, Addreſs, and Prudent Behavi-

our in Buſineſs and Converſation. This indeed is like the Vulgar and a Thought worthy of Them; who place all Excellence in Action, and Shew, and outward Advantages; and conſider no good Quality any farther, than as it is obſerv'd and admir'd. They are entirely devoted to Eyes and Ears; the Internal Motions of the Mind are of little or no Conſequence with this ſort of Men; and therefore, in their Acceptation of the Matter, Wiſdom may ſubſiſt without either Piety or Pobity; for All they require from it is a good Outſide, and Appearance, and ſuch Eaſineſs of Conduct and Agreeable Management, as ſhall approve a Man's Diſcretion and his Parts. Others again miſtake it for a Roughneſs and Singularity of Temper and Behaviour; a particular Stiffneſs of Faſhion, Obſtinacy in Opinions, Affected Expreſſions, and a Way of Living out of the Common Road. And therefore thoſe that value themſelves upon theſe Qualities they call Philoſophers, when in truth, to return a little of their own Jargon back again upon them, They are nothing better than conceited Humouriſts, Fantaſtical and Capricious Coxcombs. This now, according to the Scheme and Meaſures purſued in this Book, is, in plain Engliſh, *Extravagance and Folly. The Nature then of this Wiſdom muſt be learn'd from ſome other Hand; that is, from Philoſophers and Divines, who have both explain'd and treated of this Matter in their Moral Tracts. The Former handle it as their proper Buſineſs. For they conſider Men as they are by Nature, and with regard to practice: But the Latter*

riſe

riſe higher, and aſpire to infuſed and ſupernatural Graces, ſuch as are Speculative and more than Humane; that is, Divine Wiſdome, and with Regard to Faith. Hence it comes to paſs, that the Former is more extenſive and large, as undertaking not only to direct private, but publick Duties, Societies as well as ſingle Perſons are inſtructed by it; Whatever can be neceſſary or advantagious to Families, Communities, Common-Wealths and Kingdoms, all falls within its Compaſs and Juriſdiction. Divinity on the Other Hand is more ſilent and ſparing upon theſe Accounts and Aims chiefly, at the Eternal Happineſs and Salvation of particular Perſons. Beſides, The Manner and Air of their Treatiſes is very different; That of Philoſophy more free, and eaſie, and entertaining; that of Divinity, more plain, and authoritative, and with leſs Pains to recommend it ſelf to Mens Fancies and Palats. Philoſophy therefore, which is the Elder of the Two, as Nature muſt have been antecedent to our Supernatural Aſſiſtances, tries to inſinuate it ſelf and win Men's Favours,

* So as to join Inſtruction with Delight,
Profit with Pleaſure— Lord *Roſcommon.*

And therefore ſhe dreſſes and adorns her ſelf with Diſcourſes, Arguments, Turns of Wit and Flights of Fancy; Apt Examples, and moving

---

* Simul & Jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ.
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo——*Horat.*

Similitudes. Ingenious Expreſſions, uſeful Apothegms, and all the Graces of Art and Eloquence. Divinity comes in a commanding ſtrain, and thinks it a Diminution of her Majeſty to deſcend to ſuch popular and mean Methods. And accordingly there wants a great deal of that Freedom and Gaiety, and (if I may ſo ſay) Cheerfulneſs and good Humour in this, which you are to expect in Philoſophy, which yet muſt be ſo tempered, as not to degenerate into Trifle and Meanneſs, but ſtill continue to be truly Generous and Brave. It muſt be allow'd, that Philoſophers have acquitted themſelves admirably well in this particular; not only in the Inſtructive, but the Moving and Perſuaſive Part; ſetting off all their Virtues to the beſt Advantage, and taking Care, that all the Heroick Excellence of them ſhall appear in its juſt Dignity and Proportions. Under which Title of Philoſophers I comprehend not only ſuch as the World have thought fit to Dignify with the Fame of Wiſdom, as Thales, Solon, *and thoſe that were of the ſame Strain, about the time of* Cyrus, Cræſus, *and* Piſiſtratus; *Nor them only of the next in Succeſſion, who taught and profeſt Wiſdom publickly, as* Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Ariſtippus, Zeno, Antiſthenes; *who are all of them Heads and Maſters in their Art; nor their Diſciples and Followers who afterwards divided into particular Sects; but I include likewiſe all thoſe great Men who rendred themſelves exemplary for Virtue and Wiſdom, as* Phocion, Ariſtides, Pericles, Alexander, (*whom* Plutarch *dignifies with the*

the Character of Philoſopher as well as King) Epaminondas, *and the reſt of the brave* Greeks. *The* Fabricii, Fabrii, Camilli, *the* Cato's, *the* Torquati, Reguli, Lelii, *and* Scipio's *among the* Romans, *moſt of them Military Men and Commanders of Armies.*

Upon this Account, though I do not refuſe, or diſregard the Authorities of Divines, yet I have more frequent recourſe to thoſe of Humaniſts and Philoſophers in the following Treatiſe. Had I deſign'd to prepare Men for a Cloiſter, or a Life of ſuch Perfection, as aſpires above the Precepts, and aims at the Perfection of Evangelical Counſels, then indeed my Subject would have obliged me to keep cloſe to thoſe Authors: But ſince I am training a Man up for the World, and forming him for Buſineſs and mixt Converſation, Humane and not Divine Wiſdom is the proper Accompliſhment for me to recommend, and the Method of anſwering my Purpoſe.

Speaking therefore in general Terms, and according to the Nature of the Thing, We muſt, in Agreement with Philoſophers and Divines, acknowledge, that this Humane Wiſdom conſiſts in a Rectitude of the Man, when every part within and without, his Thoughts, and Words and Actions, and every Motion is Graceful, and Noble, and what is for the Honour of his Nature. For this is the Excellence of a Man, conſidered as a Man; ſo that, as we call That Piece of Workmanſhip Perfect, which hath all its Parts entire, and is finiſht according to the niceſt Rules of Art: He is in like manner ſaid

to

to be a wiſe Man who underſtands upon all Occaſions how to ſhew himſelf a Man, by acting in perfect Conformity to the Fundamental and Firſt Rules of Humane Nature; Or, to ſpeak more Particularly, He that is well acquainted with himſelf in particular, and Mankind in general; that preſerves himſelf from all the Vices, the Errors, the Paſſions, the Defects incident to him, as well from the inward Cauſes of his own Mind; as the outward, proceeding from Cuſtom and Common Opinion; that aſſerts the Native Freedom of his Mind, and hath a large univerſal Soul; that conſiders and judges every thing, without enſlaving himſelf to any; that directs all his Aims and Actions ſo as that they ſhall agree with Nature, that is, Pure, uncorrupted Reaſon, the Primitive Law and Light inſpired by God, and which ſhines ſtill in every Breaſt; The Model by which the wiſe Man ſquares his own private Judgment. That in his outward Behaviour complies with the Laws, and Cuſtoms, and Ceremonies of the Country where he dwells; that demeans himſelf toward others with Diſcretion and Prudence; is always firm and conſiſtent with himſelf, pleaſed and contented; without any diſcompoſure of Mind expecting and entertaining any Accident whatſoever, and eſpecially Death, the laſt and moſt terrible of them all. All theſe Strokes or Lines, which go to the making up this Idea, may be reduced to Four, that are the principal and moſt commanding of all the reſt. The Knowledge of a Man's ſelf; Free and Generous Largeneſs of Mind; The acting in Conformity with Nature

(*which*

which is of an Extent ſo large as when rightly underſtood, to be ſingly and by it ſelf a Rule ſufficient) and true Content and evenneſs of Temper. For theſe are Qualifications which never meet, except only in the wiſe Man. He that is defective in any one of them, does not come up to the Character. He that either miſtakes his own Condition, or whoſe Mind is in any ſort of Bondage either to his own Paſſions, or to the Common Vogue; that is partial, and ty'd up to any particular Notions, cramps up his Thoughts, and cuts himſelf out from his Native Right of examining, and judging every Thing. He that lives in Contradiction to Nature (that is, Right Reaſon) upon what Pretence ſoever he forſake it; whether he be ſeduced by Paſſion, or Opinion; He that trips and ſtaggers through Trouble, or Terror, or Diſcontent; and lives in dread of Death; This Man is not, cannot be Wiſe. Thus you have in little the Piece, which this following Treatiſe deſigns to draw in its full Proportions. Particularly the Second Book, which conſiſts of the General Rules, and a Deſcription of Wiſdom in the groſs; and this indeed is more properly mine, than either of the others; ſo peculiarly ſuch, and ſo full to my purpoſe, that I once had Thoughts of ſending it into the World alone. And what I have here deſcribed in Words, the Graver hath done with his Style, in the Frontis-Piece of this Book, which the Reader will find an Explanation of, immediately after this Preface.

Now

Now there are two Things, which principally conduce to this Wiſdom, and help Men forwards in the Attainment of it. The Firſt of Theſe is a Good Conſtitution, or Temperament of the Brain, which makes us capable of ſuch Improvements, as our own Care and Induſtry ſhall be able to acquire. Of how very great Conſequence this is, and how far it falls under the Power of Men to contribute to it, you will find at large in the XIII. Chap. of the Firſt, and the XIV. Chap. of the Third Book.

The Second is the Study of Philoſophy; not all the Branches of it equally, but the Moral Part chiefly; yet ſo as that the Natural be not wholly neglected. For this is our Candle to enlighten, our Guide to direct, our Rule to chalk out the Way for us; It explains and gives us true Idea's of the Law of Nature, and by this means furniſhes a Man for every part of his Duty as a Man; whether it concern him in Publick or in Private; in Company or Alone; as a Member of a Family, or of a State; it ſweetens and takes off all the Beaſt in us, makes us tame, and gentle, and good-natured; faſhions and poliſhes this rude Maſs, and forms it into Wiſdom. In ſhort, This is the true Learning; all the reſt a Man is capable of is mere Vanity in compariſon; at leaſt it is in no degree neceſſary, and in a much leſs degree uſeful. For here we learn both to Live and to Die well; and this is the whole we have to take Care of: It teaches a generous and noble Integrity, and Honeſt Prudence; and well adviſed Probity; ſuch as raiſe a Man above little Ends, and low

low Reſpects, and put him upon Virtue from the more exalted and Divine Principles, for the ſake of its own Excellence, and the Senſe that this is what becomes him to do. But alas! This Second Help is almoſt as generally neglected, or as ill uſed as the former. For the generality of the World are ſo entirely taken up with worldly Wiſdom, that they give themſelves little or no trouble about this which I am now mentioning.

Thus Nature and Induſtry muſt both do their parts, in order to a Man's obtaining Wiſdom. He who hath been kindly dealt with by Nature, and brings the Diſpoſition to Wiſdom with him, in a convenient Temper of Brain, will find good Actions and Manners flow very naturally from hence, and feel himſelf advanc'd a great way, without his own Pains: And thoſe Pains need not be very great, where he is not ſo much obliged to conquer, as to promote Nature, and moves with ſpeed and inclination towards the Prize he aims at: But if the Temper on the other hand be amiſs, All will be difficult and ſtrained: Induſtry muſt then correct and ſupply, oppoſe and ſubdue Nature; as Socrates *obſerved of himſelf, that by infinite Pains, and laborious Study of Philoſophy, he had at laſt got the better of a very ill Diſpoſition.*

In proportion to theſe two Helps, there are on the other Hand two Hinderances, or powerful Countermines, which carry Men into Folly; the one natural, the other acquir'd. The Former proceeds from the Diſtemper of the Brain, whether that be Original or Accidental; by this means

means it happens ſometimes to be too ſoft, or too moiſt, or the Parts of which it conſiſts are too heavy and groſs; from whence proceed Dulneſs of Apprehenſion, Weakneſs of Judgment, Dark and confuſed Notions of Things, flat, and low, and little Thoughts, ſuch as we generally find among the mean and illiterate ſort of People: Or elſe in the other Extreme, It is too hot and dry, which diſpoſes the Perſon to be furious and bold, extravagant and intractable in Vice. Theſe are the two Extremes, like Fire and Water, Mercury and Lead, each of them improper for Wiſdom, which requires a ſtrong and vigorous, but at the ſame time a fixt and ſteady Mind; and ſuch as in the midſt of all its Gallantry and Firmneſs, may be manageable, and yielding, and modeſt. This Second Defect however, of the two, ſeems the eaſier to be redreſt; the Firſt is hardly curable.

The acquir'd Obſtruction proceeds either from Want of all Inſtruction, or from being Ill inſtructed; which, among other things, conſiſts very much in ſtrong Prepoſſeſſions, wherewith the Mind was early tinctur'd, and ſo finds it ſelf captivated to them, not able to get above theſe firſt Impreſſions, nor to think freely and impartially. Such Men we commonly ſay are Headſtrong, and touch'd in the Crown, Whimſical, and wedded to their own Opinions: And, if to that Obſtinacy of Humour, there happen to be added any degree of Learning, This blows them up into Preſumption and Arrogance, puts Weapons into their Hand to defend their Prejudices, finiſhes them in Folly, and renders their Diſeaſe incapable

incapable of all Remedy. Natural Defects, and Acquired Prepoſſeſſions, are indeed two very formidable Obſtructions; and if Learning do not, as in truth it very ſeldom does, cure them, it adds to the Diſeaſe, and renders them impregnable. Which yet is by no means any Reflection upon Learning, or Diſhonour to it, as ſome may be apt to imagine, but rather a Commendation, and to its Advantage.

Learning is, without all Controverſie, a moſt excellent Weapon, but not fit to be truſted in every Hand; and he who knows not how to manage it, will find more hurt than good from it. For it makes ſick and weak Minds giddy and conceited, perfects and poliſhes Fools, no leſs than it does thoſe of good Capacities and Diſpoſitions. A weak and injudicious Man knows not how to uſe his Weapon; on the contrary it weakens and over-powers Him: He is oppreſt with it, like a Stomach over-charged with more Meat than it can digeſt, or an Arm that is benumb'd and born down by a Staff heavier than it can uſe. The ſtrong and ſound Mind, quite contrary, plays with it dexterouſly, ſhews a maſterly Skill in the uſe of it, turns it to Advantage perpetually, forms his Judgment, rectifies his Will, pours in this Oil to make the Lamp of Nature burn ſtronger and brighter; is the wiſer and better for that very thing which makes the other but the more exquiſite and more inſupportable Fool. But, all this while, Learning is not accountable for thoſe ill Conſequences, any more than Wine is guilty of all the Exceſſes committed by it, or a good Medicine

ill

ill apply'd, for the Patient's growing worse upon it. Now against these conceited half-witted Fellows, whom Nature hath disposed to Folly, and their own Acquisitions have perfected in it, I denounce formal War in my Book, as looking upon them to be irreconcilable Enemies to Wisdom; and the fittest Title I can find to distinguish them by, is that of Pedants; *for which I have the Authority of several good Writers, who have used the Word in this Signification. It is confest, that in its Original Language and proper Sense, it is taken in a very good and commendable Meaning; but in latter Times, and other Languages, the great Abuse and Corruption of Learning hath given occasion for the fixing a very ill and contemptible one upon it; a vile, sordid, peevish, stiff way, that makes no other use of Learning, but for Gain and Ostentation, Arrogance and Presumption; In short, all That which makes Learning despicable and derided, is signify'd by it. And so this, like* Tyrant, Sophister, *and the like, is one of those Words which hath absolutely lost its first Signification, and is now become a Mark of* Reproach and Contempt.

It is very possible some Persons may be offended at my using this Term, imagining that I design an Affront to those who make Learning their Business and Profession. But they, I hope, will be satisfy'd with this ingenuous Declaration, that I have not the least Intention of reflecting upon any Science or Condition of Men, particularly not the Gown, which I have the honour to wear, and to be one of those who are called Men of Letters, *my self; my meaning*

is

is only to charge a certain Quality of Mind, a ſort of Souls which I have been deſcribing, of mean and low Capacity, but moderately provided by Nature, and afterwards depraved by Art and Study; Men prepoſſeſt, and obſtinate, and fierce in certain Opinions; and theſe are to be found in all Robes, and all Conditions; as in truth there is a World of Mobb in the Pit and Boxes, as well as in the Upper-Gallery. Vulgum tam chlamydatos quam coronam voco. *Let theſe Objectors but find me another Word as expreſſive of thoſe Qualities, and I will moſt readily conſent to the Exchange. In the mean while, after this Declaration, I think I may juſtly ſay, that whoever ſhall ſtill be peeviſh, and have any reſentment upon this account, does but injure Me, and accuſe Himſelf. 'Tis true, there are other Terms of Oppoſition to the Wiſe Man; but not any, I think, ſo extenſive and ſignificant as This. The Vulgar, the Ignorant, and Others, which I frequently take occaſion to make uſe of; Theſe are oppoſed more directly, like Low to High, Weak to Strong, Common to Scarce, a Servant to his Maſter, Prophane to Sacred: Thus likewiſe Fool is ſet the moſt directly in oppoſition to Him; but then This is, as Crooked is oppoſed to Streight, Vain-glorious to Modeſt, Conſtraint to Freedom, Sickneſs to Health. But now* Pedant *includes all this, and a great deal more, in the Senſe which I apply it to: For it gives us an* Idea *of a Man, not only different from, and contrary to a Wiſe Man, as the reſt of them do, but a Fellow that hath the Impudence*

to oppoſe and make Head againſt him; that comes armed Cap-a-pe, *ſawcily challenges him to Combat, and talks magiſterially and dogmatically. And, becauſe in the midſt of all this Vanity and fierce Arrogance, he hath ſome ſort of Miſgivings, and thinks himſelf diſcover'd; therefore he bears an inveterate Spight to this Perſon who checks his Follies; is eternally cenſuring, condemning, running him down; eſteeming and behaving himſelf as the only Perſon who has any Right to that Character of Wiſdom; tho' in reality he infinitely exceed all others in the exquiſiteneſs and troubleſomneſs of his Folly.*

Having thus given my Reader a ſhort Account of the Argument and Deſign of the following Treatiſe, it may not be unſeaſonable to premiſe one Word or two concerning the Order and Method obſerved in it. He muſt know then, that it conſiſts of Three Books. *The* Firſt *directs the Knowledge of a Man's Self, and the Condition of Human Nature in general. This is laid as a neceſſary Preparation to Wiſdom; and largely illuſtrated under Five General Conſiderations, each of which is ſubdivided into ſeveral Particulars. The* Second *contains the principal Lines and general Rules of Wiſdom. The* Third *deſcends to particular Inſtructions and Circumſtances, branched out under the Four Cardinal Virtues, of Prudence, Juſtice, Fortitude, and Temperance; and here every Part and Relation of Human Life, hath ſome proviſion made for the Duties it engages us in.*

I add

I add too, that I write and treat my Subject, not after a Pedantick manner, and in set Forms, according to the Methods of the Schools; nor with regular Arguments in Mood and Figure, nor with Pompous Eloquence, nor any other Artifice whatsoever. I am verily perſuaded what Tully *ſays is moſt true, That* Wiſdom, could ſhe but render her-ſelf viſible to Human Eyes, would charm our Souls, and raviſh our Affections, and make every Creature ſtrangely in Love with her. (Quæ ſi oculis ipſis cerneretur, mirabiles excitaret amores ſui.) *And therefore ſhe need only diſcover her native Beauties, and is too noble, too glorious, to uſe any of thoſe little modiſh Garbs, to adorn and ſet her off; but this I do too with a Liberty which all, perhaps, will not be well pleaſed with. The Propoſitions and Truths are compact and cloſe, but oftentimes very dry, and ſerved up crude and courſely, like Aphoriſms, Overtures, or ſhort Hints of Diſcourſes.* De Offic. Lib. 1.

Some Perſons, I am ſenſible, may be apt to think me too bold with ſome commonly-receiv'd Opinions, and take offence that I pay them no greater Deference. To theſe Perſons, and the Fault they find with my free way of expreſſing my Thoughts; I anſwer,

Firſt, *That Wiſdom, when above the common Standard, hath a Right to this Liberty. It is the Privilege and Juriſdiction of a Wiſe Man, to call Matters before him, to examine and try them, to cenſure and condemn vulgar Notions, which indeed, for the moſt part, are no better than vulgar Errors. And who ſhall pre-*

tend to bar this Privilege? Why ſhould he who hath it, decline the Exerciſe of it though he knows at the ſame time that this cannot be done, without incurring the Envy and Diſpleaſure of a great part of the World?

Nay, Secondly, *I cannot but think, the juſter ground of Complaint lies on my ſide, and muſt therefore reprove Them for this fooliſh and feminine Niceneſs, as a thing that is infinitely too ſqueamiſh and tender to bear neceſſary Truth, or attain to ſound Wiſdom. The boldeſt Expreſſions and Truths are moſt becoming a truly great Soul; and a Man who hath at all ſtudy'd the World, will not think any thing ſtrange or ſhocking. For this proceeds from Weakneſs of Judgment only, which ought to be corrected; and a Man muſt harden his mind, and accuſtom himſelf to conſider patiently, even the oddeſt and moſt uncouth things, in order to giving them a fair Tryal. There is nothing ſo extravagant, but the Mind of Man you ſee is capable of thinking it; and conſequently nothing ſo extravagant, but that a Man may, and will do very properly and well, to give it the hearing. All the Care to be taken upon this Occaſion is, that we be not wanting to our Selves; That while we endure to examine every thing, tho' never ſo generally exploded, yet we yield our Aſſent to nothing, but what is good and decent, tho' never ſo univerſally commended or receiv'd. For the Wiſe Man gives inſtances of his Courage and Greatneſs of Soul in both theſe Caſes, whereas theſe nice Perſons betray an Effeminate Weakneſs and Delicacy, and are manifeſtly defective in them both.* Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Whatever I propose here, it is only with an Intention to have it considered: I pretend not to oblige Others to think as I do; I Offer my Thoughts, but I do not Impose them. If They differ in Judgment from Me, it breeds no Quarrel; I should injure my self extremely if it did; because this is one of those detestable Qualities that concur to make up a Pedant. Passion is generally an Argument that Reason is defective; and He that is disposed to any Opinion upon One of these Motives, hath seldom any great Mixture of the Other with it. Wherefore then are these Gentlemen Angry? Is it because I am of another Opinion? Let them give me fair Quarter at least, for I am not in any Degree displeas'd with Them for differing from me. Is it for saying some things not agreeable to their Tast, and that of the World? Alas, 'Tis for this very Reason, that I mention them. I hope at least, there is nothing said without Reason for it; if they can relish it, and discern the Force of that Reason, 'tis well: If they have better for the other side of the Question, and such as will overthrow mine, I am always ready to hear it; and shall be both pleased and thankful for better Information. But let them not think to run me down with Numbers and Authority, for These have no weight with me, except in Matters of Religion only; and there Authority single is Argument sufficient to induce my Belief of things, which my Reason cannot comprehend. This is its proper Empire, but out of these Territories Reason reigns and hath absolutely Jurisdiction, as*

St. Auguſtin *himſelf hath very truly and very ingenuouſly acknowledged. 'Tis a moſt unjuſt Uſurpation over our Native Rights and Liberties, the very Madneſs of Tyranny and Rage, to think to enſlave us to All that either the Ancients have deliver'd, or the Generality of the World entertained: But eſpecially the Latter, ſince the greater Part of Mankind know neither what they do, nor ſay. None but Fools will ſuffer themſelves to be led by the Noſe at this rate; and for ſuch this Book I confeſs is not calculated; if it ſhould meet with Popular Acceptance, I ſhould ſuſpect it did not anſwer its Character. The Ancient Authors ought indeed to be heard, and conſidered and duly reſpected; but to be captivated by them, is an Exceſs of Veneration they muſt not pretend to. For though a Man ſhould hear all, and pay a Deference to ſome, yet he muſt aſſent and yield up his Mind to none, but Reaſon only. And indeed put the Caſe we might, and would be governed by Authorities; yet I would be glad to know how this is poſſible to be done; or how we ſhall find ſuch an Agreement among them, as ſhall enable us to ſay, Authority is on our ſide.* Ariſtotle, *for Inſtance, pretended to be the greateſt Man that had then appeared in the World; he took upon him to arraign and condemn all that had gone before him; and yet he ſaid and wrote more abſurd things, than all of Them put together had ever thought of. Nay, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf, and many times does not know what he would be at; of which his wild Notions, concerning The Soul of Man,*

The

The Eternity of the World, The Generation of Winds and Waters, &c. *are undeniable Testimonies. And in truth a Man who considers the Matter will find, that to have all People of the same Opinion would be infinitely more prodigious and amazing, than to find them otherwise. For Diversity of Opinions is as comely and beautiful in the Minds of Men, as Variety is in the Works of Nature. That Wise as well Inspired Apostle St.* Paul *allows a great Liberty, in these Two Rules;* Let every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind; *and* Let no Man condemn or despise others of a different Judgment and Behaviour. *And it is observable, that these Directions are given in a Matter much nicer and of greater consequence, than what we now treat of. For they do not concern Actions merely Humane, and External, and civil Compliances, in which I have declar'd, that my Wise Man should not take upon him to be singular, nor think it any Diminution of his Character, to submit and conform to Custom and Prescription: But St.* Paul's *Rules are of a Religious Consideration; and relate to such Distinctions of Meats and Days, as Men thought themselves bound upon a Principle of Conscience to make; Whereas all the Hardiness and Freedom I contend for, is only that which enlarges a Man's Thoughts and private Opinions from Captivity and Restraint; and such as no other Person is or can be concern'd in, but what a Man is entirely and solely accountable to himself for:*

Rom. 14. iii, v.

Fourthly, *However, to give all reasonable Satisfaction even in this Point too; In regard some things might seem too crude and hard for the weaker sort of People, (those of strong and sound Constitutions I am sensible will relish and digest them all very well,) in Tenderness and Condescension to such queasie Stomachs, I have taken Care, in this Second Edition, to explain, illustrate, and soften any thing that might offend their feebler Judgments. And accordingly do now present you with a Book diligently revis'd, and considerably enlarged above what it was before.*

Lastly, *I beg leave of the Reader, who undertakes to pass a Judgment upon this Work, that he will permit me to fore-warn him of Seven dangerous Mistakes, which other Persons by falling into already, have entertained a less favourable Opinion of the Former Edition, than I have the Vanity to think it deserved.*

The First *is, That he would make a Difference between Matter of Fact and Right; and not from what is related as Done, conclude That ought to be Done.*

Secondly, *To make a great Difference between Acting and Judging; and not conclude from any Liberty of Opinion maintain'd by me, that I pretend to vindicate the same Liberty in Behaviour.*

Thirdly, *That he would not look upon all That as Resolved and Determined, and Declared in Favour of, which is only offered to Con-*

Consideration, Argued and Disputed Problematically, and in the old Academick Way.

Fourthly, *That what I relate from, or concerning other People, be not imputed to Me, or pass for my own Sense and Judgment of the Thing.*

Fifthly, *That what is spoken of the Mind and its internal Qualifications, be not appropriated to any Sort or Profession of Men, or extended to outward and Particular Circumstances and Conditions.*

Sixthly, *That what is spoken of Humane Opinion, be not applyed to Religion and Matters of Faith.*

And Seventhly, *That what belongs to Virtue, and Actions merely Natural and Moral, be not interpreted of Grace and Supernatural Operations.*

Let my Reader but lay aside all Prejudice and Passion, and take these Cautions along with him, and I am well assured, his own Scruples may be resolved by them, the Objections raised by himself or others against this Treatise abundantly answered, and the Design I had in it, cleared from all Blame or Suspicion. But if, after all, he be still dissatisfied, let him come forth into fair Combat, and attack me openly. For to traduce, and snarle and mangle an Author's Reputation in a Corner, is I confess an easie, but withal a Base, and Pedantick Practice, unworthy Men of Sense or Honour. And, since this Book makes particular Pretences to Ingenuity, and fair Dealing, I promise any

any generous Adverſary, either to do him the Honour of freely Acknowledging my Miſtakes, and ſubmitting to his better Reaſons; or elſe to examine his Objections, and endeavour to make both Him and the World, ſenſible of their Impertinence and Folly.

An

An Explanation of the Figure in the Frontiſpiece of this Book.

AT the upper end of the Page, and over the Title of the Book, you have *Wiſdom* repreſented by a beautiful Woman; She is naked; yet ſo that there is no offence given to the Chaſteſt Eyes, (intimating, that ſhe needs not any Additional Beauties, or the Aſſiſtance of Art to recommend her, but is natural, plain, and ſimple; yet ſo as in the midſt of Nature and Simplicity to have always a ſtrict regard to Modeſty.) Her Countenance is Healthful and Maſculine, Smiling and Cheerful, Strong and Authoritative. Her Body Streight, with her Feet fixed cloſe together, upon a Cube, that denotes Juſtice, and Firmneſs. Her Arms a-croſs, as if ſhe were embracing her ſelf; intimating, that ſhe is happy in, and ſatisfy'd with her ſelf. Upon her Head ſhe wears a Crown of Laurel and Olive, which imports Victory and Peace. The void Space round about her, ſignifies Liberty: She looks in a Glaſs, held by a Hand coming out of a Cloud, at ſome diſtance from her, which preſents her with the Reflection of her own Face; for Wiſdom is employ'd in the Knowledge and Contemplation of her ſelf. Upon her Right ſide are theſe

theſe Words, *I know not*; not thereby to give Countenance to perpetual Doubt and Scepticiſm; but arguing, that ſhe is mature and cautious in Deliberating, ſlow in Determining; not poſitive or peremptory, but reſerving an Ear open for freſh Reaſons, and not aſhamed to confeſs, that the beſt Human Knowledge is ſtill dark and imperfect. On the Left ſide are thoſe other Words, *Peace, and a little*; which are the Author's own Device, repreſented by a Root impaled, wound about with an Olive-Branch, and incircled with two Branches of Laurel in an Oval Form; implying, that a Competency is ſufficient; and that Men have it in their own Power to be eaſie and contented.

See Book II. Chap. vi. Fig. 6.

Below, on each ſide the Title, are Four little, deformed, wretched, wrinkled Old Women, bound in Chains; the End of which is faſten'd to the Pedeſtal of Wiſdom; who deſpiſes, condemns, and tramples them under her Feet. The Two on the Right ſide of the Title are Paſſion and Opinion; Paſſion hath a meagre and diſcompoſed Countenance, intimating Diſorder and Fury. Opinion hath wild ſtaring Eyes, an unſettled and ſturdy Face: She is ſupported by ſeveral Perſons, denoting the Extravagance and general Infection of vulgar Errors, and how fond of, and how ſtiff the common People are in them. The other Two on the Left ſide of the Inſcription are Superſtition, with an amazed Look, her Hands claſped together like a Slave trembling for Fear; ſhewing the Terrors and

and Aſtoniſhments of People poſſeſs'd with this Phrenſie of the Mind: And Laſtly, there is Learning, which is a counterfeit, artificial, acquir'd, and Pedantic Virtue; a Slave to Laws, and Cuſtoms, and Forms; with a ſwell'd Face, a haughty arrogant Look, bold ſtaring Eyes; and ſhe reads in a Book, wherein is written, *Yea*, *Nay*; importing the Vanity and Confidence of Learned Men, their Eternal Diſputes, and the wide Diſagreement of their Notions; and yet the Preſumption and Poſitiveneſs they betray in the midſt of all this Difference and Uncertainty. And Laſtly, The Chains which terminate in the Footſtool of Wiſdom, ſhew that Captivity of the Mind, which all theſe Qualities bring Men under, which they who ſtudy Wiſdom labour to get above; and they who attain to it, break thoſe Fetters, and are wholly free from that miſerable Bondage.

A Brief

A

Brief Account

OF THE

AUTHOR.

From the *French.*

PETER *CHARRON* was born at *Paris*, in the Year 1541. and Baptized in St. *Hilary*'s Church in the *Clos Bruneau*. His Father was one *Theobald Charron*, a Book-ſeller; and his Mother's Name was *Nicole de la Barre*. By Her, *Theobald* had One and Twenty Children; and Four more by a former Wife: So that our Author had no leſs than Four and Twenty Brothers and Siſters; and yet, which is very remarkable, among all this numerous Family, there is not any Male-Iſſue now remaining. The Condition of his Parents was not very plentiful; and their Expence, 'tis plain, was great; but however, in regard they ſaw ſomething in their Son *Peter*, which was very forward and promiſing, and argu'd a more than common Capacity, they took the Hint from Nature's Kindneſs;

Kindneſs, and put him out to a very good School. After he had made ſufficient progreſs in *Greek* and *Latin*, he took care to qualifie himſelf with other Sciences, and Parts of Human Learning, and ſtudy'd Logick, Metaphyſicks, Moral and Natural Philoſophy. From thence he proceeded to the Civil and Canon Law in the Univerſities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, where he commenced Doctor in that Faculty. At his return to *Paris*, he betook himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law, and was admitted Advocate in the Court of Parliament; Where Buſineſs often call'd him to the Barr, which he always declar'd to be the beſt and moſt imporving School in the World: And accordingly, he took care to loſe none of the Publick Hearings; From whence his Mind took ſo ſtrong a Tincture, that a Man may plainly diſcern the Effects of it in his Diſcourſes, by the proper Application of Maxims and Terms of Law. This Courſe he continu'd ſome Five or Six Years; but foreſeeing, that Preferment this way, if ever attained at all, was like to come hard and ſlow, (he neither having Relations among the Sollicitors and Proctors of the Court, nor particular Intereſt, nor Spirit little enough to cringe, and flatter, and wriggle himſelf into Buſineſs) he gave over that Employment, and apply'd himſelf cloſe to the ſtudy of Divinity. To this purpoſe he read the Fathers, and eminent Doctors of the Church; and having a Tongue well hung, and a

Style

Style free and eaſie, but yet refined and lofty too, above the rate of common Preachers; he made uſe of this Talent, by the Permiſſion of the Parochial Clergy, and that with ſo good Succeſs, that he quickly came into Reputation and Eſteem with the Greateſt and moſt Learned Men of his Time; Inſomuch that the Biſhops and greateſt Prelates about the Town, ſeem'd to be in ſome ſort of Strife, which of them ſhould get him into his Dioceſs. Particularly my Lord *Arnaud de Pontac*, Biſhop of *Bazas*, a Prelate of excellent Learning, having heard him preach at St. *Paul*'s Church, in the Year 1571. was ſo in love with him, that he took him away from the place of his Birth, and carry'd him to *Xaintes* and *Bourdeaux*, and into his Biſhoprick of *Bazas*, and ſeveral other places in *Gaſcony*, and *Languedoc*, where his admirable Eloquence acquired ſo juſt Renown, that he had Proffers made by ſeveral Biſhops, of being the Theological Canon (or Divinity-Lecturer) in their Churches; and of ſeveral other Dignities and Benefices, beſides ſeveral noble Preſents made him. In ſhort, he was Theologal at *Bazas*, *Ars*, *Lethoure*, *Agen*, *Chaors*, and *Condom* ſucceſſively; Canon and Schoolmaſter in the Church of *Bourdeaux*, and Chanter in the Church of *Condom*. Queen *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Valois*, was pleaſed to entertain him for her Preacher in Ordinary; and the then King, tho' at that time of the Reform'd Religion, was extremely pleas'd with his Sermons, and frequently

frequently did him the Honour to hear them. He was also a Retainer to the late Cardinal *d' Armagnac*, Legat to his Holiness at *Avignon*, who had a great value for him. He did great good by his persuasive way of Preaching, and by the Excellencies both of his Life and Doctrine, for Two and Thirty Years together, converted and establish'd many. He never took any Degree or Title in Divinity, but satisfy'd himself with deserving and being capable of the Highest; and had therefore no other Title or Character but That of *Priest* only. He never saw *Paris* in Seventeen or Eighteen Years, and then resolv'd to come and end his days there; but being a great lover of Retirement, he had obliged himself by Vow to become a *Carthusian*; and was absolved of it about the end of the Year 1588. He went from *Bourdeaux* coming by *Xaintes* and *Angers*, where he made several learned Sermons, and arriv'd at *Paris*, at the time the States were conven'd at *Blois*. Then he presented himself to the Prior of the *Carthusians*, one *John Michel*, a Person of great Piety, who since dy'd Prior-General of the great *Carthusian* Monastery in *Dauphiné*. To Him he communicated his Intention; but it was not accepted, by reason of his Age, which was not less than Seven or Eight and Forty. And all the most pressing Intreaties he could use were ineffectual; for the Excuse was still this, That That Order required all the Vigour of Youth to support its Austerities. Hereupon he addrest himself to the Provin-

cial of the *Celeſtines* in *Paris*; but there too with the ſame Succeſs, and upon the ſame Reaſons alledged for repulſing him. Thus after having done his utmoſt to fulfil his Vow, and himſelf not being in any degree acceſſory to its not taking effect, he was aſſured by *Faber* Dean of the *Sorbon*, *Tyrius* a *Scotch* Jeſuite, and *Feuardent* a *Franciſcan*, all very learned and able Divines, that there lay no manner of Obligation upon him from that Vow: But that he might with a very ſafe and good Conſcience, continue in the World as a Secular, and was at large, and at his own Diſpoſal, without any need of entring into any other Religious Order. Hereupon, in the Year 1589. he returned back by *Angers*, where he preached the whole Lent, to the great Admiration and Benefit of the People. From thence he went back again to *Bourdeaux*, where he contracted a very intimate Acquaintance and Friendſhip with Monſieur *Michel de Montagne*, Knight of the Order of the *King*, and Author of the Book ſo well known by the Title of *Montagne's Eſſays*. For him Monſieur *Charron* had a very great Eſteem, and did from him receive all poſſible Teſtimonies of a reciprocal Affection: For, (among other things) Monſieur *Montagne* order'd by his laſt Will, that in regard he left no Iſſue-Male of his own, Monſieur *Charron* ſhould after his deceaſe, be entituled to bear the Coat of Arms, plain, and as they belong'd to his Noble Family. The Troubleſome Times detaining Monſieur

Charron

Charron at *Bourdeaux*, from the Year 1589. to that of 1593. he compoſed his Book called *Les Trois Veritez*, *The Three Truths*, and publiſhed it in 1594. but without his Name to it. This was received with great Applauſe of Learned Men, and they printed it after the *Bourdeaux* Copy two or three times at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Bruſſels* in *Flanders*, under the Sham-Name of *Benedict Valiant*, *Advocate of the Holy Faith*; becauſe the Third Part of that Book contains a Defence of the Faith, in anſwer to a little Tract concerning the Church, written formerly by the Sieur *Pleſſis de Mornay*. The Publication of this Book brought him into the Acquaintance of Monſieur *Antony d' Ebrard de S. Sulpice*, Biſhop and Count of *Caors*, who upon peruſing and liking the Book, ſent for Monſieur *Charron*, tho' he had never ſeen him before, made him his Vicar-General, and Canon-Theologal in his Church, which he accepted; and there he put out the *Second Edition*, with his own Name to it in 1595. enlarging it alſo with a Reply to an Anſwer, printed at *Rochelle*, and written againſt what he called his *Third Truth*.

While he was at *Caors*, the King was pleaſed to ſummon him to the General Aſſembly of all the Clergy of *France*, held the ſame Year 1595. Hither he came in the Quality of a Deputy, and was choſen firſt Secretary to the Aſſembly. As he was in this Attendance, an Invitation was ſent him to preach at St. *Euſtache's* Church, the moſt populous

Pariſh in the whole City of *Paris*, which he did upon *All-Saints-Day* 1595, and two Days after. As alſo the Six Sundays in *Lent* 1596. In 1599 he returned to *Caors*, and in that Year, and 1600. he compoſed Eight Diſcourſes upon *the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*; as many others *upon the Knowledge and Providence of God*, the *Redemption of the World*, the *Communion of Saints:* And likewiſe his *Books of Wiſdom*. While he was thus employing himſelf, and enjoying that Retirement at *Caors*, my Lord *John Chemin* Biſhop of *Condom* preſented him with the Chanterſhip in his Church, to draw him over into that Dioceſs: But having at the ſame time an Offer from *M. Miron*, Biſhop of *Angiers*, and being courted by Him, to reſide at *Anjou*, this was moſt agreeable to his Inclination. The making a determinate Reſolution was a Work of Time; for his Affection and Convenience drawing ſeveral Ways, kept the Balance long in ſuſpenſe. *Anjou* he looked upon as the ſweeteſt Dwelling, the moſt delightful Retreat that *France* could give him; but that Province being then embroyl'd in Civil Wars, (for *Bretany* was not then reduced, and ſo like to make a very troubleſome Neighbour) *Condom* carry'd the Point. It happen'd too, that the Theologal Chair at *Condom* was juſt then void, and this being tendred him by the ſame Biſhop, he accepted that, and reſolved to ſet up his Staff there. To this purpoſe he bought a Houſe, which he built new, and furniſhed to his own Fancy

cy and Convenience; reſolving to give himſelf all the Eaſe and Diverſion he could, and make the beſt of his growing Years, the Infirmities whereof would be ſoften'd at leaſt by good Humour, and a pretty Dwelling. After he was ſetled at *Condom*, he printed thoſe *Chriſtian Diſcourſes* mention'd juſt now, which were Sixteen in all; and alſo his *Books of Wiſdom* at *Bourdeaux*, in the Year 1601. which gave him a great Reputation, and made his Character generally known: So that Monſieur *Charron* began from that time to be reckon'd among the Glories and topping Wits of *France*. Particularly Meſſieur *Claude Dormy*, Biſhop of *Bologne by the Sea*, and Prior of St. *Martin's in the Fields* at *Paris*, wrote him ſeveral Letters upon that occaſion; expreſſing the great Eſteem he had for Him and his Writings, and as a Teſtimony of his Value and Opinion of him, offer'd him the Theologal's Place in his Church. Theſe Letters made Monſieur *Charron* deſirous to ſee *Paris* once more, that ſo he might contract a Perſonal Acquaintance with, and expreſs his Acknowledgments for the Favours of this great Prelate; and at the ſame time, in hope to get an Opportunity of reprinting his Books and Diſcourſes, with the Addition of ſome new Tracts. For indeed the Impreſſion at *Bourdeaux* he thought wanted correcting; and upon a Review was not at all to his Satisfaction.

In purſuance of this Deſign, he arriv'd at *Paris* the Third of *October*, 1603. and in a

convenient time afterwards he went to pay his Reſpects to the Biſhop of *Bologne*, who receiv'd him with great Civility and Kindneſs, and repeated his Offer of that Preferment, merely to have him near himſelf, and more within the Eye of the Court. Monſieur *Charron* return'd him many Thanks for the Honour he had done him, and the good Intentions he was pleas'd to entertain for his Advancement. And with his uſual Freedom, told an Advocate in the Parliament, who was a particular Friend of his, that he could be well pleas'd to accept that Preferment for ſome Years, but that the Moiſture and Coldneſs of the Air, and its Nearneſs to the Sea, did not only make it a Melancholy and Unpleaſant Place, but very Unwholſome, and Rheumatick, and Foggy too. That the Sun was his viſible God, as God was his inviſible Sun; and therefore, ſince he had no Hope of ſeating himſelf at *Bologne* with Safety to his Health, he thought it much better not to venture thither at all.

During his Stay at *Paris*, he lodg'd at one *Bertaud*'s a Bookſeller, that he might be near the Preſs, and correct the new Edition of his Books of Wiſdom, of which he liv'd to ſee but Three or Four Sheets wrought off. For on *Sunday* the Sixteenth of *November*, 1603. going out of his Lodging, about one of the Clock, at the Corner of St. *John Beauvais* Street, he call'd to his Servants and complain'd he found himſelf Ill: And immediately, while they ran to hold him up he fell upon

upon his Knees, and with his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, he expired upon the Spot, without the leaſt Agony or Appearance of Pain. His Diſeaſe was an *Apoplex*, and the Quantity of extravaſated Blood was ſo great, that no Humane Help could have preſerved him. The Body was kept Two Days, but the Phyſicians being well ſatisfied that he was actually dead, and the Blood too which ſettled about his Throat, beginning to mortifie, and grow offenſive, they buried him with great Decency, and a very Honourable Attendance, in St. *Hilary's* Church, the Eighteenth of the ſame Month; where his Father, Mother, moſt of his Brothers and Siſters, and a great many other Relations were Interred. The Day of his Funeral he had his Face expos'd to view, and his Body dreſt in the Prieſt's Habit, as if he had been going to Officiate at Maſs. And this was done by a particular Direction of his own; for he had frequently left thoſe Orders in Charge, provided his Death happen'd to be ſuch, as wrought no mighty Change or Deformity in his Perſon.

As to his Perſon, He was of a moderate Stature, inclining to Fat; of a ſmiling Countenance and cheerful Humor; a large open Fore-head; ſtreight Noſe, pretty large downwards; light blue Eyes; his Complexion Freſh and Ruddy; his Hair and Beard very White, though he had not yet got through his Climacterick, being about Sixty Two Years and a Half when he died. The Air of his Face

was always Gay, without the leaſt Allay of Melancholy ; his Mien Graceful ; his Voice Strong and Diſtinct ; his Expreſſion Maſculine and Bold : His Health Firm and Conſtant ; he had no Complaints, either from Age or Indiſpoſitions, till about Three Weaks before his Death. Then indeed he now and then, while he was in Motion, felt a Pain in his Breaſt, and found himſelf oppreſt with Shortneſs of Breath. But this preſently went off again after a little Reſt, and fetching his Breath deep. However he acquainted his Phyſician the eminent Sieur *Marſcot* with his Caſe, who adviſed him by all means to open a Vein ; aſſuring him, that all his Illneſs proceeded from fulneſs of Blood, and, if ſome Courſe were not taken ſpeedily to prevent it, a Suffocation might enſue. And accordingly it happen'd ; for in all probability, the neglecting this Advice of bleeding quickly, was the very thing that coſt Monſieur *Charron* his Life.

His Books of Wiſdom and Chriſtian Diſcourſes were printed off after his Death, by the Particular Care of an Intimate Friend, whom he had charged with the Inſpection of them in his Life-time : And abundant Satisfaction was given to the World, that the Author himſelf had in this Impreſſion added, and corrected ſeveral Paſſages. Some particularly, which not Others only, but Himſelf alſo thought neceſſary to be changed from that firſt Impreſſion at *Bourdeaux*, in 1601. By theſe Alterations he hath explained his

his Meaning, ſtrengthened his Arguments, ſoftned many Expreſſions without any Material Alteration of the Senſe. All which was done Principally in Compliance with the World; to obviate the Malice of Some, and condeſcend to the Infirmities of Others. The whole had been peruſed and approved by ſome very good Friends, and Perſons of ſound Judgment; and till They had declar'd themſelves ſatisfied and pleas'd, he could not prevail with himſelf to be ſo. But above all, he ſubmitted his Writings to the Church; and hop'd there was nothing there, that might call for a juſt Cenſure, or Miniſter ground of Offence, either to Religion in general, or to that Communion, of which he was a Member in particular.

As to his peculiar Manner of handling the Subjects he undertook to treat of, whether in Books or Sermons, he was us'd to ſay, that there are Three Ways of expreſſing and communicating a Man's Thoughts, which bear Proportion, and ſeem to be adapted to the Three Several Faculties of the Mind; the *Imagination*, the *Memory*, and *Underſtanding*. One of theſe proceeds upon Rules of Art, runs upon Etymologies and Diſtinctions of Words and Things, Definitions, Diviſions, Subdiviſions, Cauſes, Effects, Accidents, and the like. A Second collects together what other People have thought or ſaid upon the Occaſion, and values it ſelf upon the nicety of quoting Books, and Chapters, and Pages: The Third is free and generous, including

and

and doing in a manner all that both the former pretend to, but without any Oſtentation of doing ſo, or enſlaving it ſelf to Niceties of Method, and Rules of Art. The Firſt of Theſe he uſed to ſay was fit for Schools, and to inſtruct young Beginners: The Second too much in Vogue with Preachers and Orators, who in Effect only tack together other Peoples Notions, and thoſe too very often after an affected and impertinent Manner; for having nothing to ſay for themſelves, they make other People ſpeak for them, though never ſo little to the Purpoſe. In reſpect of this Way he declar'd himſelf of a Judgment directly oppoſite to the generality of the World; That to ſtuff a Diſcourſe with Quotations was an Argument rather of Weakneſs and Ignorance, than of Wiſdom. That Men took this Courſe in all likelihood to ſet themſelves and their great Reading off to the World, which after all amounts to no more than a good Memory: And This, if not attended with Judgment, is no ſuch mighty Commendation. That Theſe things are oftentimes brought in at random, and all Adventures; picked up from Common-place Books, and Indexes, where they find Stuff ready made up to their Hands, and ſo they vend it without more to do. Allegations indeed have their Uſes and proper Seaſons; they are abſolutely neceſſary in controverted Points, where the Cauſe is to be decided by Authorities; But then they ought to be uſed with Moderation, and in Meaſure;

Measure; and good Care taken, that they be home to the purpose; that Prudence be used in the Choice of them; for generally the Fewer and the Weightier, to be sure the Better they are. For it was his Opinion, that of all the Three Manners of Expressing our Thoughts, This was the least valuable.

As for the Third, That indeed was infinitely the best, and the Persons who make it their Method, are by much the greatest and most significant Men. Antiquity and Authority were thus far of his side; The Ancient *Homilists* being so many Examples of it, in whose Writings and Orations you very seldom, or never, find a Quotation; and in truth the old Authors, of all Sorts and Professions, seem to make sound Reason, and good Sense their Business. This being the proper, the generous Food for entertaining Men desirous of Knowledge, and of distinguishing Minds; This relishes and shews more of Judgment, and Understanding, which are Nobler, and more Exalted Parts of the Mind, than Memory. Lastly, This is infinitely the most Free and Noble in it self, and more Delightful and Improving to Hearers, Readers, and the Person who makes Use of it too, than any other Method whatsoever: For by this, Men are rather made Wise than Learned; and more accustomed to examine and make a Judgment of things. Consequently the Will is directed, and the Conscience informed this way, whereas the rest are good for nothing, but to stuff his Memory

Memory, and Imagination, with other Peoples Notions, or little trifling Niceties. This Account I thought not improper to trouble the Reader with, becauſe from hence he will gueſs, what he is to expect in this Treatiſe, and ſee withal what kind of Taſt our Author had in Matters of this Nature.

As for what relates to his Temper, Manners, Converſation, and Actions, whether in Publick or Private, I ſhall need to ſay only thus much; That he made it his Conſtant Buſineſs, to render them conformable to thoſe Rules and Maxims contained at large in this Second Book of the following Treatiſe; and was very ſucceſsful, and very accurate in the Undertaking: What Perſuaſion and Church he was of, his *Three Verities* abundantly declare; as do likewiſe his Chriſtian Diſcourſes, which were printed ſince his Death, and make a convenient Volume by themſelves. How ſtrict and conſcientious he was, may appear from this ſingle Inſtance; That, though he were poſſeſt of ſeveral Theologal Canonries one after another, yet he would never be prevailed with to reſign any of them, in Favour of any Perſon; nor to name his Succeſſor; for fear of giving Occaſion to the Cenſure, of having upon private Reſpects put in an unqualify'd Man, and One who was not worthy to fill ſuch a Poſt. But he conſtantly gave them up freely and clearly, into the Hands of thoſe Biſhops who had collated him.

The

The laſt thing I ſhall mention upon this Occaſion is his Laſt Will; which was made and written all with his own Hand in *January* 1602. and after his Deceaſe, regiſtred in the Office at *Condom*. In This he firſt returns moſt humble Thanks to God, for all the Mercies and Benefits which by His Bounty he had enjoyed in his Life-time; begs him moſt earneſtly for his infinite and incomprehenſible Mercies Sake, in the Name of his Well-beloved Son, and our Bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and for His Merits ſhed and multiplied upon all his Members the Elect Saints, to grant him Favour, and full Pardon for all his Offences; to receive him for his own Child; to aſſiſt and conduct him with his Holy Spirit, during his Continuance in this World, that he might ever remain in a ſound Mind, and the true Love and Service of Him his God; and that at the Hour of Death, he would receive his Soul to himſelf, admit him into the Society and ſweet Repoſe of his Well-beloved ones, and inſpire all his Holy and Elect Saints with a Pious and Charitable Diſpoſition, to pray, and make interceſſion for him.

Then proceeding to the Legacies, he bequeaths among other things; To the Church of *Condom*, provided his Corps be Interr'd there, Two Hundred *Livres* (*Tournois*) upon Condition that every Year upon the Day of his Death, High Maſs ſhall be once ſaid in his Behalf, and Abſolution once pronounc'd over his Grave. He gives moreover to the Main-

Maintenance of poor Scholars, and young Girls, Two Thouſand Four Hundred Crowns, the yearly Income hereof to be diſtributed for ever, the one Moiety to Three or Four Scholars; the other to Three, Four, or Five young Maidens, at the Diſcretion of his Executors, of which he conſtituted Five: The Maſter of St. *Andrew*'s School, and Rector of the Jeſuites at *Bourdeaux* for the time being; his Heir, and Two of his Friends; the Three Laſt to name ſome other Perſons to ſucceed in this Truſt after their Deceaſe, with This Qualification, that they nominate ſuch only, as are well known and reputed for their Abilities, Honeſty, and Charity. And that any Three of theſe in the Abſence of the reſt, might manage, and diſpoſe things as they ſhould ſee convenient: Likewiſe he gives, and bequeaths to Mrs. *Leonora Montagne*, Wife to the Sieur *de Camin*, Kings Counſel in the Parliament at *Bourdeaux*, half Siſter to the late Sieur *de Montagne*, the Summ of Five Hundred Crowns. And her Husband, Monſieur *Camin*, he conſtitutes his ſole Heir; He paying the Charges, and Legacies contained in his Will, amounting in the whole to about Fifteen Thouſand *Livres Tournois*, in the Groſs Summ.

What hath been thus lightly touched upon, is a ſufficient Evidence how Religious and Conſcientious a Perſon Monſieur *Charron* was; that he feared God, led a pious and good Life, was Charitably diſpoſed; a Perſon of Wiſdom and Conduct, Serious and Conſiderate

rate; a great Philoſopher, an eloquent Orator, a famous and powerful Preacher; richly furniſhed and adorned with the moſt excellent Virtues and Graces both Moral and Divine: Such as made him very remarkable and ſingular; and deſervedly gave him the Character of a Good Man and a good Chriſtian; ſuch as preſerve a great Honour and Eſteem for his Memory among Perſons of Worth and Virtue, and will continue to do ſo, as long as the World ſhall laſt.

OF

OF WISDOM,

THE FIRST BOOK;

Which consists of the Knowledge of a Man's own self; and the Condition of Humane Nature in general.

An Exhortation to the Study and Knowledge of ones self.

The Introduction to this whole First Book.

1. THERE is not in the World any Advice more excellent and divine in its own Nature, more useful and beneficial to us, nor any at the same time less attended to, and worse practis'd than that of studying and attaining to the *Knowledge* of our selves. This is in Truth the Foundation, upon which all *Wisdom* is built, the direct and high Road to all *Happiness*. And sure no *Folly* can be compar'd to that which draws off Mens Attention, and employs their Diligence and Pains in the Search of other Objects, and fixes them every where, any

where, rather than upon themſelves: For when all is done, the true Learning is at home, and the proper Science and Subject for Man's Contemplation, is *Man* himſelf.

2. *The Dictates of Univerſal Reaſon.*

Were this Advice thus generally neglected for want of being ſeaſonably or ſufficiently given, the Omiſſion were more excuſable: But the Matter is quite otherwiſe: For *God*, *Nature*, *Wiſe Men*, the *World*, All conſpire to inculcate it; and both by the Inſtructions they give, and the Examples they ſet, preach this Doctrine, and loudly call upon *Man* to make Himſelf the Employment of his own *Thoughts*, and the Object of his own *Studies*. God we know, is perpetually taken up with the Contemplation of himſelf; and the unſpeakable Happineſs, as well as conſtant Buſineſs of that vaſt Eternity, is the viewing, conſidering and knowing his own infinite Perfections.

The World is ſo contriv'd, as to have all its Eyes turned inward; and the ſeveral Parts of this Univerſe are ever beholding the Beauties and Conveniences of themſelves, or of one another: "For Hea-"ven, and Earth, and Air, and Sea may ſeem ſo ma-"ny independent Bodies, yet are they in reality but "ſo many diſtinct Parts of one Body; and the mu-"tual Regards of theſe to each other, are but the ſe-"veral Proſpects which one vaſt united Whole takes "of it ſelf. So perpetually are the Eyes of the World open upon it ſelf, ſo neceſſarily contracted and determin'd to it ſelf alone. But why ſhould we go abroad for Arguments, who have ſuch convincing ones at home? For Man hath this Engagement to ſtudy and know Himſelf, which no other Part of the World hath, that it is Natural to him to *think*. This is the peculiar Character, the very Eſſence of Man, and nothing is ſo near, nothing preſents it ſelf ſo immediately to his Thought, as Himſelf. So that Nature here hath plainly taught our Duty, and ſhewed that this

this is the Work ſhe cuts out for every Man. Nothing can be ſo eaſie, as for a Man to meditate, and entertain his Thoughts. It is incomparably the moſt frequent, moſt common, moſt natural Practice. *Thought* is the Food, the Support, the Life of the Mind; it muſt needs be ſo indeed, ſince the very * *Eſſence of Mind is Cogitation.* And where, I pray, ſhall this Mind begin? where will you find a more proper Subject for its Exerciſe and Entertainment than its own ſelf? Can there be any more natural, any that hath a greater Right to this Contemplation? any that is nearer related, or that more highly concerns it to be well acquainted with? Certainly to ramble abroad and fix upon Foreign Matters, and at the ſame time quite overlook and forget ones ſelf, is the greateſt Injuſtice, and the moſt unnatural Neglect that can be. No doubt, every Man's true Buſineſs, and the Thing he is properly call'd to, is the thinking of Himſelf, and being well employ'd to ſee how Matters go at home. Theſe are our Trade and our Concern; the reſt but Entertainment and Diverſion. And thus we ſee it is in every other Creature. Each of theſe takes care of it ſelf, makes the Study of its ſelf the firſt and principal Buſineſs, hath Bounds ſet to its Deſires, and employs not it ſelf, nor hath any Aim beyond ſuch a certain Compaſs: And yet thou, O vain Man, who wilt be graſping at the Univerſe, who pretendeſt to Knowledge unlimited, and takeſt upon thee to controul and to judge every thing, art perfectly ignorant of thy own ſelf, and not at any Pains to be otherwiſe. Thus whilſt thou labourſt to render thy ſelf the moſt accompliſh'd Part of the Creation; whilſt thou ſitteſt like a Cenſor upon Nature, and determineſt magiſterially, and with an Air of Wiſdom; Thou, in reality, art the greateſt

* Cujus vivere eſt cogitare.

Ignorant; Thou, all the while, the only Fool in the whole World: Thou art the emptieſt and moſt wanting, the moſt impotent and moſt wretched; and yet in deſpight of all theſe Mortifications, the proudeſt and moſt conceited, the moſt arrogant and diſdainful Creature upon Earth. Look at home then for ſhame; turn thine Eyes inward, and employ thy Senſes there. Call back thy wandring Mind, thy Underſtanding and thy Will, which rove and ſpend their Strength unprofitably abroad, and fix them in the Conſideration of themſelves. Thou art Buſie, and yet Negligent; Beggarly, and yet profuſe: For thou loſeſt and waſteſt thy ſelf in things without, and forgetteſt quite what is thy own within. Thus thou art a Thief and a Traytor to thy ſelf: Reſtore then what thou haſt thus falſely ſtolen away; and inſtead of gazing round, and looking always before thee, collect thy ſelf, and confine thy Thoughts at home: Look diligently within thee; ſearch curiouſly there, and know thy ſelf perfectly. Thus our wiſe Maſters have adviſed.

Dryden. * *Weigh no Merit by the common Scale.*
The Conſcience is the Teſt of every Mind;
Seek not thy ſelf without thy ſelf to find.
Pleaſe not thy ſelf the flatt'ring Crowd to hear;
'Tis fulſom Stuff to feed thy itching Ear.
Reject the nauſeous Praiſes of the Times:——
Dryden. *Survey thy Soul; not what thou doſt appear,*
Eng. Perſ. *But what thou art, and find the Beggar there.*

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* Noſce teipſum! ——nec te quæſiveris extrà.
Reſpue quod non es.——— *Perſ. Sat.* 1.
Tecum habita, & noris quam ſit tibi curta ſupellex. *Perſ. Sat.* 4.

† Sift

* *Sift well thy Soul, its Product nicely view,*
And learn from whence thy Tares and Darnel grew;
Which are to Nature, which to Cuſtom due.
If the thin Crop ſprung from a Soil too lean,
Or long neglected Weeds have choak'd the generous Grain.

The *Knowledge* of a Man's ſelf is a Step to the *Knowledge* of God: The beſt and ſhorteſt Method we can poſſibly take of raiſing our Minds up to Heaven. It muſt needs be ſo, becauſe there is no other thing capable of being known by us, which carries ſuch lively Stroaks, ſuch expreſs Images and Characters, ſuch clear and convincing Teſtimonies of God, as Man does: And alſo becauſe whatever there is of this kind, may be more perfectly known by us: For a Man muſt be of neceſſity more ſenſible of thoſe Faculties and Motions, which are within himſelf, and better qualify'd to give an Account of them, than he can be of thoſe which belong to any other Creature; becauſe theſe are at ſome diſtance from him, and he cannot poſſibly be alike conſcious of them. † *Thou haſt faſhioned and cloſed me in, and laid thy hand upon me: therefore is thy Knowledge become wonderful.* That is, *The Knowledge of thee*, which reſults from the Contemplation of my ſelf, and the Reſemblance of the Humane to the Divine Nature (as ſome interpret that Paſſage.) From hence perhaps it was, that *Apollo* (who among the Heathens was eſteemed) the God of Knowledge and of Light, had this Inſcription *KNOW THY SELF*, engraven in Characters of Gold upon the Front of his Temple, as a neceſſary Greeting, and Advertiſement from the God, to all that ſhould approach him; intimating

3. *A Scale leading to Divine Wiſdom.*

Pſal. 139. 5, 6.

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* Tu te conſule.
Teipſum concute, nunquid vitiorum,
Inſeverit olim natura, aut etiam conſuetudo mala.
† Mirabilis facta eſt ſcientia tua. *i. e.* tui ex me.

that this was the firſt Motion from Ignorance and Darkneſs; the moſt neceſſary Qualification for gaining Acceſs to ſuch a Deity: That upon theſe Terms only they could be admitted to his Temple, and fit for his Worſhip; and that all who were not acquainted with themſelves, muſt be excluded from that Place and Privilege. * *If thou know not, who thou art, O thou faireſt among Women, go thy way forth and follow thy Kids.*

Cant. 1. 8.

It diſpoſes Men to be wiſe.

Would a Man make it his Buſineſs (as every Man ſure ought to do) to lead the moſt regular, compoſed, and pleaſant Life that can be, we need go no further to fetch Inſtructions for it, than our own ſelves. Had we but the Diligence and Application, as we have the Capacity and the Opportunity to learn, every Man would be able to teach himſelf more and better than all the Books in the World, and all his poring there can ever teach him.

He that ſhall remember, and critically obſerve the extravagant Sallies of his *Anger*, to what Furies and Frenzies this raging *Fever* of the *Mind* hath formerly tranſported him, will more diſtinctly ſee the Monſtrous Deformity of this Paſſion, and conceive a juſter Abhorrence, and more irreconcilable Hatred againſt it, than all the fine things that *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* have ſaid upon the Point, can ever work him up to. And the ſame in Proportion may be expected from a Reflection in all other Caſes, where there is a vicious Exceſs, or violent Concuſſion of the Soul. He that ſhall recollect the many falſe Concluſions, which an erroneous Judgment hath led him into, and the Slips and Miſcarriages which an unfaithful Memory hath been guilty of, will learn to be more Cautious, how he truſts either of theſe for the future: And eſpecially when a Man calls to mind, how many Caſes he is able to quote to himſelf, wherein he thought, all Difficulties

* Si te ignoras, O pulcherrima, egredere, & abi poſt hœdos tuos.

ſuf-

ſufficiently conſidered, that he was a perfect Maſter of his Point; how aſſured and peremptory he hath been, how forward to anſwer to himſelf, and to all he converſed with; nay, to ſtake his Reputation for the Truth of an Opinion; and yet Time and After-Thought have demonſtrated the direct Contrary; This bold confiding Man, I ſay, will be taught from hence to diſtruſt ſuch haſty Arrogance, and abandon all that unreaſonable and peeviſh Poſitiveneſs and Preſumption, which, of all Qualities in the World, is the moſt oppoſite, moſt mortal Enemy to better Information and Diſcovery of the Truth. The Man that ſhall reflect upon the many Hazards and Sufferings, in which he hath been actually involved, and the many more that have threatened him; how ſlight and trifling Accidents have yet given great Turns to his Fortunes, and changed the whole Face of his Affairs; how often he hath been forc'd to take new Meaſures, and found Cauſe to diſlike what once appeared well deſign'd and wiſely manag'd: This Man will expect and make Proviſion for Changes hereafter, will be ſenſible how ſlippery Ground he ſtands upon, will conſider the Uncertainties of Humane Life, will behave himſelf with Modeſty and Moderation, will mind his own Buſineſs, and not concern himſelf with other People, to the giving them any Offence, or creating any Diſturbance, and will undertake or aim at nothing too big for him. And were Men all thus diſpoſed, what a Heaven upon Earth ſhould we have? Perfect Peace and Order and Juſtice every where. In ſhort, the trueſt Glaſs we can conſult, the moſt improving Book we can read, is *Our own ſelves*, provided we would but hold our Eyes open, and keep our Minds fixed with all due Attention upon it; ſo bringing to a cloſe and diſtinct View, and watching every Feature, every Line, every Act and Motion of our Souls ſo narrowly, that none may eſcape us.

5. *Againſt thoſe who know not themſelves.*

But alas! this is the leaſt of our Care, and the fartheſt thing in our Thoughts.

* *Into himſelf none labours to deſcend.*

And hence it is that we fall ſo low and ſo often. To this muſt be imputed our perpetual Relapſes into the ſame Fault, without being ever touched with a Senſe of our Errour, or troubling our ſelves at all about the matter. We play the fool egregiouſly, at our own vaſt Expence: For Difficulties in any caſe are never rightly underſtood, except by ſuch as have meaſur'd their own Abilities. And indeed as a Man muſt thruſt at a Door before he can be ſure that it is ſhut againſt him; ſo there is ſome degree of Application and good Senſe neceſſary in order to the perceiving the Defects of ones own Mind. And we cannot have a more infallible Demonſtration of the univerſal Ignorance of Mankind than this, that every body appears ſo gay, ſo forward, ſo undertaking, ſo highly ſatisfy'd; and that none can be found, who at all queſtion the Sufficiency of their own Underſtanding. For were we throughly acquainted with our ſelves, we ſhould manage our ſelves and our Affairs after quite another manner: We ſhould be aſhamed of our ſelves and our Condition, and become a new kind of Creatures. He that is ignorant of his Failings, is in no pain to correct them; and he that knows not his Wants, takes no manner of care for Supplies; and he that feels not his Diſeaſe and his Miſery, never thinks of repairing the Breaches of his Conſtitution, or is ſolicitous for Phyſick. † *You muſt know your ſelf before you can mend your ſelf; the firſt Step to Health and Recovery, is the being ſenſible, that you need a Cure.* And this very thing is our Unhappineſs; that we think all is ſafe and well.

* Nemo in ſeſe tentat deſcendere.

† Deprehendas te oportet priuſquam emendas; ſanitatis initium ſentire ſibi opus eſſe remedio.

We

We are highly contented with our ſelves, and thus all our Miſeries are doubled. *Socrates* was pronounc'd the wiſeſt Man; not for any Excellencies of natural or acquir'd Parts, which render'd him ſuperiour to all the World: But becauſe he underſtood himſelf better, behaved himſelf with Modeſty and Decency, and acted like a Man. Thus *Socrates* was a Prince among Men, as we commonly ſay, *He that hath one Eye is a King among them that have none.* Such as are doubly blind, and have no Senſe at all left; (For ſo are the Generality of the World;) Nature makes them weak and wretched at firſt; but they make themſelves doubly ſo afterwards, by their Pride and lofty Conceits of their own Sufficiency, and an abſolute Inſenſibility of their Wants and their Miſeries. The former of theſe Misfortunes *Socrates* ſhared as well as others; for he had his blind Side too: That is, he was a Man, and conſequently had the ſame Allay of Infirmity and Miſery with other Men: But here was the difference, that he knew he was *but a Man*: He conſider'd his Condition, and made no difficulty to acknowledge all the Imperfections of it; and therefore he dealt honeſtly and acted wiſely; for he lived, and behaved himſelf as a Man ſhould do. To this Purpoſe may that Reply be taken, which Truth it ſelf made to the haughty *Phariſees*, who in Deriſion ſaid unto him, *What then? Are we blind alſo? If you were blind* (ſays he) that is, if ye were ſenſible of your Blindneſs, *ye would ſee better*; But becauſe you ſay, *we ſee*, therefore ye remain ſtark-blind. For thoſe who have an Opinion of their own good Sight, are really blind, and thoſe who are conſcious of their own Blindneſs, are the Men that ſee beſt. How wretched a Folly is it to degenerate into Beaſts, by not conſidering carefully that we are Men? **Since Nature hath made thee a Man, take care conſtantly to remember that thou* Joh. 9. 41.

* Homo cùm ſis, id fac ſemper intelligas.

art

art ſuch. We read, that ſeveral great Perſons have ordered that their Attendants ſhould often ring it in their Ears, *That they were Men*, intending that Admonition for a Curb to their Exorbitancies. And ſure the Practice was admirable, if, as the Sound ſtruck upon their Ears, the Conſideration entred their Hearts too. What the *Athenians* ſaid to *Pompey the Great*, was not much amiſs, *You are ſo far a God, as you acknowledge your ſelf a Man.* For thus much at leaſt is beyond Contradiction, That the way to be an excellently good Man, is to be throughly poſſeſt with the ſenſe of one's being a Man.

6. *Means of coming to the Knowledge of one's ſelf. Falſe ones.*

Now this Knowledge of ones ſelf (a thing by the way, very difficult to be attain'd, and ſcarce to be met with; as, on the contrary, the miſtaking and paſſing wrong Judgments of one's ſelf, is exceeding obvious and eaſie) This Knowledge, I ſay, is never to be acquir'd by the help of others. My meaning is; Not by comparing our ſelves with others, meaſuring by them, depending upon their Characters, or obſerving what Agreement or Diſagreement there is between our Practice and their Example, ſo that a Man ſhall applaud or condemn himſelf, for doing or not doing as they do, or as they like or diſlike.

* *What the World ſays thou art, believe not true,*
This Credit only to thy ſelf is due.

Nor indeed can we depend upon our own Word or Opinion in the caſe; For This oftentimes is ſhort-ſighted; it diſcovers not all that is to be ſeen, and it makes a falſe Report of what it diſcovers; like a treacherous or a bribed Witneſs, that ſhuffles in his Evidence, and is afraid to ſpeak out. Nor can we form a Judgment from any ſingle Action; for this

* Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli.

may

may come from a Man without being intended, or ſo much as thought of; it may be a ſudden Puſh upon an unuſual preſſing occaſion; the Work of Neceſſity, or the Work of Chance; a lucky Hit, or a ſudden Sally; and owing to Heat or Paſſion; to one, to all of theſe, to any thing indeed, rather than to the Man himſelf. And therefore we can fix no Character from a thing which is not of our own growth. One courageous Action no more proves a Man Brave, nor one Act of Juſtice Juſt, than the breadth and depth of a River, and the ſtrength of its Current, is to be taken from a ſudden accidental Flood, when all the neighbouring Brooks empty themſelves into it, and ſwell it above its Banks. For thus there are Circumſtances and Accidents in Humane Life too, which like ſtrong Winds, and rapid Torrents, change our uſual Courſe, and carry us beyond our ſelves; and this in ſo ſurprizing a manner, that Vice it ſelf hath ſometimes put Men upon doing very good things: So extremely nice a thing it is, to know Men truly. Again, We can learn nothing to purpoſe by all the outward Appendages of the Man; his Employments, Preferments, Honours, Riches, Birth, good Acceptance, and general Applauſe of great and common Men; no, nor yet by his Deportment when he appears abroad; for there the Man plays in Check, ſtands upon his Guard, and every Motion is with Reſerve and Conſtraint. Fear, and Shame, and Ambition, and a thouſand other Paſſions, put him upon playing the Part you ſee then acted. To know him throughly, you muſt follow him into his Cloſet, ſee him in the Tireing-Room, and in his every-day Garb. Alaſs! he is oftentimes quite another thing at Home, than what he appears in the Street, at Court, or upon the Exchange; one ſort of Man to Strangers, and another to his own Family. When he goes out

of

of his Houſe, he dreſſes for the Stage, and the Farce begins; you can lay no ſtreſs upon what you ſee of him there. This is not the Man, but the Character he ſets himſelf to maintain: And you will never know any thing of him, till you make a difference between the Perſon of the Comedian that plays, and the Perſon repreſented by him.

7. *True ones.*

The knowledge of a Man's ſelf then is not to be compaſſed by any, or all of theſe four ways, nor can we relie upon, or make any ſure Concluſions from them. The only way to arrive at it, is by a true, long, conſtant ſtudy of a Man's ſelf; a ſerious and diligent Examination, ſuch as ſhall obſerve and nicely weigh, not only his Words and Actions, but even his moſt ſecret Thoughts, (and that ſo critically, as to diſcern how they are firſt born, upon what they feed, and by what degrees they grow, the time of their Continuance, the manner and the frequency of their Returns upon him.) In ſhort, no Motion of his Mind muſt eſcape his notice; no, not his very Dreams: He muſt view himſelf near, muſt be eternally prying, handling, preſſing, probing, nay pinching himſelf to the quick: For there are many Vices in us, that lurk cloſe, and lie deep; and we know nothing of them becauſe we do not take the pains to ſearch far enough, and ferret them out: As the venomous Serpent while numm'd with cold, is handled ſafely, and ſtings not till he is warm'd. And further yet, when all this is done, a ſenſe and acknowledgment of particular Failings, and perſonal Faults, and an endeavour to mend them, will not do the buſineſs; but a Man muſt be convinced of his Weakneſs and Miſery throughout, that every part of him is tainted with it; and from thence he muſt proceed to amend the whole, and make the Reformation equally general.

To

8. To this purpoſe we will now apply our ſelves in the firſt Book of this Treatiſe, to conſider and underſtand Man; by taking him in every ſenſe, looking upon him in the ſeveral Proſpects he is capable of; feeling his Pulſe, ſounding him to the bottom, going into him with Candles, ſearching and ranſacking every Hole and Corner, every Maze and Labyrinth, every Cloſet and falſe Floor, and all the ſubtil Windings of his Hypocriſie. And all this Niceneſs little enough, God knows; for he is the cunningeſt and moſt diſſembling, the cloſeſt and moſt diſguiſed Creature alive, and indeed almoſt incapable of being perfectly known. Upon this account we will attempt the Conſideration of him under the Five Heads repreſented by the Table here annexed, which ſets before you at one general View, the Subſtance and the Method of this *Firſt Book.*

The Diviſion of this Firſt Book.

Five

Five Considerations of Man, and the Condition of Human Nature, taken as follows.

I. Natural, consisting of the Parts whereof he is compounded, with their several Appurtenances.

II. Natural and Moral; by stating the Comparison between Him and Brutes.

III. By giving a Summary Account of his Life.

IV. A Moral Description of his Qualities and Defects, under Five Heads,
1. Vanity.
2. Weakness.
3. Inconstancy.
4. Misery.
5. Presumption.

V. Mixt of Natural and Moral; resulting from the Differences between some Men and others, in,
1. Their Temper.
2. Their Minds and Accomplishments.
3. Their Stations and Degrees of Quality.
4. Their Professions and Circumstances.
5. Their advantages and disadvantages; and, these again either Natural, Acquired, or Accidental.

THE

THE
First Consideration.

Which is purely Natural; consisting of the several Parts whereof Man *is compounded.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Formation of Man.

THIS is twofold, and therefore capable of a double Consideration: For the First and Original Formation was the immediate Work of God's own Hand; and this was Supernatural and Miraculous. The Second is the Work of ordinary Generation, and lineal Descent, according to the common and established Course of Nature.

According to that Image given us by *Moses*, of the Creation of the World, which (for the Nine first Chapters of *Genesis*, wherein we have an account of the first and second Birth of the Universe) is without dispute, the boldest, noblest, and most satisfactory System, that ever was publish'd, we may observe several Preferences and Privileges

vileges peculiar to Man. For he was made by God, not only after all other living Creatures, as the moſt exquiſite and compleat; the Maſter and Superintendent over the reſt (ſo runs his Original Commiſſion, *Let him have dominion over the Fiſhes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Beaſts of the Field*;) made the ſame Day with Land-Animals, and Four-footed Beaſts; which bear the neareſt reſemblance to him of any other Animals: But made, after all the reſt was ended, as the laſt and finiſhing Stroke; the Seal with which it pleas'd Almighty God to cloſe up the whole Creation. And accordingly he hath given him ſuch a Bearing and Impreſs, as plainly ſpeak how nobly he is deſcended. * *The Brightneſs of the Divinity ſtrongly reflected upon him.* † *So that each Man is a ſort of God in Miniature*; expreſly ſaid to be *formed in His own Image, and after His Likeneſs.* Man is likewiſe not only the Creator, but the whole Creation in Little; the Univerſe in one ſmall Volume: Whence it is that Man is ſometimes ſtyled a *Little World*; and by the ſame reaſon the World might be called a *Great Man.* He is, as it were, the Mediator of the different parts of Nature, that Link of this long Chain, by which Angels and Brutes, Heaven and Earth, the Spiritual and Corporeal Creation, are ty'd together; and that void Space ſupply'd, which wou'd make a wide and moſt unſeemly Gap in the Univerſe, if not fill'd up, and the Series thus continu'd, by a Creature partaking of both Extremes. In a word, This was the laſt Touch, the Maſter-piece, the Honour, and Ornament, nay, the Prodigy, and miraculous Production of Nature. Hence it is that God is repreſented to us as entring into Conſultation, and making this No-

Gen. 1.

* Signatum eſt in nos lumen vultûs tui.

† Exemplumque Dei quiſque eſt in Imagine parva.

ble

ble Creature with Deliberation and Thought. *God said, let us make Man.* And when he had formed Man, he is said to *have ended* all his Work, and to *have rested.* Nay, even that Rest it self, and the perpetual Commemoration of it, was for His Sake and Benefit. *The Sabbath was made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath,* says Truth it self. After this there was no New thing form'd, till that most stupendous Miracle of Mercy, when *God made himself Man:* And this too, as we most truly confess, in one of our Creeds, was *for Us Men, and for Our Salvation.* From whence it is most evident, that God, in all his Actions and Dispensations, hath a constant and more particular regard to Mankind, that They have a Concern in the greatest Works of Providence, and that almost all God's Doings and Administrations are begun and ended with great Respect to Man's Advantage; and so as that the promoting of this, shall be the best and most effectual means of accommodating and reducing all things at last to himself; and Our Happiness be made the proper Instrument of His Glory.

Gen. 2.

Mark 2.

2. Man was created Naked, as being more beautiful than all the rest; The Smoothness and Delicacy of his Skin, the nice tempering of his Humours and Complexion making a very advantagious Distinction in this respect, above any other Creature whatsoever.

3. The Body of Man is erect, and touches the Ground with but a very little part of it; but is set streight upright toward Heaven, where he may contemplate his Great Original, view and take Knowledge of his own Perfections, as in a Glass fitted for that purpose. The Plants are just the very Reverse of all this: Their Head and Root is buried in the Ground; and there they spread, and thence they get Improvement. Brutes are in a Position between these Two: But some of them approach

proach nearer to the One, and ſome nearer to the Other of thoſe Extremes. As to the true Cauſe of this upright Figure, it is plain, the Rational Soul cannot be It: For the Crooked, the Lame, the Deformed, are ſo many living Inſtances, and undeniable Proofs to the Contrary: Nor can it be the Back-Bone form'd in a direct Line; for Serpents have the ſame: Nor is it ſurely the Exceſs of Natural and Vital Heat above other Creatures; for many other Animals equal, and ſome excell us in this Reſpect; tho' I will not deny, but each of theſe may contribute ſomewhat toward it: (And that of the Serpent is the leſs Objection againſt the Form of the Back-Bone; becauſe the Crawling of that Creature upon his Belly, is expreſly declar'd to be a Puniſhment and laſting Reproach, for the Tempter's having aſſum'd this Form in working the Seducement and Ruin of our firſt Parents.) But the very Truth is, Our great and mighty Maker and Maſter thought this the moſt convenient Poſture, and ſuch as beſt agreed with the Dignity and Preeminence of Humane Nature, particularly upon two Accounts,

Partly, as a Mark of Diſtinction due to the Excellencies of the Humane Mind: Thus the old Poets repreſented it,

Ovid Met. Lib. 1.

* *A Creature of a more exalted kind*
Was wanting yet; and then was Man deſign'd:
Conſcious of Thought, of more capacious Breaſt.

And partly as an Enſign of Royalty; ſome Characters whereof Naturaliſts have obſerv'd in ſome other petty Principalities; ſuch as the Crown in the Dolphin, the Diadem in the Baſilisk, the Lion's ſtately Mane, which ſerves as a Collar of Honour; the Colour and the Eyes in the Eagle, and the

* Sanctius his Animal, &c.

King

King among the Bees. But Man being veſted with an univerſal Monarchy, walks ſtately upon the Earth, like a Maſter in his own Houſe: He ſubdues and manages All either by fair means or by foul; captivates and brings them to his hand by force; or makes them tractable and tame, by gentle and winning Uſage. Hence the ſame Poet proceeds,

For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the reſt,
He, while the mute Creation downward bend
Their Sight, and to their Earthy Mother tend,
Looks up aloft, and with erected Eyes
Beholds his own Hereditary Skies. Dryden.

4. His Body was form'd at firſt out of Virgin-Earth, of a Red Complexion, from whence the proper Name of *Adam* was deriv'd: For the common Appellative of the Species in general is *Iſh.* And This well moiſten'd, was the common Materials of our Body. So again the Poet,

Adom Rufus. Heb. Gen. 2. 6, 7.

* *Earth the wiſe Maker temper'd into Paſte,*
And mix'd with living Streams the God-like Image caſt.

In all Reaſon, the Body muſt be before the Soul, as we naturally conceive Matter antecedent to its Form; as the Houſe muſt be fram'd and fitted up, before we can ſuppoſe an Inhabitant in it; and a Shop made and furniſh'd, before any Trade can be exercis'd there.

When This was prepar'd and done, the next thing in order was to animate this Body, by the Infuſion of a Soul, convey'd thither by Divine Inſpiration; For God, (ſays *Moſes*) *breathed into him the breath of*

* Mixtam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in effigiem.

Life, and ſo Man became a living Soul. Of which, what Tradition the Heathen World retain'd, may be learn'd from the ſame Author, who propoſes This as the firſt probable Solution of that wonderful Production.

——* *With Particles of Heavenly Fire*
The God of Nature did his Soul inſpire.

And cloſes his Account,

† *From ſuch rude Principles our Form began,*
And Earth was metamorphos'd into Man.

5. The ſame Order ſeems to be conſtantly obſerv'd in ordinary Generations, and the forming of Natural Births ever ſince: For here the Body is firſt formed, and That, according to the beſt Remarks which the Curious have been able to make, in, or ſomewhat near the following Method. The firſt ſeven Days are employ'd in bringing the Seminal Principles to a due Conſiſtency, and perfecting the Conception, to which ſome have been apt to think *Job* might allude, Chap. X. v. 10. The next ſeven Days are taken up in Concocting, Digeſting and Changing thoſe firſt Elements into Fleſh and Blood; which is as yet an unformed Maſs, but the proper Ground and Matter of the Humane Body. In the third Week, the Body in groſs is formed, ſo that after ſome one and twenty Days the three moſt Noble and Uſeful Parts of the Body are faſhion'd; the Liver, the Heart and the Brain; and Theſe lie at length, diſtant from one another in a kind of oval or oblong Figure, and connected, or

——* Hunc divino ſemine fecit
Ille opifex rerum. ——
† Sic modo quæ fuerat rudis, & ſine imagine tellus:
Induit ignotas hominum converſa figuras.

juſt

juſt tack'd together by ſome thin looſe Joynings, which are afterwards fill'd up, and reſemble the Form of an Ant; where you may obſerve Three groſſer and fuller Parts, coupled and held together by Two ſlenderer, that lie betwixt. The fourth Week, which raiſes the Account to very near Thirty Days, the whole Body is perfected, and the Parts and Organs of it diſtinguiſhable; and from thenceforth it ceaſes to be an *Embryo*, as that denotes a rude ſhapeleſs Maſs; and is now in a Condition to receive the Soul; which accordingly loſes no time, but comes and takes Poſſeſſion of its new Dwelling, at or before the Term of Forty Days; that is, at five or ſix Weeks. When this proportion of Time is doubl'd, namely after three Months, the Animated Infant uſually begins to move; and much about the fourth Month the Hair and Nails ſet forward. And after the ſame Term three times told; that is, after nine Months, is the uſual time of Maturity, and coming into the World. Theſe may perhaps to ſome ſeem uſeleſs Curioſities, and not altogether becoming a Treatiſe of this Nature: But I muſt own, that I think, one great Advance towards the true and the beſt Wiſdom, would be to underſtand this part of our ſelves; and ſure Men could not but expreſs a greater and more awful Regard of Almighty God, did they but conſider *whoſe Hands have faſhion'd and finiſh'd them*; who watch'd and brought forward their *Subſtances* when crude and imperfect; wrote their *Members* in his Book; and made them to be what they are, after a fearful and very wonderful Manner.

CHAP. II.

The firſt and general Diſtinction of Man.

1. *Firſt into Two Parts.*

MAN, as if deſign'd to be all over Wonder, is a Creature made up of Ingredients vaſtly different, nay directly oppoſite to one another: For what can be more ſo, than thoſe two *Conſtituent Parts*, His *Soul* and His *Body*? Look upon him with regard to the former of Theſe, and He is a ſort of inferiour Deity: Turn your Eyes down to the latter, and that Perſon which before you almoſt ador'd, you will now be tempted as much to loath and deſpiſe; For what is Man thus above a Beaſt? What but a Load of Corruption, and a Sink of Ill-Humours? And yet, this wonderful diſparity notwithſtanding, theſe two ſo diſtant Parts are linked together with ſuch amazing Art, and embrace each other ſo cloſe and kindly, that there is at the ſame time eternal Quarrels, and yet an inviolable Friendſhip between them. They cannot live together peaceably, and yet they cannot part contentedly: Like a Man, that hath a Wolf by the Ears, and neither knows how to hold him, nor to let him go: So is each of theſe Principal Parts in Man; and each may ſay to the other what the Poet did.

* *My Help and Hindrance, Health and Sickneſs; I Cannot live with thee; and without thee die.*

* Nec tecum poſſum vivere, nec ſine te.

But

But in regard one of theſe Parts admits of a Subdiviſion, by reaſon of a great and manifeſt Difference in the Faculties and Parts of this Soul of ours; the One part Noble and Pure, Intellectual and Divine; the Other Mean, and Senſual, and Brutiſh; The beſt and moſt lively Repreſentation of Man, and the ſureſt Method of attaining to the Knowledge of him, ſeems to be the making of this firſt Diviſion to conſiſt of Three Branches; and ſaying, That the *Conſtituent* Parts of Man are, the *Mind*, the *Soul*, and the *Fleſh*. Of theſe the *Mind* and the *Fleſh* are the two diſtant Extremes, diſtant as Heaven and Earth are from each other; and the *Soul* hath a middle Station between both, like the Region where all the Storms and Meteors are form'd. The *Mind* is the moſt Heroick and exalted Part; the Breath, the Beam, the Image, the Efflux of the Divinity. / This in the Man is as the King in the Body Politick; its Tendencies and Motions are to Heaven and Happineſs; and it breaths nothing but what is Pure, and Spiritual, and Divine. The *Fleſh*, quite contrary, is like the Dregs of t hePeople, a vile and ſtupid, rude and Tumultuous Mob, the Sediment and Lees, the Bruitiſh part of Man; and this is perpetually diſpos'd to Evil, and ſunk into Matter. The *Soul*, in its middle State, like Perſons of Quality in a Kingdom, below the Beſt, and above the Worſt, is capable of inclining to Good or to Evil; and accordingly it is continually ſollicited on both ſides with great Importunity: The *Mind* and the *Fleſh* are ever ſtruggling to win it over, and, according to the Side it takes, it becomes either a Spiritual and Virtuous, or a Vicious and Carnal Soul. This is the Seat of all thoſe Appetites and Paſſions implanted in us by Nature, which, conſider'd ſimply, and in themſelves, have

2. *Then into Three.*

neither Virtue nor Vice in them: Such, for Inſtance, as Love, (that kind of it which we bear to our Friends and Relations) and Fear, ſuch as that of Shame, Compaſſion for Perſons in Diſtreſs, and Deſire of a good Reputation.

3. This Diſtinction deſerves the rather to be obſerv'd, becauſe it will aſſiſt us very much in the Knowledge of our ſelves, and give Men a true Idea of their Actions, which are otherwiſe apt to be miſunderſtood, by paſſing Judgments upon a ſlight and ſuperficial View, and attributing That to the Mind, which in reality proceeds from the Soul; nay ſometimes from the Fleſh, and miſtaking That for Virtue, which is meerly the effect of Nature, nay the inſtigation of Vice: For it is no breach of Charity to ſay, that a great many noble and brave Actions have been done in Heat and Paſſion, or elſe out of Humour, and Fancy, and natural Inclination; not ſo much with a deſign to benefit *Others*, as to pleaſe our *Selves*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Humane Body, and its Conſtituent Parts.

THE *Body* of Man is built and put together, ſo as to conſiſt of Parts vaſtly numerous, both Within and Without: And of Theſe by far the greater Number, are either Round, or of a Figure not far diſtant from it. 1.

Thoſe Within are of *Two* ſorts: Some diſpers'd all over the Body in large Quantities, and great Numbers; as for Inſtance, The *Bones*, which are the Baſes and Pillars that ſupport this Structure: The *Muſcles*, which are the Inſtruments of Strength and Motion: The *Veins*, which are the Channels for conveying the Blood to the Heart; and the *Arteries*, which like ſo many Pipes, feed them perpetually, by ſending it from the Heart to the ſeveral parts of the Body. The *Nerves*, which are diſtributed by Pairs, and are the Inſtruments of Senſe and Motion, by vertue of the Animal Spirits contain'd in, and diffus'd by them. Of Theſe ſome are *ſoft*, which ſerve the Head, and aſſiſt Our Sight, our Hearing, our Taſte, and our Speech: Others are *hard*, and theſe are laid along the *Spina Dorſi*, and ſo inſerted into the Muſcles; The *Tendons*, the *Ligaments*, and the *Cartilages*. There are likewiſe the Four Humours, the *Blood*; *Choler*, which provokes and hinders Obſtructions, throws off the the Excrementitious Parts, and excites Cheerfulneſs: *Melancholy*, which whets the Appetite, and moderates ſudden Motions: *Phlegm*, which ſweetens the two Humours laſt mention'd, (Yellow and 2.

Black

Black Choler) and checks inordinate Heats. The *Spirits*, which are a ſort of generous Fumes, evaporated by the Natural Heat, and Radical Moiſture; and of Theſe there are Three Degrees of Excellency, the Natural, the Vital, and the Animal. The *Fat*, which is the thickeſt and Oylieſt part of the Blood.

3. Other Parts are ſingle, and determin'd to ſome particular Place. Now the whole Body may be conveniently enough divided into Four Stories or Apartments, which are in a manner ſo many ſeveral Shops or Workhouſes, wherein Nature keeps her Powers and Faculties employ'd. The Firſt and Loweſt of Theſe is that concern'd in the propagation of the Species. The Second, and next above, is the *Entrails*, the *Bowels*, and *Stomach*, which in Situation enclines ſomewhat to the Left-Side; its Form is round, ſtreighter below than above, with two Orifices, one at the Top, to receive Nouriſhment; another at the Bottom, anſwering to the Guts, whoſe Buſineſs 'tis to diſcharge and empty it. This Veſſel receives, collects, mingles, and concocts the ſeveral ſorts of Nouriſhment taken in at our Mouths; and from thence works off a Whitiſh Juice call'd *Chyle*, proper for the Suſtenance and Nutriment of the Body, and afterwards wrought over again more accurately in the *Meſeraick Veins*, through which it paſſes into the Liver. The *Liver* is hot and moiſt, lying ſomewhat more to the Right-Side. This is the proper Workhouſe of the Blood, the great Source of the Veins, the Seat of the Vegetative Faculty: Here the Chyle drawn off from the Meſeraick Veins is converted into Blood; which is taken into its Cavities by the *Vena Porta*, and diſcharg'd again by the *Vena Cava*, (which iſſues from the Convex part,) and its Branches, in abundance of Ducts, like Rivulets or Streams from a

Foun-

Fountain. In the Left-Side lies the *Spleen*, which receives the Diſcharge and Excrementitious Humours of the *Liver*. Then follow the *Reins* and the *Guts*, which hang altogether in one Link, and, as according to the uſual Proportion, the Stature of a Man is ſeven times as much as the length of a common Foot; ſo the Bowels, when drawn out, are uſually ſeven times the length of a Man. Theſe Two former Apartments, which ſome contract into One, (though the Offices of them are ſo very different, as to juſtifie the diſtinguiſhing them into Two) are by many Authors reſembl'd to the loweſt Region of the Univerſe; the Elementary one, which is the Seat of Generation and Corruption; and here that which goes by the Name of the *Concupiſcible Soul*, keeps its peculiar Reſidence.

The Third Story is compar'd to the Æthereal Region; and this is ſeparated from the former by the *Diaphragme*, as it is from That ſtill above it by the Throat: Here the *Iraſcible Soul* hath its Dwelling; and Here thoſe parts in the Breaſt lie, which are termed the *Præcordia*; as the *Heart*, whoſe Situation is much about the Fifth Rib, and its Point a little diverting towards the Left-Pap. This is exceeding Hot; the common Source of all the Arteries, by which it diſtributes the Vital Blood there concocted, through the whole Body, and in that Blood the Vital Spirits: And all this by a diſcharge ſo ſenſible and ſtrong, that each Evacuation creates that Motion which we call the *Pulſe*. Here likewiſe are the *Lungs*, a ſoft, rare, and ſpongy Subſtance, ſupple and pliable in their Motions, like a pair of Bellows; and thus they become the Inſtruments of Reſpiration: By which the Heart is cool'd with freſh Air, the Blood kept in perpetual Agitation; the Fumes and Excrements that oppreſs it are by this means diſcharg'd, and the Voice formed, 4.

med by the help of the *Aſpera Arteria*, or Wind-Pipe.

5. The Fourth and Laſt Apartment, which anſwers to that higheſt Region, by way of Eminence call'd *Heaven*, is the *Head*; and this contains the *Brain*, a Subſtance cold and ſpongy, cover'd over, and wrapt up in two Membranes, One hard and thick, which touches the Skull, and is term'd the *Dura Mater*: The Other more gentle and thin, contiguous to the former, and known by the Name of *Pia Mater*. From the Brain are deriv'd all the Nerves, and that Marrow which runs all along through the Back-Bone. This Brain is the Seat of the Reaſonable Soul, the Source of Senſe and Motion, and of all thoſe Noble Spirits call'd the *Animal*, and extracted from the *Vital* Spirits, which when ſent up through the Arteries into the Brain, are concocted, refin'd, wrought off, and ſubtiliz'd, by means of an infinite number of ſmall and exceeding fine Arteries, which, like ſo many little Threads plaited and interwoven with each other, make a ſort of Labyrinth, or double Net, (the *Rete Mirabile*) in which the Vital Spirit being kept, by perpetual Motion backward and forward, is exalted and refin'd, till it becomes *Animal*, that is, ſublimated and ſpirituous to the laſt and higheſt Degree.

6. The Outward Parts, and ſuch as ſtand in View, are either ſingle or double. If ſingle, they are placed in the midſt, as the *Noſe*, which ſerves us in Breathing and Smelling, and conveys Comfort and Refreſhment to the Brain; as it is alſo uſeful for the diſcharge of any Humours which happen to annoy the Head: And through this Paſſage the Air goes in and out, both for the Service of the Lungs below, and of the Brain above. The *Mouth*, which aſſiſts us in Speaking and Eating; and as the Uſes of it are different, ſo are the Parts likewiſe

wiſe which qualifie it for thoſe Uſes. Without, there are the *Lips*; Within, you have the *Tongue*, extremely nimble in Motion, and a nice Diſtinguiſher of Taſts: The *Teeth*, to bruiſe and chew our Meat, and prepare it for the Stomach.

7. If the Parts of the *Head* be double and alike, they are plac'd collaterally, and anſwer exactly to each other: So do the *Eyes*, which, like Centinels or Spies, are poſted at the top of the Houſe, for the gaining a more advantageous Proſpect: Theſe are made up of wonderful variety; each hath Three Humours, Seven Coats, Seven Muſcles, different Colours, and are form'd with infinite Artifice, and inexpreſſible Contrivance. They are indeed the nobleſt and moſt admirable Parts of any that appear outwardly in the Body: Their Beauty, their Uſefulneſs, the Sprightlineſs of their Motion, their ſtrange Attractive Power in creating *Love*. Theſe are to the Face what the Face is to the reſt of the Body; the Life and Air of the Countenance it ſelf: And in regard they are exceeding tender, and nice, and valuable, therefore provident Nature hath cover'd and fenc'd them in very carefully on all ſides, with Skins, and Lids, and Brows, and Hair. The *Ears* are near upon the ſame Level with the Eyes; theſe being a ſort of Scouts to the Body, and Porters for the Mind; they receive, report, and diſtinguiſh Sounds, which naturally aſcend upward. The Approaches and Entries of this Organ of Senſe, are intricate and crooked, full of Windings and Turnings, to prevent the Air from ruſhing in too quick, and with too great Violence, by which means the Hearing might be extremely impair'd, the Organ wounded and ſtrain'd, and the Sound more confus'd by its exceſſive loudneſs.

To all theſe we muſt add the *Hands* and *Arms*, by which all manner of Workmanſhip is perform'd; and

and our *Legs* and *Feet*, which like Pillars support this wonderful Edifice, and which, although not of the Trunk and main part of the Body, are yet Instruments of such universal Use, that the Body can very hardly subsist without them; and it wou'd be very ungrateful not to allow These an honourable Mention in this Account, whose Labours make Provision for the whole.

CHAP. IV.

1. THE *Body* of Man hath several very particular and distinguishing Qualities, which are Excellencies peculiar to himself, and such as Beasts have no share at all in. The first and most remarkable seem to be these that follow: *Speech*, an *Erect Stature*, that Form and Port which hath been in so high Esteem among wise Men, nay, even with the *Stoicks*, the Rigidest and most Abstracted of all Philosophers, that they declar'd it more eligible to be a *Fool* in Human Shape, than to be *Wise* in the Form of a Brute; So preferring the advantage of this Frame of Ours, before even *Wisdom* it self, and all the Beauties of the Soul without it: The *Hand*, which is a Prodigy in Nature, and no other Creature, not even the Ape it self, hath any thing comparable to it; the Natural *Nakedness* and *Smoothness* of our *Skin*; *Laughing* and *Crying*; the *Sense* of being *Tickled*; the *Eye-Lash* upon the lower Lid of the *Eye*; a visible *Navel*; the *Point* of the *Heart* inclining toward the Left-Side; the *Knee*, which is said to stand forward in no other Creature whatsoever; the *Palpitation* of the *Heart*; *Bleeding* at the *Nose*, which you will think very odd, when you recollect that Men carry their Heads upright, and Beasts hang theirs down toward the Ground; *Blushing*

ing for *Shame*; *Looking Pale* for *Fear*; *Multiplying* at all times indifferently; not moving their *Ears*, which in other Animals is a ſignification of their inward Paſſions: But Theſe are ſufficiently diſcovered in Mankind by looking *Red* or *Pale*; and particular *Motions* of the *Eyes* and *Noſe*.

2. Others, tho' they are not altogether his own, and incommunicable, yet may be ſtyl'd Peculiar, in reſpect of the Degree, and the Advantage he hath above others which partake of them: Such are the Number of his *Muſcles*, and vaſt Quantity of *Hair* upon his Head; the Nimbleneſs and wonderful Variety of *Motions* in his *Limbs* and *Joynts*; the great *Abundance* of the *Brain*; the *Largeneſs* of his *Bladder*; the *Form* of the *Foot*, ſo very long forward, and ſo ſhort a Heel behind; the vaſt *Quantity*, the *Clearneſs*, and the *Fineneſs* of the *Blood*; the *Eaſineſs* and *Agility* of the *Tongue*; the *Multitude*, and unſpeakable Variety of his *Dreams*, ſo extremely above all other Animals, that Man alone deſerves the Name of a *Dreaming Creature*; the *Faculty* of *Sneezing*: And, to be ſhort, the innumerable different *Motions* of his *Eyes*, and *Noſe*, and *Lips*.

3. Some there are that have particular Countenances and Looks, Geſtures and Motions, which Art and Affectation have accuſtom'd them to; and ſome others who have theſe from Nature: They are particular indeed, and ſo diſtinguiſh them from other Men; but yet they are ſo Natural, that the Perſons are not at all ſenſible of them when they do them; as *leaning the Head on one ſide, blowing the Noſe*, and a hundred other ſuch Geſtures. But ſome again there are common to all Mankind, ſuch as Reaſon and Contrivance hath nothing to do in, but they are the effect of meer Natural Impulſe; as for Inſtance, that of *putting our Hands before us when we are falling*; which

which all do without thinking; and some do it we see at a time when they cannot think at all.

CHAP. V.

Of the Advantages of the Body, &c.

1. *Health preferr'd.*

THE Excellencies of the Body are *Health*, *Beauty*, *Sprightliness*, *Agility*, *Vigour*, *Dexterity*, *Gracefulness* in *Motion* and *Behaviour*; but *Health* is infinitely above all; *Health* is the loveliest, the most desirable, the richest Present in the power of Nature to make: It justly challenges precedence above all Temporal Blessings and Advantages. Not only *Learning* and *Knowledge*, *Wealth* and *Greatness*, and *Noble Blood*, but even *Wisdom* it self, in the Judgment of the severest Philosophers, is inferiour to it. This is the only thing, that deserves our utmost Endeavours, our greatest Hazards, the only one, which is worth the venturing our very Lives for the acquiring and enjoyment of it: For indeed our very Lives without it are flat and insipid, nay they are troublesome and painful; and Vertue and Wisdom languish, and decay, and die, if this do not keep them in Beauty, and Vigour, and Exercise. Suppose a Man of the greatest Abilities that ever Human Nature had, or is capable of, what Advantage wou'd all this be to him in a Fit of an *Apoplex*, or a *Fever*, or any other violent Distemper? Certainly there can be but one thing in the World more valuable, and that is *Probity*; for *Probity* is to the *Soul* what *Health* is to the *Body*. Now, though this be commonly the Gift of Nature, and the effect of an originally good Constitu-

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on, a juſt and proper Temperament of Humours, and fit Diſpoſition of Parts and Veſſels in the firſt Formation of the Body; yet no doubt can be made, but the Nouriſhment and Methods afterwards contribute very much to it alſo. The wholſomneſs of the Milk, and a good ſound Nurſe in the time of Infancy; and a regular way of Living, when Men come to their own Conduct and Management; Sobriety and Temperance of all kinds; moderate Exerciſe; Appetites well govern'd, and keeping one's ſelf from Melancholy, and all violent Paſſion and Diſorder of the Mind, do aſſiſt, preſerve, confirm, and finiſh what Nature and Complexion at firſt begun. *Sickneſs* and *Pain* are its Oppoſites and Enemies, and theſe are the ſoreſt, perhaps indeed (when all things are rightly conſider'd) the Only Evils incident to Mankind: Concerning which more will be ſaid hereafter. But both in Enjoying and Preſerving this, the Brutes ſeem to have the better of us; for Man often ruins himſelf, and pays dear for his Frolicks and Exceſſes.

2. *Beauty.*

The next Advantage to This in Order and Dignity, is *Beauty*; which is a very great Recommendation, and of mighty influence in Converſation and Society: This is the firſt thing that conciliates Men's Favour, and unites them to one another; and it is highly probable, that this was the firſt and principal Mark of Diſtinction, the firſt Conſideration, which gave Men any Preference and Authority over their Fellows. The Power and Efficacy of this Quality is indiſputable; every one ſees and feels it; no other Accompliſhment gains more Eſteem; none is ſo General and ſo Commanding in all the Affairs of Human Life. None are ſo Barbarous, none ſo Stupid or ſo Obſtinate, as not to be ſmitten with it: It ſteps forward, and offers it ſelf to publick View; it beſpeaks our Fa-

vour, prepoſſeſſes our Fancy, ſeduces and bribes our Judgment, makes ſtrong and deep Impreſſions, and is full of Importunity, full of Authority. *Socrates* underſtood its Power full well, when he called it, a *ſhort Tyranny* upon the Mind; and *Plato*, when he term'd it the *Privilege of Nature*. For a Man can hardly forbear thinking, that the Perſons, to whom Nature hath been ſo partial in her Favours, and ſignaliz'd with charming and uncommon Graces, have a ſort of lawful inborn Power over us, and were made to command. Theſe, when they draw our Eyes and Obſervation, do inſenſibly attract our Hearts too, and faſten our Affections upon them, and captivate and enſlave us, whether we will or no. *Ariſtotle* ſays, that Superiority and Government belongs to the Comely; that They command our Veneration next after the Gods, as being the livelieſt and faireſt Copies of thoſe Glorious Originals; and that all but the Blind muſt, and ought to be affected with their Excellencies. The three great Princes, *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, found This of mighty Importance, and made the Gracefulneſs of their Perſons turn to good Account in their weightieſt Affairs; and ſo did *Scipio* more than any of them. *Handſome* and *Good*, have a great Affinity, and both the * *Greek* Language, and the Style of Holy Scriptures, ſeem to expreſs this, by uſing one and the ſame Word, to ſignifie both. Several great Philoſophers found their Beauty Serviceable, in their Study, and Acquiſition of Wiſdom; and to ſhew, that this Recommendation is univerſal, it is not confined to Men only, but is valued, and of great Requeſt, even among Brutes.

* Καλὸς.

3. *Different Sorts of it.*

Now Beauty is of great Variety, and may be conſidered in very different Reſpects. That which is proper to Men, conſiſts chiefly in a Majeſtick Form and goodly Stature; The other ſorts of Beauty are of a ſofter and more Effeminate Kind; they may be

be rather called Prettineſſes, and theſe are more peculiar to the Female Sex. In each of Theſe, there is a Subdiviſion; One, which is a fixed and laſting Beauty, and this conſiſts in having the Parts well proportioned, and the Colours juſtly mixed; A Body not ſwelled nor bloated, and yet not ſo thin and meager neither, that the Nerves ſhould ſhew themſelves, or the Bones ſtart out of the Skin; but full of Blood, and Spirits, and well in Fleſh; the Muſcles high and clear; the Skin ſmooth and ſoft; the Complexion freſh and ruddy. The Other is a moveable and inconſtant Beauty, which may be term'd Gracefulneſs; and this conſiſts in a good Air, and becoming Motions; wherein All the parts of the Body are concern'd, but the Eyes more ſo, than any of the reſt. The former is as it were Dead, when not attended with This, for all the Life and Action is in the latter. There are alſo ſome Beauties of a more maſculine, and rough, and fierce Air; and others of a ſofter, ſweet, tender, and languiſhing Kind.

4. *Of the Face*

The Beauty and Excellence of the Body, is more peculiarly ſeated in the Face; and our Meaſures of it are chiefly taken from thence. The loveliest Thing in the Perſon of a Man, is, his Soul; and in the Body of a Man, it is his Face; For this is as it were the Abſtract, the Copy and Image of the Soul. It is a piece of Natural Heraldry, where all the Advantages and Coats of Pretence are diſtinctly Quarter'd and Blazon'd; and This, like a Scutcheon, is plac'd upon the Front of the Houſe, that you may know whoſe Seat it is, and who, and of what Quality the Perſon is, that owns and inhabits it. For the Face is an Abridgment of the whole Man; and this ſeems to be the Reaſon, why Art, which always follows Nature, and treads in Her Steps, troubles it ſelf little farther in Paintings and

Carvings, than to give you an exact Repreſentation of the Face from the Life; and leaves the reſt of the Picture or Statue to the Artiſt's own Diſcretion.

5. *Some particular Properties of the Face.* Now there are ſeveral very great Niceties, particularly obſervable in Humane Faces; ſuch as may very truly be term'd Properties of the Face, ſince neither Brutes, nor any other part of our own Bodies, can pretend to the like. And indeed, for want of Theſe, Brutes can ſcarce be truly ſaid to have any Face. *Firſt*, The Great Number and Variety of diſtinct Features, and the ſeveral Faſhions of them. For thoſe of Beaſts conſiſt of much fewer; The Cheeks, the Chin, and the Forehead, are There all in one, and not diſtinguiſhed like Ours; nor have they the Figure of ours at all. *Secondly*, The Wonderful Diverſity of Colours; for in the Eye it ſelf, there is a mixture of Black and White, and Green, and Blue, and Red, and Cryſtalline. *Thirdly*, The Regular Symmetry of the Parts, whereby the Proportions anſwer to each other. And this is obſervable in the Organs of Senſe, being double, and exactly correſponding; and in the different Relations, which the reſt bear mutually, in Length and Breadth. Thus the largeneſs of each Eye, meaſuring at the Top of the Socket, gives you the Wideneſs of the Mouth; the Breadth of the Forehead is the ſame with the Length of the Noſe; and that again is of the ſame Dimenſion with the Lips, and the Chin below. *Fourthly*, The wonderful Diverſity of Faces, ſo Nice, ſo aſtoniſhing; that among ſo many Millions of People, there are not two to be found exactly, and all through alike. This is ſuch a Maſter-Piece, as all Nature cannot furniſh ſuch another Inſtance of. And this deſerves a little more particular Attention; becauſe it ſhews the Goodneſs, as well as the Power and Wiſdom of our Adorable Maker, upon the Account

Account of the mighty Conſequence and Benefit ſuch Variety is of to Humane Society. Firſt, In regard it ſupplies us with Marks of Diſtinction, ſufficient to know one another aſunder by. For infinite and unconceivable Miſchiefs muſt needs follow, no leſs indeed than utter disbanding and breaking off all Commerce and Communication, if Men's Faces were ſo like, as to make us liable perpetually, to miſtake one Perſon for another: A Daughter for a Wife, an Enemy for a Friend; and thus a ſecond and worſe *Babel* would follow. Were there no Reſemblance at all indeed, then Men would not be diſtinguiſhed from Brutes; but were there not ſome Unlikelineſs too, than any one Man could not be diſcern'd from any other Man. And, which is yet more wonderful; Nature hath dealt theſe Differences ſo artificially, as to ſatisfie all Parties; and found out a Secret, that thoſe who are moſt unlike ſhould be highly contented themſelves, and ſhould pleaſe others alſo. For the Matter is ſo order'd, that there is no Perſon, but is approved, and thought very well to paſs, by ſome body or other; and the Faces themſelves do not diſagree more than Peoples Fancies, and their Inclinations to ſeveral ſorts of That which they call Beauty. A *Fifth* Quality peculiar to Humane Faces, is the Dignity and Honour of them, reſulting from the Oval Figure, the Streight Poſition, the Elevation above the Body, their Direction upwards to Heaven, their naked Graces, without any Covering of Shag, or Hair, or Feathers, or Scales, as Beaſts and Birds have. A *Sixth* is the Air of the Face, a pleaſant Agreeable Sweetneſs; ſo inſinuating, ſo engaging, that (as was ſaid before) Hearts are immediately caught, and our Wills and Affections violently born away with it. In a Word, The Face is the Throne of Beauty and of Love; Seat of Smiles, and of Kiſſes, two things peculiar to Mankind;

agreable and innocent, when uſed as Nature intended them, for true and affectionate Expreſſions of Civility, and Friendſhip, and Kindneſs, and a good Underſtanding between Man and Man, and once a Ceremony uſed in the moſt Solemn, Religious Aſſemblies. *Laſtly*, This is adapted to all manner of Changes in the Temper; it expreſſes all the inward Motions and Paſſions of the Soul. Joy and Grief, Love or Hatred, Envy and Malice, Shame and Anger, Indignation and Jealouſy, and the reſt of them, immediately betray themſelves here. This is like the Hand to the Watch, which tells us the Hours and the Minutes, while all the Wheels and Springs, by which thoſe Movements are made, lie within and out of ſight. And as the Air receives all Colours, and all Alterations of the Weather, and ſo lets us know what Changes are coming: So may it be ſaid of the Countenance too. * *The Body* (ſays one) *both covers and diſcovers the Mind, and you may read the Man in his Face.*

A Deſcription of the Beauty of a Face.

6. The *Beauty* of a *Face*, conſiſts in a large, ſquare, well ſpread Forehead; Clear and unclouded; even, ſmall and fine Eyebrows; a well cut, brisk and ſparkling Eye; a ſtreight well proportion'd Noſe; a little Mouth with red Lips; High full Cheeks, with a pleaſant Dimple in ſmiling; a round compact Ear; and all over Theſe a lively Complexion of good wholeſome White and Red. But yet this Deſcription is not allowed Univerſally; for ſeveral Nations and Climates have ſeveral Opinions of *Beauty*. The *Indians* particularly eſteem That the moſt exquiſite *Beauty*, which We look upon to be the greateſt *Deformity*; a Tawny Complexion, large thick Lips, a flat wide Noſe, and Teeth

* Corpus animum tegit & detegit: In facie legitur homo.

ſtained

ſtained with Black or Red; long hanging Ears; a low hairy Forehead; vaſt pendulous Breaſts, ſo large, that they may fling them over their Shoulders, and give Suck to the Children at their Backs; and theſe are ſo much in Eſteem, ſo deſirable Qualities, that they uſe all poſſible Art and Induſtry, to bring themſelves to this Shape. But what need we go to the *Indies*, when our very next Neighbours differ ſo much in their Notions of the Matter? For the *Spaniards* think none Beauties, but the Lean and Slender; and the *Italians* on the other Hand prefer the the well-ſet, the ſtrong, and the plump; and think there can be no ſuch thing as *Handſomeneſs* without theſe Qualifications. And indeed in every Countrey ſome are for the ſoft, the weak, the tender, and the little Women; and others for the tall, the ſtrong, the maſculine, and bolder Beauties.

7. *Beauty of Body and Mind.*

Now this outward *Gracefulneſs* of the *Body*, and more particularly that of the *Face*, ought in all reaſon to be an Indication, and certain Evidence of the inward *Beauties* of the *Soul*. (And theſe conſiſt in an Evenneſs of Temper, a Regularity of Opinions and Judgments, ſteadily maintain'd, and a Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Mind reſulting from hence) For ſurely nothing is more agreeable to Nature, than the mutual Relation and Conformity of the Body and the Mind. And where this Correſpondence and Similitude does not appear, we are to conclude, that ſome Accident hath unfortunately interpos'd, and broken the ordinary Courſe of Nature; as it very often happens, and is very apparent, that there does. For the Milk of a baſe Nurſe; the Firſt Advances in Education and Inſtruction, the Company they frequent, and ſundry other things may leave a ſtrong Tincture behind, work mighty Changes in the Natures and Humours of Men, and give them Diſpoſitions quite different from thoſe they were born with, either toward Vir-

tue, or to Vice. *Socrates* acknowledged, that the Deformity of his Body, teſtified againſt him for the Deformity of his Soul; and that the Evidence it gave was true; but that by Study and Pains added to a good Education, he had amended his Mind. The Air and Face of a Man is no good Rule, and very dangerous it is to depend upon it either way. But they who have an honeſt engaging Look, ought to ſuffer double Puniſhment, if they belye it in their Actions. For they betray and deceive People by their fair Promiſes, which Nature hath written in their Foreheads, and which they themſelves make ſo ill a Uſe of, as to trapan and cheat the World with them.

It were well indeed, if we would follow *Socrates* his Advice upon this Occaſion, as all of us ought to do, in becoming more nice and attentive in obſerving and conſidering curiouſly the Beauties of Mens Minds; and in taking the ſame Satisfaction in beholding thoſe Charms, as we do in gazing upon theſe of the Body; And ſo to come up cloſe to them, contract an Alliance, and Friendſhip with them; and unite our ſelves to them inſeparably, by admiring, loving, imitating them with all imaginable Affection and Zeal. This were an Object worthy our Paſſion indeed. But alas! all People are not qualified for it, none but Philoſophical Eyes can behold and diſcover Thoſe Graces, and none but pure and refined Souls can take Delight in the Love and Practice of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Apparel for the Body.

MAny probable Reaſons may be given that may induce us to believe the way of going Naked, which is ſtill continued in a conſiderable part of the World, to have been the Original, and once Univerſal Mode of all Mankind, how odd and ſingular ſoever it may ſeem to Us at this Day. The other of Cloathing ſeems the Effect of Art and Invention, contrived to aboliſh Nature upon pretence of mending it; as fantaſtical People ſhut out the Sun, and enlighten their Rooms at Mid-day with Tapers and Candles. And ſurely this is not ſo much the dictate of Neceſſity, as ſome would make us believe. For it is by no means to be imagin'd, that Nature, which hath been ſo Liberal in all her Proviſions for every other Creature, and particularly in Point of warm and convenient Covering, hath dealt ſo much worſe by Man, than all the reſt, as to leave him the only indigent Child ſhe hath, and in ſuch Need of Help from other Hands, that he muſt ſtarve and periſh preſently, if he be not ſuccoured, and ſupplied with it. This is one of the Reproaches, which fanciful and melancholy People caſt upon Nature, when they call her a hard and cruel Step-Mother, to Mankind; but that Charge againſt her is falſe and unjuſt. Upon the ſuppoſition, that Men had from the Beginning been all accuſtomed to Cloths, it is not eaſy to conceive how any Number of them ſhould ever take up a Fancy of throwing them aſide again, and going Naked; both becauſe a Regard to

to their Health, which muſt needs have ſuffered extremely by ſo diſadvantageous an Exchange, and a Regard to Modeſty and Shame too, muſt in all reaſon have perſuaded the Contrary. And yet we ſee, this is ſtill the Faſhion in ſeveral Nations, which is a great Preſumption of its having once been the Faſhion of all Mankind Naturally. For what can be alleged for the Contrary Opinion? Will you urge the Two common Reaſons, that Clothes were always neceſſary to cover our Shame, and to defend us againſt the Cold? (I mention not the Heat, becauſe it is not likely they were taken up for a Protection againſt That) Theſe Arguments are plainly inſufficient. Look back to the Primitive State of our Firſt Anceſtors, and you will find that Nature never taught them to be out of Countenance at their Nakedneſs. The Diſtinctions of this Kind are of a later Date; and it was Guilt Firſt, and then Cuſtom, that introduced Shame. Beſides, even thoſe very Parts, which we take Pains to conceal, Nature hath been beforehand with us, in keeping out of Sight. But if we ſhould allow this for one Reaſon of Cloathing, yet the Argument can only concern the Covering of theſe Parts. The Conſequence of it cannot poſſibly extend to the reſt, and thus we ſee in ſome Countries ſome Perſons of Better Condition, do conſult their own and the Beholders Modeſty, without troubling themſelves for any farther Garments; though the Common People in the ſame Places go ſtark naked. Some have thought it a Diſparagement, that Man, who challenges a Precedence and Authority over all Things here below, ſhould not dare to ſhew himſelf to the World, as God Almighty made him; but though that Thought be liable to ſome Exception, yet I think truly, it cannot be for his Honour, to think himſelf Enrich'd with the Spoils of his Subjects; to be Proud of the Ornaments they furniſh

furniſh him with, and value himſelf, or diſeſteem others, according as he poſſeſſes, or they want theſe poor Advantages, (if they are fit to be call'd Advantages even in the laſt and loweſt Degree.) And yet this is a Vanity ſo prevailing, that, as if Reaſon cou'd not urge enough to make People aſhamed of it, Religion hath interpos'd her Authority too, to forbid Affectation and Pride in tricking and ſetting off our Perſons, and teaches us, that we ſhou'd never think our ſelves truly adorn'd, except when the virtuous and ſhining Qualities of the Mind render us agreeable and lovely in the Eyes of God and Man. Theſe are the Jewels, theſe the Ornaments which wou'd moſt effectually repair that Shame which all our outward Dreſſes were ſo induſtriouſly contriv'd to cover.

As to that other Argument, which proceeds upon Cold, and ſome other things that render Apparel neceſſary, either to particular Perſons of a Conſtitution more feeble, or to all that dwell under one Climate, ſharper than the reſt; we know full-well, that ſome go naked, and others dreſt, in the very ſame Latitude, and the very ſame Air; and there is never a one of us but expoſes the tendereſt Part about him to all Weathers continually: Which gave occaſion to that Reply of a ſturdy Beggar, who when he was asked how he cou'd endure to go naked in the midſt of Froſt and Snow, made only this Anſwer, *That other People cou'd bear their Faces naked, and he was Face all over.* Hiſtory tells us of ſeveral very great Perſons who went conſtantly bare-headed, as *Maſiniſſa*, and *Cæſar*, and *Hannibal*, and *Severus*; And ſome Nations there are, who being accuſtom'd to no Defence for their Bodies at other times, never trouble themſelves for any when they go into the Wars, but engage in the hotteſt Action, whole Armies of naked Men together. *Plato* thinks it adviſeable for the

the Health, never to cover either the Head or the Feet at all. *Varro* pretends, that when Men were commanded to ſtand bare in the Temple of the Gods, and in the Preſence of the Magiſtrates; it was not only the Reſpectfulneſs of the Ceremony, but the Wholſomneſs of it, that the Law had regard to; ſince Men by this means harden'd their Bodies againſt the Injuries of Wind and Weather, and ſtrengthen'd themſelves, while they paid a due Reverence to their Superiours.

In a Word, abſtracting from what Revelation hath taught us, and looking at Nature only, I ſhou'd make no doubt but the Contrivances of Hutts and Houſes, and other Shelters againſt the Violence of the Seaſons, and the Aſſaults of Men, was a much more ancient Inſtitution than that of Cloathing; and there ſeems to have been more of Nature, and univerſal Practice in it; for we ſee that Beaſts and Birds do the ſame thing. The Care and Proviſion of Victuals was unqueſtionably of far greater Antiquity than either of the former, for this ſeems to have been one of the firſt Impulſes and Dictates of Nature; the Neceſſities and Appetites whereof return ſo thick upon us, that it is not eaſie to ſuppoſe Man cou'd ſubſiſt at all without this Care. But of theſe Matters we ſhall have other Opportunities to treat more fully, when we come to give Rules for the Uſe and Regulation both of *Food* and *Raiment*, hereafter.

Book III. *In the Vertue of Temperance.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Soul *in general.*

WE are now entring upon a Subject of all others the moſt difficult and nice; One which has been treated of, and particularly canvaſſed by the greateſt Philoſophers, and moſt penetrating Wits of all Ages and Countries: *Ægyptian*, *Greek*, *Arabian*, and *Latin* Authors; but yet ſo that their Opinions have been infinitely various, according to the ſeveral Nations from whence they ſprung, the Religions they embrac'd, the Profeſſions in which they had been educated, and the Reaſons that offer'd themſelves to their Thoughts: So that how far ſoever each Man might ſatisfie his own Mind, yet they have never been able to come to any general good Agreement or certain Determination in the Matter. Now the main Points in Controverſie upon this occaſion, are thoſe *Ten* that follow: What may be the *Definition* of the Soul; What its real *Eſſence* and *Nature*; Its *Faculties* and *Actions*; Whether there be *One* or *More* Souls in a Man; Whence its *Original*; What the *Time* and *Manner* of its entring the Body; the *Manner* of its *Reſidence*; the *Seat* where it dwels; the *Sufficiency* to exerciſe the ſeveral *Functions* belonging to it; and *laſtly*, Its *End* or *Separation* from the *Body*.

I. *Its Definition.*

First of all: It is exceeding hard to give an accurate *Definition* of the Soul, or be able to ſay exactly *What it is*. And this in truth is the Caſe of all Forms in general; and we cannot well conceive how it ſhou'd be otherwiſe with Things which are Relative, and have no proper and independent Sub-

Subſiſtence of their own, but are only *Parts* of ſome *Whole*. Hence without queſtion it hath come to paſs, that the Definitions of it put abroad have been ſo many, and at the ſame time ſo infinitely various too, that not any one of them hath been receiv'd without Claſhing or Contradiction. *Ariſtotle* hath rejected no leſs than Twelve among the Philoſophers who had written before him; and yet he hath found but little better ſucceſs with That of his own, which he labour'd (but in vain) to eſtabliſh in the room of them.

Nothing can indeed be more eaſie and obvious than to determine what the *Soul is not*. We dare be confident that it is *not Fire*, *Air*, nor *Water*, nor a *Mixture* and due Temperament of the Four Elements together, the Qualities or the Humours nicely adjuſted: For This is a thing in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty; the Animal ſubſiſts and lives without it: And beſides, This is manifeſtly an *Accident*, whereas the *Soul* is a *Subſtance*. To this we may add, that *Minerals*, and ſeveral *inanimate Creatures*, have a Temperament of the Four Elements, and prime Tactile Qualities, and ſtill continue Inanimate notwithſtanding. Nor can the *Soul* be the *Blood*; for ſeveral Inſtances may be given of Animated and Living Creatures, without any Blood at all belonging to them; and ſeveral Creatures die without loſing one Drop of Blood. Nor is it the *Principle* and *Firſt Cauſe* of Motion in us; for ſeveral Inanimate things impart Motion: So does the Loadſtone to the Iron; the Amber to the Straw; Medicines, and Drugs, and Roots of Trees, when dry'd, and cut to pieces, draw and create very ſtrong Motions. Nor is it the *Act*, *Life*, *Energy*, or *Perfection*, (for *Ariſtotle*'s Term *Entelechia* hath been interpreted in all theſe differing Senſes) For all this cannot be the very *Eſſence* of the *Soul* it ſelf, but only the *Operation* and *Effect* of it, as *Living*, *Seeing*, and *Underſtanding* are plain and proper Actions of

of the *Soul*. Beſides, admitting this Notion, it wou'd follow from thence, that the *Soul* were not a *Subſtance*, but an *Accident* only, that it could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without that Body, whoſe Act and Perfection it is, any more than the Roof of a Houſe can ſubſiſt as ſuch, without the Building which it covers and is ſupported by, or a Relative without its Correlate. In a word, When we expreſs our ſelves after this manner, we only declare what the *Soul* does, and what it is with reſpect to ſomething elſe; but we pronounce nothing of its proper and abſtracted Nature, or what it is in it ſelf.

Now, though things are thus far clear and eaſie, yet when we go farther the Caſe alters extremely. A Man may ſay indeed, that the *Soul is an Eſſential Life-giving Form*, which diſtributes this Gift as the Receiver is capable of it. To the Plant it imparts Vegetation; to the Brute Senſe, which includes and contains Vegetation under it; and to Man Intellectual Life, in which both the former are imply'd, as the Greater Numbers comprehend the Leſs; and as in Figures, a Pentagone includes a Quadrangle, and That again a Triangle. I rather chooſe to term this the *Intellectual Life* than the *Rational*, (which is compriz'd and underſtood by it, as the Leſs is within the Greater) and that particularly in deference to thoſe many renown'd Philoſophers, who have allow'd *Reaſon* in ſome Senſe, and ſome Degree, even to the Brutes; but not Any of them have ever gone ſo high, as to attribute the *Intelligent Faculty* to Them; and therefore I take *Intellectual Life* to be a more unexceptionable, more diſtinguiſhing Character of the Humane Soul, than the other, which ſome have thought not entirely and peculiarly our own. The *Soul* in the mean while is not the Principle and Original of Life; (This, in my Judgment, is a Term due to none but the Sovereign Author of

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our Being, *the Lord and Giver of Life*) but it is the Internal Cauſe (if you pleaſe) of Life and Motion, of Senſe and Underſtanding: It moves the Body, but is not moved it ſelf; as on the contrary, the Body is moved, but moves not; I ſay it moves the Body, but it moves not it ſelf; for though Self-Motion be in ſome ſenſe a Character by which we expreſs the Freedom of the Humane Will, yet, conſidering the depending State of a Creature, I rather forbear a Term which, in its ſtrict and moſt exalted Senſe, cannot, in my Apprehenſion, belong to any but God himſelf: For whatſoever moves it ſelf thus, muſt be Abſolute and Eternal; and that Power of moving the Body which the Soul hath, it hath not from it ſelf, but from Above.

2. *Its Nature.* The next Enquiry concerns the *Eſſence* or *Nature* of the *Soul*, (the Humane one I mean; for as to That of Brutes, little doubt is to be made but this is Corporeal and Material, conceiv'd, born, and bred with *Matter*, and corruptible with it too) and this is no ſuch inconſiderable Diſpute as ſome perhaps may imagine; for ſome have affirm'd it to be *Corporeal*; others again contend as vehemently, that it is *Incorporeal*: Which Opinions we will beg the Reader's leave to compare a little, and how wide ſoever they may ſeem, we'll try if it be not poſſible to reconcile them. The Arguments which have perſuaded Men to believe the Soul *Corporeal*, are ſuch as follow. Firſt, The Authority of the moſt Eminent Philoſophers and Divines; and of the latter, no leſs than *Tertullian*, *Origen*, St. *Baſil*, *Gregory*, *Auguſtine*, and *Damaſcene*, who all admit that the Spirits, both Good and Bad, which are entirely ſeparated from *Matter*, are yet *Corporeal*; and if They be ſo who have nothing to do with *Matter*, how much more probable is this Notion of the Humane Soul, which is in conſtant Dealings

ings with, and closely united to it.? The Ground of their determining these things to be Corporeal, is a Notion, that All Creatures of what kind soever, when compar'd with God, are Gross, Corporeal, and Material; and that God Himself alone is so excellent a Substance as to be Incorporeal; and therefore every Spirit is Body, and of a Corporeal Nature. To this of *Authority* may be added another Argument, drawn from *Reason*. All that is contain'd in this Finite World, must needs be Finite it self; limited in Virtue and in Essence; circumscrib'd by some Superficies, confin'd within some place; all which are the true and natural Conditions of a bodily Substance. God alone is every where; He alone is Infinite, and therefore He alone is Incorporeal. The common Distinctions of a *Circumscriptive*, *Definitive*, *Effective* Presence, seem to be meerly verbal, and to carry very little or no Force at all: For still it is undeniably certain, That *Spirits* are in a place after such a manner, that at the same time they are there, they are not elsewhere too, nor can be in more places than one at once. They are not in Infinite Space, nor in extreme Little, nor extremely Large room, but take up so much as is proportionable to their Size, and equal to their Finite Substance. And, did not the Case stand thus with them, how cou'd Spirits change their Place and Residence? how cou'd they Ascend or Descend, which yet the Scripture frequently takes notice of their doing? For, if Incorporeal, they must be incapable of Motion, Indivisible, and so every where indifferently. Since then 'tis evident they change their places, is not this sufficient to convince us that they are capable of *Motion* and *Division*, subject to *Time*, and the Successions of it, which is requisite for the adjusting of Motion, and measuring the Passages and mutual Distances

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from one place to another? All which are Qualities belonging to a *Body*. But now, in regard that the generality of People, who ſee not to the bottom of theſe Diſtinctions, by the Word *Corporeal*, form to themſelves an Idea of ſomething Viſible and Palpable, and ſo groſs as muſt affect our Senſes: Since they have no Notion of pure and ſubtle Air, nor entertain any Conception of Fire abſtracted from Fuel and Flame; ſince, I ſay, they cannot perſuade themſelves that things ſo ſubtiliz'd are Corporeal, hence it hath grown into Uſe, to ſay that *Spirits* in a State of Separation, and Humane Souls in the Body, are not *Corporeal Subſtances*: Nor are they ſo indeed in this groſs and vulgar Senſe; for they are of an Inviſible Subſtance, whether that be *Airy*, as many Philoſophers and Divines have perſuaded themſelves; or whether *Cæleſtial* and yet more refin'd, as ſome *Hebrew* and *Arabian* Authors, who call Heaven and Spirit both by the ſame Name, of an Eſſence proper to Immortality; or whether it conſiſt of a Subſtance ſtill more ſubtle and purify'd than even the Æthereal or Cœleſtial it ſelf; but ſtill Corporeal nevertheleſs, ſince ſubject to all thoſe Conditions of a Body, of being confin'd and circumſcrib'd within a certain Space; capable of Motion, and meaſurable in that Motion, by the ſucceſſive Periods of Time. Again, Were they not *Corporeal*, they muſt be impaſſible; for which way cou'd they ſuffer as we find they do? The *Soul* of *Man* manifeſtly receives and is affected with Satisfaction and Uneaſineſs, Pleaſure and Pain; and as deeply as ſenſibly touch'd with theſe things in her Turn, as the Body is from Her Dictates and Her Paſſions. Again, She is likewiſe wrought upon and diſtinguiſh'd by Good and Ill Qualities, Virtues and Vices, Affections and Inclinations of all ſorts; All which are Accidents; and as ſuch require ſome Bodily Subſtance

ſtance for their Support and Subſiſtence. Laſtly, All *Souls*, whether ſeparated or united, evil Angels and Spirits, as well as Men, are obnoxious to Puniſhment and Torture: From whence it muſt follow, that they are *Corporeal*; For nothing can be in a Condition of enduring Torment, which is not ſo; and ſo the Subject of Accidents is one particular Property of a Bodily Subſtance.

See Advertiſement *at the End of this* Chapter; *and alſo That at the Concluſion of the* Tenth.

3. *Its Faculties and Operations*

Now the *Soul* abounds exceedingly in Faculties and Powers, as many almoſt as the *Body* hath Members. Some of theſe ſhe exerts in Plants; a greater number yet in Beaſts; but vaſtly more in Mankind: Such as the Vital, Locomotive, Appetitive, Attractive, Collective; the Retentive, Concocting, Digeſtive, Nutritive; thoſe of Growing, Sprouting, Hearing, Seeing, Taſting, Smelling, Speaking, Reſpiration, Generation, Cogitation, Reaſoning, Contemplating, Aſſenting, Diſſenting, Remembring, Judging: All which Faculties are by no means parts of the *Soul*; for at that rate we muſt admit the *Soul* to be capable of *Diviſion*, and made up of nothing but *Accidents* and *Properties*; but they are the Natural Qualities and Powers of it. Upon theſe follow the Actions or Operations of the *Soul*, which muſt needs in order of Nature be after thoſe Faculties that qualifie it for the performance of them. And thus the great *Dionyſius*, whoſe Doctrine in this particular is univerſally aſſented to, obſerves, That in Spiritual Creatures there are Three things to be conſider'd; The *Eſſence*, the *Faculty*, and the *Operation*. By the Laſt of theſe, which is the *Action*, we are led to the Knowledge of the *Faculty*; and from the *Faculty* again we are carry'd on to the *Eſſence*. Now we muſt take notice by the way, that the Actions may

be obſtructed, ſuſpended, or a final Stop, and abſolute Ceſſation put to them, without any Prejudice at all being done by this means to the *Soul*, or its Faculties: As the Skill and Faculty of Painting ſhall remain entire in the Artiſt, tho' his Hands be ty'd up, or he be otherwiſe diſabled from exerting that Skill. But, upon a Suppoſal that the *Faculties* themſelves periſh, the *Soul* muſt periſh with them; as the Fire can be no longer Fire, if we ſuppoſe the Faculty of Warming to be taken away from it.

4. *Its Unity.* The *Nature* and *Eſſence* of the *Soul* being thus in ſome meaſure explain'd, there is another Enquiry which offers it ſelf to our Conſideration, and That indeed of very great Intricacy and Importance both, which is, Whether each Animal (but more eſpecially each Man) have a *Complication of ſeveral Souls*, or but *One* only. Concerning which a multitude of Arguments have been offer'd on all Sides, and great variety of Opinions have grown; but they may, I think, be reduc'd to Three. Some of the *Greek* Philoſophers, and almoſt all the *Arabian*, after Their Examples, have fancied that there is but *One Immortal Soul*, not only in each diſtinct Individual Perſon, but in all Mankind; and diſtributed throughout the whole Species in general. The *Ægyptians* are in the other Extreme, and conceive that each Perſon hath *ſeveral Souls* totally and eſſentially diſtinct from one another. That every Brute hath *Two* of theſe, and every Man hath *Three*. *Two* of which (the Vegetative and Senſitive) are Mortal; and the *Third* (which is the Intellectual) Immortal. The Third Opinion lies between theſe Two, and as it is more moderate, ſo hath it likewiſe been more generally entertain'd than either of the Former; for moſt Nations ſeem to be agreed, that however Men may have been oblig'd to conſider the ſeveral Faculties diſtinctly, yet there

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is in reality no actual Plurality, and but *One Soul* in each Perſon, which extends to all thoſe Operations aſſign'd to ſeveral.

The *Firſt* of theſe Opinions I ſhall ſay nothing to, thinking it too abſurd, and too generally exploded, to ſtand in need of any particular Confutation.

The *Second*, which aſſerts a *Plurality of Souls* in each Animal, and particularly in each Man, muſt be confeſs'd on the one hand exceeding marvellous, if not altogether incredible and abſurd; For what Philoſophy will allow us in giving ſeveral Eſſential Forms to one and the ſame thing? But then, on the other hand, it muſt be acknowledg'd too, that this Notion makes the Way fair and ſmooth for that of the *Intellectual Soul's* being Immortal: Becauſe upon a Suppoſition of *Three diſtinct Souls*, there is no great Difficulty or Inconvenience in admitting that *Two* of theſe may die, without at all impairing the Immortality of the *Third*; Whereas the *Unity* of the *Soul* ſeems to make War upon its Immortality: For which way can we conceive the ſame Thing to be Mortal in one part, and Immortal in another? which yet ſeems to have been *Ariſtotle's* Notion. Certainly there is an abſolute neceſſity of concluding, that it is All of a piece in this reſpect, and either entirely Mortal or Immortal throughout; which yet are each of them loaded with very abſurd Conſequences: For the Former Concluſion is deſtructive of all Religion and ſound Philoſophy; and the Latter advances the Brutes to the ſame Dignity, the ſame Immortal State with our Selves. But the moſt general, and in my poor Judgment, the moſt probable Opinion is, that each Animal hath but *One Soul*; but *One* in Subſtance; That This is the Cauſe of Life, and the Univerſal Source of all the Actions perform'd by him; That though

it have but *One Eſſence* entire and undivided, yet is it adorn'd, enrich'd, diverſify'd with a vaſt number of Faculties and diſtinct Powers, wonderfully different, and ſome contrary to each other; according to the vaſt Variety of Inſtruments made uſe of by it, the Veſſels in which they are contain'd, and the Objects they are employ'd about; Thus the *Soul* exerciſes what we call the Senſitive and Reaſonable Faculties more peculiarly in the *Brain*; there being the Inſtruments adapted to ſuch Operations: The Vital and Iraſcible in the *Heart*; the Natural and Vegetative, (which are ſometimes diſtinguiſh'd by the Concupiſcible) in the *Liver*: Theſe are the Chief and moſt Material Diſtinctions. But theſe ſo many, and ſo different Operations, Inſtruments, and Faculties, no more impair the *Unity* of the *Soul*, or argue a *Plurality* of *Cauſes*, than a Multitude of Streams conclude againſt One Fountain or common Source; or the different Effects of the Sun-Beams prove more Suns than One in the Univerſe: For thus we daily ſee he ſheds his Rays, and ſhines upon different Places and Objects with very different Succeſs: To One he adminiſters *Heat*; to Another *Light*: The Wax he ſoftens and melts; the Clay he dries and ſtiffens: He makes the Snow Whiter, and the Complexion Blacker: He ſcatters the Clouds, and contracts the ſtanding Pools. And if all this be done by One Sun in the Firmament, what ſhou'd hinder the Former to be effected by *One Soul* in the *Body*? Why ſhou'd That be admitted for an Argument againſt the Eſſential Unity of the Cauſe in One of theſe Inſtances, which we our ſelves are content to allow, and conſtant Experience makes it plain beyond all Contradiction, is of no weight at all in a Caſe ſo very parallel as This I have laſt mention'd.

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As to the *other Difficulty*, which relates to the Soul's *Immortality*, when the Matter is carefully conſidered, it will appear, that this Opinion of the *Unity* of the Humane Soul, does it no manner of Injury. For this Soul does not ſuffer in its proper Eſſence, by the Death of the Vegetative and Senſitive Faculties; by which Death in Reality is meant no more, than an Incapacity of exerciſing, and exerting thoſe Powers in a State of Separation from the Body. Which muſt neceſſarily follow, upon the Want and Abſence of the Proper Subject, and Inſtrument, to exerciſe them upon. But all this hinders not, but that the *Third* and moſt exalted, which is the *Intellectual Faculty*, may ſtill exert it ſelf; becauſe a Body, though at preſent it be made uſe of as its Inſtrument, is not yet ſo neceſſary and eſſential to that, that it ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt and act without it. Suppoſing then this *Soul* to return to the *Body* a ſecond time, it would return at the ſame time to the Exerciſe of its Vegetative and Senſitive Powers, as we ſee plainly by Inſtances of Perſons, who have been raiſed from the Dead, to live here below: But this would not infer a Neceſſity of the ſame things for living in another State. For thoſe Faculties, whoſe Exerciſe ſupports this Life we now lead, are not thereby proved of ſuch Conſequence, that no other kind of Life could be ſupported or enjoyed without them. It is in this Caſe with the *Soul*, as with the *Sun* (for the ſame Inſtance will be of Uſe to illuſtrate our Argument in this Branch alſo) which continues the ſame in himſelf, every whit as entire and unblemiſhed, not in any Degree enfeebled, though his Luſtre and Vital Influences be ſometimes intercepted and obſtructed. When his Face is cover'd with a *Total Eclipſe*, we loſe the cheerful Light and cheriſhing Heat; but though no ſenſible Effects of

him appear, yet he is in his own Nature, the ſame Powerful Principle, and Glorious Creature ſtill.

5. *Its Origine* Having thus (as I hope ſufficiently) evidenced the *Unity of the Soul*, in each Individual animated by it: let us in the next Place proceed to obſerve from whence it is *deriv'd*, and how it makes its *Entry* into the *Body*.

Concerning the Former of theſe Particulars, great Diſputes have been maintained, by Philoſophers and Divines of all Ages. Concerning the *Origine* of the *Humane* and *Intellectual Soul*, I mean; for as to the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive* attributed to Plants and Beaſts, thoſe by general Conſent have been eſteemed to conſiſt intirely of *Matter*, to be transferred with the *Seminal Principles*, and accordingly ſubject to Corruption and Death. So that the whole Controverſy turns upon the ſingle Point of the Humane Soul; and concerning this, the *Four* moſt Celebrated Opinions have been theſe which follow. I omit the Mention of any more, which are almoſt loſt in the Crowd, becauſe Theſe have obtained ſo much more generally, and gained greater Credit than the Reſt.

The *Firſt* of theſe is that Notion of the *Stoicks*, embraced by *Philo* the Jew, and after Him, by the *Manichees*, *Priſcillianiſts*, and others. This maintains Reaſonable Souls to be ſo many Extracts, and genuine Productions of the Divine Spirit; Partakers of the very ſame Nature and Subſtance with Almighty God himſelf; who being ſaid expreſly to have breathed it into the Body; theſe Perſons have taken the Advantage of *Moſes*'s Words, and fixed the ſublimeſt Senſe imaginable upon them. *He Breathed into him the Breath of Life*; by which they are not content to underſtand, that the *Soul* of Man is a diſtinct Thing, and of a different, and more exalted Original than the Body; a Spirit of greater Excel-

Excellence than that which quickens any other Animal, but they ſtretch it to a Communication of God's own Eſſence.

The *Second* was deriv'd from *Ariſtotle*, receiv'd by *Tertullian*, *Apollinaris*, the Sect of the *Luciferians*, and ſome other Chriſtians; and This aſſerts the Soul to be derived from our Parents, as the Body is; and in the ſame Manner, and from the ſame Principles with that, whence the Soul of Brutes, and all that are confin'd to Senſe and Vegetation only, are generally believ'd to ſpring.

The *Third* is that of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*; entertained by moſt of the Rabbinical Philoſophers and Jewiſh Doctors; and after them by *Origen*, and ſome other Chriſtian Doctors too; Which pretends that all Souls were created by God at the beginning of the World; that they were then by Him commanded, and made out of Nothing; that they are reſerv'd and depoſited in ſome of the Heavenly Regions; and afterwards, as his Infinite Wiſdom ſees Occaſion, ſent down hither into Bodies ready fitted for, and diſpoſed to entertain them. Upon this Opinion was built another, of Souls being *well* or *ill* dealt with here below, and lodged in ſound and healthful, or elſe in feeble and ſickly Bodies, according to their *Good* or *Ill* Behaviour in a State and Region above, antecedent to their being thus Incorporated with theſe Mortal and Fleſhly Tabernacles. How generally this Notion prevail'd, we have a notable Hint from that great Maſter of *Wiſdom*, who gives this Account of his large improvements, above the common Rate of *Men*, *I was a Witty Child*, *and had a good Spirit*; *yea*, *rather being Good*, *I came into a Body undefiled.* Wiſd. VIII. 19, 20. Thus intimating a Priority of Time, as well as of Order and Dignity in the Soul, and that its good Diſpoſitions qualified it for a Body ſo diſpoſed too.

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The *Fourth*, which hath met with the moſt general Approbation, among Chriſtians Eſpecially, holds that the *Soul* is created by God, infus'd into a Body prepared duly for its Reception: That it hath no Pre-exiſtence in any ſeparate State, or former Vehicle, but that its Creation and Infuſion are both of the ſame Date.

Theſe *Four* Opinions, are all of them Affirmative. There is yet a *Fifth*, more modeſt and reſerv'd than any of the former. This undertakes not to determine Poſitively one way or other; but is content Ingenuouſly to confeſs its own Ignorance and Uncertainty: declares this a Matter of very abſtruſe Speculation, a dark and deep Myſtery, which God hath not thought fit particularly to reveal; and which Man by the Strength, and Penetration of his own Reaſon, can know but very little or nothing of. Of this Opinion we find St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Gregory* of *Nice*, and ſome others. But though they preſume not ſo far, as to give any definitive Sentence, on any Side; yet they plainly incline to think, that, of the *Four* Opinions here mention'd; the *Two* latter carry a greater Appearance of Truth, than the *Two* former.

6. *The Entrance into the Body.*

But how, and when this *Humane Soul* (for of the *Brutal* there is little or no Diſpute, nor is the preſent Enquiry concerned in it) Whether This, I ſay, make its Entrance all at once, or whether the Approaches are gradual and ſlow; Whether it attain its juſt Eſſential Perfections in an Inſtant; or whether it grow up to them, by Time and Succeſſion; is another very great Queſtion. The More general Opinion, which ſeems to have come from *Ariſtotle*, is, That the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive Soul*, whoſe Eſſence is no other than Matter and Body, is in the Principles of Generation; that it deſcends lineally, and is derived to us from the Subſtance of our Parents; that This is finiſhed and per-

Perfected in Time and by Degrees, and Nature acts in this Caſe a little like Art, when That undertakes to form the Image of a Man; where firſt the Out-Lines and rude Sketches are drawn; then the Features ſpecified; yet Theſe, not of his whole Body at once, but firſt the Painter finiſhes the Head, then the Neck, after that the Breaſt, the Legs and ſo on, till he have drawn the whole Length. Thus the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive Soul* (they tell you) forms the Body in the Womb: and when That is finiſhed, and made fit for the Reception of its new Inhabitant, the *Intellectual Soul* comes from abroad, and takes Poſſeſſion of its Dwelling. But that (all this notwithſtanding) They are not *Two*, nor *Three diſtinct Souls*, neither together, nor in Succeſſion. That the Vegetative ſuffers no Diminution by the Acceſſion of the Senſitive; nor that again by the Addition of the Intelligent Mind. But all Thoſe coaleſce into One, and are form'd and finiſhed, according to the ſtated Times, and uſual Proceſs of Nature.

Others rather incline to believe, that the Soul enters the Body entire, and takes Poſſeſſion with her Faculties of every kind at the ſame Inſtant: That This is done, when all the Organs of the Body are framed, and the whole Shell finiſhed and compacted: that till Then, the Body is only a ſenſeleſs dead Maſs, without any Soul at all: that it had only a Virtue or Natural Energy, (The Eſſential Form of that Matter out of which it is made) and this acting upon the Spirituous Parts, does, by the Agitation and Ferment Theſe are put into, form and build the whole Body, and adjuſt every Part of this Structure duly. When things are brought to this Head, then that Energy vaniſhes, and is quite loſt, and the Soul ſucceeds into its Place. And when this New, this Noble Gueſt arrives, all things change their Form; and

That

That, which before was nothing but Dead Senſeleſs *Matter*, exalts its Name and Nature, and from thenceforth commences *Man*.

7. *Its Reſidence and the manner of it.*

When it hath actually entred the Body, we ſhall do well to know after what Manner it exiſts, and dwells in it. Some Philoſophers, whoſe Notions of this Matter ſeem to have been much perplex'd, and at a mighty Loſs, how to make out any tolerable Conjunction between theſe Two, have imagin'd the Soul to reſide in the Body, like a Maſter in his Houſe, or the Pilot in a Ship. But though, as to the Governing and Directing Part, the Compariſon be not much amiſs; yet when applied to explain the particular Mode of its Exiſtence, it is abſolutely improper, and ſtark naught. For at this rate the Soul would not be the *Form*, the *Internal* or *Eſſential* Part of the Animal or the Man: It would have no Occaſion for the Members of this Body to give it reception; would not be affected in any kind from this cloſe Affinity, nor have any of thoſe tender and mutual Reſentments and Sufferings, ariſing from Bodily Pains and Pleaſures; but would be a Subſtance entirely diſtinct: ſubſiſting from and by it ſelf; at its own diſpoſal to go or come to ſeparate from the Body, without making any Difference in it; or any way taking from its own Functions, or the Exerciſe of them. All which are intolerable and moſt notorious Abſurdities. The Soul then in the Body, is like *Form* in *Matter*, diſperſed and extended over every Part of it: Giving Life, Motion, and Senſe, all thorough; and both Theſe taken together, make one Perſon or *Hypoſtaſis*; that is, one entire Subject, which we call an *Animal*. Nor are we to be Solicitous for the finding out any intermediate Quality, which ſhould connect theſe Two; for there is no ſuch thing in Nature. All Philoſophers conſenting in This, That there can nothing come between *Matter* and

and *Form*, no Common Link or Band more intimate for them. The Soul then is *all* in *all* the Body; but as for what is commonly added, of its being *all* in *every* Part too, I forbear the Expreſſion; becauſe, in my Apprehenſion, it divides the Soul, and implies a Contradiction.

8. *The Seat of the Soul.*

Now, although the Soul (in Agreement to what we have but juſt now aſſerted) be really communicated and diffuſed, through the whole Body in *general*; yet it muſt be acknowledged, that ſhe is more *Eminently* preſent and powerful, in ſome Parts than others. Where, for the Sake of a clearer and more viſible Exerciſe of her Reſpective Faculties, ſhe may be ſaid to keep her Reſidence, or have her Seat; though not to Be Entirely there; becauſe This would import *Confinement*; and the other Parts, upon the Account of her Abſence, would be left void of all Soul and Form. In regard therefore that the Soul is Remarkable for the Exerciſe of Four Predominant Faculties above the Reſt; Four Principal Places of Action and Reſidence have accordingly been aſſigned to her. Now theſe are the *Four* diſtinct Apartments or Work-Houſes, taken Notice of formerly, when we had occaſion to treat of the Fabrick and Contexture of the *Humane Body*. Theſe are the moſt Important and Prime Inſtruments of the Soul; the Reſt are ſubordinate too, and reducible under them, as the other Faculties are likewiſe to thoſe exerciſed in theſe Parts. Namely, the Continuation of the Species in the *loweſt Region*: The Natural or Nutritive Faculty in the *Liver*: The Vital in the *Heart*; and the Animal and Intellectual in the *Brain*.

9. *Its Sufficiency.*

The next Advance to be made upon this Subject, concerns the Exerciſe of theſe Faculties in general, and how the Soul is qualified for this Purpoſe. Now we ſhall do well to take Notice that the very *Nature* and *Form* of every living Creature, conſiſting

ing

ing in This Soul, it cannot be, but the Soul muſt be abundantly provided with neceſſary *Knowledge*, and underſtand its Buſineſs, without Pains or Induſtry, or the ſlow and laborious Methods of acquired Inſtruction. As certain is it too, that what ſhe is thus inſtructed in by Nature, ſhe fails not to exert, and punctually to fulfil, as Need requires. Provided no Accidental Obſtruction prevent or interrupt her, and that the Inſtrument ſhe is obliged to make Uſe of, be rightly diſpoſed to follow her Directions. The Philoſophers therefore were much in the Right, when they ſtiled Nature a Wiſe, Skilful, and Induſtrious School-Miſtreſs: One that qualifies her Children and Scholars for all that is required from them. * *The Seeds of all Art and Virtue* (ſays one of them) *are implanted in us Originally; and Almighty God, the Great Maſter, brings forward our Natural Abilities, and draws them forth into Action.* It were eaſy to prove this, by pregnant Inſtances of every Kind. The *Vegetative Soul* of its own Accord, without Artifice or Inſtitution, forms the *Embryo* in the Womb, ſo curiouſly, ſo conveniently, ſo wonderfully, that we can never ſufficiently expreſs, and extol the Excellence of this Skill. Afterwards it takes equal Care of the Nouriſhment and Growth; conveys, ſeeks, and receives Suſtenance; Retains what is eaten; digeſts and lives upon it; throws off the Superfluous and Excremental Parts; Refreſhes, recruits, repairs thoſe Parts which ſink or faint, or fall to decay. And Theſe are all of them Operations Manifeſt and Conſtant, not in Men only, but in Brutes and Plants alſo.

The *Senſitive Soul* in like manner, of her own Accord puts Men and Brutes upon all neceſſary Actions. Such as Moving their Feet, their Hands,

* Inſita ſunt nobis omnium artium ac virtutum Semina. Magiſterque ex occulto Deus producit Ingenia.

and

and Other Limbs and Parts, which may be of uſe to them, to ſcratch, to rub, to ſhake themſelves, to ſuck, to manage their Lips and Mouth, to cry, to laugh, and other Expreſſions of Want, and Grief, and Pleaſure.

The *Reaſonable* and *Intellectual Soul* does the very ſame thing in Its Capacity: And Thus it acts not by virtue of any Reminiſcence, or Recollection of any Knowledge it had before with this Union with the Body, as *Plato* fondly imagin'd; a Notion which proceeds upon the ſuppoſal of another State, in which the Soul pre-exiſted before its Entrance into, or the Formation of this Body; Nor does it owe this Power to Knowledge receiv'd in at the Senſes, and acquir'd by Their means upon Uſe and Obſervation, as *Ariſtotle* conceives, who repreſents the Soul at the Birth, to be a *Perfect Blank*, utterly void of all Characters or Images, but ready to receive Impreſſions of any kind: But it ſeems rather to diſcharge this Office by the Original Strength of its own Native Powers: It Imagines, Underſtands, Retains, Argues, Reaſons, Concludes of it ſelf, without any Inſtruction or additional Helps at all. This Aſſertion, I muſt own, ſeems more difficult to comprehend than the Former; and we can more readily aſſent to ſuch a Native Aptitude in the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive*, than we do in the *Intellectual Soul*. It is manifeſt too, that *Ariſtotle*'s Authority lies in ſome Degree againſt the Thing: And therefore to ſatisfie all theſe Difficulties, I will allow this Matter a more particular Conſideration, when we come to diſcourſe of the *Intellectual Soul* diſtinctly.

10. *Its Separation Twofold. Natural.*

There remains yet one Point more concerning the Soul to be enquir'd into, which relates to its Separation from the Body: Now This may happen different ways, and be of ſundry kinds. The only Uſual and Natural Separation is by *Death*.

Only

Only herein is a mighty difference between Other Animals and Mankind, that when the Reſt die, their Soul dies too; agreeably to that Rule in Philoſophy, *That when the Subject-Matter is corrupted, the Form is perfectly loſt, though the Matter ſtill remain.* Whereas the Soul of Man is indeed ſeparated from his Body by Death, but by no means loſt or annihilated: So far from Periſhing, that it remains entire and unhurt, as having the Privilege of an Immortal and Incorruptible Nature.

There is not in the World any One Opinion which hath been more univerſally entertain'd, more eagerly embrac'd, more plauſibly defended, more religiouſly ſtuck to (I may well ſay Religiouſly, ſince this Doctrine is in truth the very Foundation of all Religion) than That which aſſerts the *Immortality of the Soul.* All this now is meant of an External and Publick Profeſſion; for, alas! it is but too manifeſt and too melancholy a Truth; (and the prodigious numbers of diſſolute Epicures, abandon'd Libertines, and prophane Scoffers at God and a Future State, bear Teſtimony to it;) That what Pretence ſoever the Generality of the World may make of receiving this Doctrine in Words and Speculation, there are but very few who expreſs an inward Senſe, and ſerious Belief of it, by living like Men that believe it indeed. Of that practical Aſſent, I ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak more largely hereafter. In the mean while, give me leave to lament, that ſo little and ſo poor Effects appear, of an Opinion capable of producing ſo many and ſo noble: For certainly there is not any one Point whatſoever, the Perſuaſion whereof can bring greater Benefit, or have a ſtronger Influence upon Mankind. It may be objected, I confeſs, that all the Arguments which Humane Diſcourſe, and meer Natural Reaſon endeavour to eſtabliſh it by, cannot amount to a Demonſtration.

ſtration. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that there are ſeveral other things, which Men are content to yield their Credit to, upon far more weak and inſufficient Suggeſtions. And whereinſoever *Reaſon* falls ſhort, it is abundantly ſupply'd by *Revelation*; which as it is the Beſt, ſo is it the Proper Evidence in Matters of this kind. But yet to ſhew the Importance of this Doctrine, even Nature herſelf hath implanted in all Mankind a ſtrong Inclination to think it true: For it is natural for us to deſire the lengthening out, nay the perpetuating our own Exiſtence. And no Reflection is more uneaſie, than That which attempts to perſuade us that we muſt *once ceaſe to be.* This Diſpoſition is interwoven with our very Frame; and hath given Birth to another no leſs general than it ſelf, which is That anxious Care, and impatient Regard for Poſterity, that takes ſuch faſt hold on every Man of us.

Nor wou'd I be ſo far miſunderſtood, as to have it thought, that this Diſpoſition of Mind is the only Humane Foundation upon which our Belief of the *Soul's Immortality* ſtands: For there are *Two* other Moral Arguments in particular, which give it great Credit, and, to ſay the very leaſt of the Caſe, render it exceeding probable.

The *Firſt* is, that Hope of Glory and Reputation, and the tender Care of preſerving a Good Name when we are gone; nay, the Thought and Endeavour that our Fame ſhou'd be Immortal. Now though I cannot but condemn this ſollicitude of Vanity, when Men pretend to place their *Happineſs* in the *Opinions* of other People after themſelves are dead; yet the marvellous Regard, and univerſal Concern Mankind expreſs for it, ſeems to ſay, that Nature inſpires thoſe Deſires and Expectations. And Nature, we know, is a *Wiſe*

Agent, and does not use to cheat Men with Hopes, which are altogether impossible and vain.

Another Reason, not easie to be got over by Them who oppose this Doctrine, is, That common Impression that Those Crimes which are committed in secret, or which otherwise escape the Observation and Punishment of Civil Justice, and the Vengeance of Man, are still reserv'd to a farther Reckoning; that Almighty God supplies the Defects of Temporal Judicatures, and hath a severe Judgment in store for such Offenders as Those cannot extend to. And since we find by frequent Instances, that many Enormities of this kind are not made the Marks of the Divine Vengeance in The Present World; it is a good Consequence of all the Idea's we can reasonably entertain of God, that He shou'd pursue the Guilty Wretches into another World, and chastise them as they deserve, even after Death. And now I wou'd be glad to know, what greater Moral Assurance can be expected for a Subject of this kind, than, that Humane Nature disposes every Man to look forward to it, to desire, and to think it probable; and that the Consideration of the Divine Justice, represents it as a thing not only greatly probable, but absolutely necessary.

This last Reflexion will lead us to the Discovery of Three different Kinds and Degrees of Souls; all which become proper Objects of the Divine Justice: Nor need we credit it upon that Account only, but even Natural Reason, the Order and Harmony of the Universe will perswade us, that such a sort of Being, and so Immortal as we have been describing the Humane Soul, is requisite to make the Series of the Creation Beautiful and Complete. Of these Three sorts we may observe that Two are in Extremes: The One consisting of such

ſuch Souls as are groſs, ſunk down, immerſt in, inſeparable from, and compounded of *meer Matter*: Such are the Souls of *Brutes*. The Other quite contrary, ſuch as have no manner of Communication with *Matter* and Body, as *Angels*, and *Immortal Spirits*, whether Good or Bad. In the midſt, and between theſe two, is the *Humane Soul*; and this is neither entirely and neceſſarily confin'd and faſten'd to *Matter*, nor entirely ſeparated from it, but joyn'd and wedded to it in this preſent State; yet ſo, that its Divorce is not its Deſtruction, but it can ſubſiſt and live without *Matter* in Another State.

Such an Order and Diſtinction as This, is no deſpicable Argument for the *Immortality of the Soul*, ſince otherwiſe we muſt ſuppoſe a wide Gap, a vaſt Defect, and foul Deformity in Nature, ſuch as carries Abſurdity in it ſelf, caſts a Reflexion upon its Author, and threatens Ruine to the World. Which is ſupported by nothing more than by the Gradual and Contiguous Order and Succeſſion of the Creatures: And therefore between Diſtances ſo wide as altogether *Corruptible*, and abſolutely *Incorruptible*, Nature requires ſome middle Condition of a Subſtance, partly the One, and partly the Other. Such a Link as this is neceſſary to tye the two Ends of this Chain together; and ſuch a Link can be no other Creature than *Man*: For if we carry our Thoughts farther, we ſhall find that Other Beings are without the Compaſs of this Length, and ſo there are *Five Stages* of *Beings* in all. One below the meaneſt, and even thoſe Souls which are ſaid to conſiſt entirely of *Matter*, ſuch as Stones, which we cannot ſay have any Soul at all. *Another* far above even the moſt exalted, the moſt pure, and immortal Souls; which is the *Ever-Bleſſed* and *Eternal Spirit*, the *Great* and *Only God*.

2. *Separation Unnatural.* But beſides the Separation of the Soul already treated of, there is Another Unnatural and Uncommon One; and this happens by Fits and Starts, is out of the way, and conſequently very intricate, and hard to give our ſelves any tolerable Account of: Such I mean as comes upon Men in Extaſies and Raptures, which, as they differ very much in their Symptoms and Circumſtances, ſo do they likewiſe in their Cauſes and Occaſions. Of theſe ſome are *Divine Extaſies*, wrought by the expreſs and immediate Operation of God: Such are thoſe Trances which the Scripture takes notice of, in *Abraham*, *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, *Zacharias*, St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*. Others are *Dæmoniacal*, procur'd by the Interpoſition of Good or Evil Spirits, many whereof are mention'd in Story: And we are told of *John Duns-Scotus* in particular, that having lain a long time in a Trance, and being taken for dead, he was carry'd to be bury'd, and put into his Grave; but being rouz'd with the Blows and Bruiſes of the Mould thrown upon him, he came to himſelf, and was taken up again; and in a few Days after dy'd in good earneſt, with the loſs of Blood, and the Bruiſes he had received upon his Head. *Cardan* mentions ſomewhat of this Nature, with which both Himſelf and his Father were poſſeſſed. And many Creditable Authentick Relations have been made from ſeveral diſtant parts of the World, of abundance of People, moſt of them of the Vulgar ſort, too weak and ignorant to contrive ſuch Stories; and of Women poſſeſſed, whoſe Bodies have not only continu'd long without any Senſe, or Motion, or Pulſe, but have been cut, bruiſed, burnt, without ever feeling it, and afterwards when they came to themſelves, they have complain'd of intolerable Torture, and exquiſite Pain, and have given very ſtrange Accounts of what they have ſeen and done in places a great way off.

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A *Third* Separation there is, which we may call *Humane*, becauſe proceeding from Humane Means, and ſuch as no Superiour or Inviſible Power ſeems to be concern'd in: This comes either from that Diſeaſe which from *Hippocrates* is call'd *Morbus Sacer*, but commonly known by the Name of the *Falling-Sickneſs*, (attended with Foamings at the Mouth, which are lookt upon as the Mark and Character of it, and diſtinguiſh this Diſtemper from Poſſeſſions, in which the Patients are ſaid to have none of theſe Frothings, but a very noiſome Stench in the room of them:) Or this Separation may be owing to the Force of Stupifying and Sleeping Medicines: Or to the Strength of Imagination, which being vehemently intent upon ſome One thing, perfectly carries away the Soul, and renders it ſtupid and inſenſible to all other Objects beſides.

Now in theſe Three kinds of Extaſie and Tranſport, whether *Divine*, *Dæmoniacal*, or *Humane*, the great Doubt ariſing is, Whether the *Soul* be really and truly ſeparated from the *Body*; or whether, without any ſuch Separation, it ſtill continue there, but be ſo entirely taken up with ſome External Object, as perfectly to forget the Body belonging to it: So that its Natural Operations, and the Exerciſe of its proper Offices and Vocation, are, during that time, ſuſpended, and wholly ſuperſeded.

As to *Divine Extaſies*; The Apoſtle ſpeaking of Himſelf, and what happen'd in his own Caſe, will not preſume to define any thing: * *Whether in the Body, or out of the Body I cannot tell,* (ſays he) *God knoweth.* And this Caution of His, is methinks a good Warning to all other People, that They too ſhou'd be modeſt and reſerv'd, and not raſh in determining any thing poſitively, not only in Theſe, but even in leſs Abſtractions of the Mind. * 2 Cor. 12.

As to the Second Case, That of *Demoniacks*, Their having no sense of great Blows, and exquisite Tortures, and reporting things transacted at Two or Three Hundred Leagues distance; these, I confess are great Conjectures, and very violent Presumptions of an actual Separation; but yet, I think, they are not conclusive and necessary Arguments for it: For the Devils may amuse the Soul, and keep it so fully employ'd even when at home, that it shall have no Commerce or Communication with the Body for some considerable time; and at the very same time too he may represent to the Imagination what passes at a great distance, in so lively and clear a manner, as to fool the Man with a Persuasion, that he hath really been there, and seen those very things which the Images thus strongly imprinted upon his Fancy, have enabled him so particularly to relate. How far the Activity of Evil or Good Spirits extends, is not possible for us to say. But it is a very bold Assertion, and what Nature will very hardly endure, that the Whole Soul, formally taken, goes out, and abandons the Body; for upon these Terms the Body must die to all Intents and Purposes: And such Mens coming to themselves again, wou'd not be a *Recovery* of their Senses, but a *Resurrection* from the Dead. And yet to say, That the Soul does not All go, but the Imaginative and Intellectual Faculties rove abroad, while the Vegetative stay behind and keep House, is still more Monstrous and Absurd: For at this rate, the Soul, which is entire, and One in her Essence, wou'd be divided; or else we must suppose the Accident only to be transported and born away, and the Substance to remain fixed in its proper place; and therefore we have reason to admit any other Solution of the Case, rather than that of an Actual Separation.

As

As to the Third and Laſt ſort, which was term'd *Humane*, the Thing is clear beyond a Doubt, that there is no real Separation in it, ſince all that can be pretended to in this Caſe, amounts to no more than ſome preſent Stupefaction and Diſorder, by means whereof ſuch of the Soul's Operations as are Viſible and External, ceaſe in appearance, and are ſuſpended for ſome time.

What becomes of this *Soul*, and in what State or Condition ſhe continues after that Real and Natural Separation made by *Death*, Wiſe Men have not been able to agree; nor does this Point fall properly within the Compaſs and Deſign of the preſent Treatiſe. The *Tranſmigration* of Souls, advanced by *Pythagoras*, hath found (in ſome parts of the Notion eſpecially) tolerable good acceptance with the *Stoicks*, the *Academicks*, the *Ægyptian* Philoſophers, and ſome others. Not that they all admitted it in the ſame Senſe and Extent, or to all the Purpoſes he intended it ſhou'd ſerve: Some allowed it only ſo far as it might contribute to the Puniſhment of Wicked Men, who might ſuffer by being turn'd into Brutes, in a manner like that miraculous Infliction upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, as a Scourge from God for his Vanity and Atheiſtical Pride. Some again, and thoſe of conſiderable Eminence and Authority, have imagin'd, that Pure and Pious Souls, upon their quitting this Body, are tranſlated into Angels; and the Black and Guilty ones transform'd into Fiends and Devils. Methinks it were more prudent to ſoften the former Branch of this Notion, as our Bleſſed Saviour hath done already, by ſaying, *That they neither marry nor die any more, but are as the Angels, and are the Children of God.* Some again have fancied, that the Souls of the wickedeſt and moſt profligate Wretches, after a very long Term of Time and Puniſhment, utterly periſh, and are reduc'd to their Firſt

Dan. iv.

Luke xx.

Nothing. But Humane Reaſon is, and muſt needs be for ever, in the Dark about all ſuch Matters. And therefore theſe Diſquiſitions ſhou'd be conſtantly referr'd to their proper Topick of Inſtruction: For, as nothing but *Revelation* and *Religion* can inform us truly in what concerns a Future State, ſo they have not been wanting to declare what is full and ſufficient for our purpoſe, and therefore it is our *Duty*, as well as our *Wiſdom*, to receive this without more ado, and ſtedfaſtly to reſt in it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Second Particular which concerns the Eſſence and Nature of the Soul, the Author makes a very odd Diſtinction between *Matter* and *Body*, and tries to reconcile the Opinion of Thoſe who ſay the *Soul* is *Immaterial*, with Theirs who affirm it to be *Corporeal*. The Reſult of which is, That the Souls of Men do not conſiſt of groſs and palpable Matter, but of a Body thin and ſubtle, even beyond all Imagination: And therefore in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe, he continues to make a Difference between the Souls of Men and thoſe of Brutes, even in this very Point of Materiality it ſelf.

But now, Since *Body* and *Matter*, ſtrictly and Philoſophically taken, come all to one; and ſince No Subtlety, or Fineneſs of Compoſition makes any Body the leſs a Material Subſtance; Since again the Humane and Intellectual Soul hath evidently ſeveral Faculties, and performs ſeveral Operations, (ſuch as *Cogitation*, *Volition*, nay even *Senſation* it ſelf) which are neither inherent Qualities of Matter, as ſuch; nor what any Motion or Modification whatſoever, can render it capable of; *Monſieur Charron*'s Subtlety of the Body will not help the Cauſe

Cauſe at all: For *Æthereal*, or *Cæleſtial Bodies* are as truly *Matter* as any of the Courſeſt and Groſſeſt whatſoever. And the Notion of *Matter* is not to be taken from its Purity or Fœculency, its Palpability or its Fineneſs; but from its Eſſential Properties, ſuch as Extenſion, and Quantity, Diviſibility, Being purely Paſſive, and Acting only as it is acted upon; Its being ſubject to the Laws of Motion; and the like: Theſe now are the inſeparable Properties of every thing that is *Body*; and from hence it muſt needs follow, that all Bodies whatſoever are equally diſtant from, equally unqualify'd for Thought, and Perception, and all other Operations and Faculties, which are the proper and diſtinguiſhing Characters of a Reaſonable Soul. Concerning which, if my Reader deſire farther Satisfaction than the Nature of a ſingle *Advertiſement* allows me room for, I referr him to Dr. *Bentley*'s Second Sermon againſt Atheiſm, where he will find this Argument handled at large.

When once ſuch an Abſurdity as This hath been ſhewn to attend that Notion which maintains the Soul's Corporeity; it is to very little Purpoſe to urge us with the Difficulties concerning the mutual Intercourſe of our Souls and Bodies; or what the Soul ſuffers either in her united, or in her ſeparate State: Some of which are capable of the ſame Reſolutions with thoſe given in the Caſe of Brutes, (by thoſe Philoſophers who allow them Senſe:) and are not the Actions or Affections of the Intelligent, but of the Senſitive Powers: And for Others, which are ſuperiour to Humane Diſcourſe, we acknowledge our Ignorance, and reſolve all into the ſole *Will*, and wonderful *Wiſdom* of our Almighty Creator. He hath not told us what is the Band of Union between theſe Two; nor how this Communication and intimate Correſpondence is kept up, and carry'd on: And we think

think it is impoſſible for any to acquaint us with this Proceſs, except Him only, who contrived and conſtituted it. But Ten Thouſand ſuch Objections weigh little, when balanc'd againſt a Flaw in the very Foundation: Every thing at this rate may be diſputed, and *Univerſal Scepticiſm* be advanced, for we are able to trace nothing through all its Motions and Operations. But an Argument *ab Abſurdo*, made evident in the Firſt and moſt ſubſtantial Principles, is allowed, even in that Science, which profeſſes the greateſt accuracy in Arguing, to be a Juſt and Legitimate Demonſtration againſt any thing, which ſuch Principles are alledged to eſtabliſh.

See more concerning the Immateriality *of the* Soul, *and her* Operations, *in the Advertiſement at the End of the Tenth Chapter.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Soul in Particular; and Firſt, of the Vegetative Faculty.

HAving thus given a General Deſcription of the Soul in the Ten Points already inſiſted on, I come in the next Place to treat of it ſomewhat more diſtinctly; by conſidering its reſpective Principal *Faculties* apart. And the moſt convenient Order, as I apprehend, will be to begin with the Loweſt firſt, and ſo proceed from the *Vegetative* to the *Senſitive*, from thence to that of *Imagination* and *Appetite*, and laſt of all to the *Intellectual*, which is the Supreme of all the Faculties, and that which is the true and peculiar Character of the Humane Soul.

Soul. Under each of Theſe, there are ſeveral ſubordinate Powers, of leſs Note and Figure, which hold, as Branches of, or Deputies under thoſe, and will fall in naturally to be mentioned, in the Proſecution of that Method I have here propoſed.

As for That, which concerns *Vegetation*, it is the meaneſt by much, and given us in common with the very Plants. I ſhall therefore ſay but very little of it, not only becauſe the ſubject is not of Dignity enough to bear me out in long Enlargements; but alſo becauſe this is more properly the Buſineſs of Phyſicians, whoſe Profeſſion leads to the Study of Health and Sickneſs, the Preſervatives of the One, and the Remedies againſt the Other. I ſhall only call upon my Reader at preſent to obſerve, that under this Faculty, there are Three Great and very Important Subalterns concerned, and each of them ſubſequent and aſſiſting to each other in a regular Progreſſion. For the Firſt promotes the Second, and the Second the Third: but not ſo, as that the Order can be inverted, and the Remark hold back again.

The Firſt of theſe is the *Nutritive*; Inſtituted for the Preſervation of the Individual; and under This there are ſeveral Aſſiſtants, ſuch as the Attractive or ſeeking of Neceſſary Suſtenance; that of Concoction and Digeſtion, which ſeparates the good and uſeful Parts, from thoſe which are noxious and naughty: The Retentive for what is neceſſary, and the Expulſive, to throw off what is offenſive or ſuperfluous.

The Second is that of *Growing*, which tends to the Perfection of the Individual, and giving it all its juſt Proportions.

The Third is the *Generative*; for the Continuance and Succeſſion of the Species.

From

From hence now it is plain, that the Two former of theſe were inſtituted by Nature, for the Sake and Benefit of the Individual; and terminate in the Advantage of one ſingle Perſon, and his own Body. The Third extends to the Species in general, and its Effects do not, cannot center in the Perſon himſelf; and therefore This, as more Extenſive and Beneficial, is eſteem'd ſuperiour in Dignity, to the other Two; and advancing nearer to That Faculty next above it, which is the Senſitive. For Producing ones own Likeneſs, is a very Eminent Perfection in Nature, and gives us the Honour of ſome diſtant Reſemblances, even to the Great Creatour himſelf.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Senſitive Faculty.

THE Exerciſe of this Faculty, or the Operations of Senſe, require the Concurrence of no leſs than *Six* ſeveral things; *Four* within, and *Two* without the Body. And they are Theſe which follow.

I. The *Firſt*, is the *Soul*: This is the Prime Efficient Cauſe of Perception.

II. The *Second* is the Faculty of *Senſation*, (which I diſtinguiſh here from the Former, having already proved, that it is only a Quality of the Soul, and not the very Eſſence, or Soul it ſelf.) This conſiſts in the Perception, and Apprehending of External Objects: Which may be done Five ſeveral Ways; for which Reaſon, we are commonly ſaid to have Five Senſes. Concerning that Number I ſhall ſay ſomething in the next Chapter; in the mean

mean while my Reader need ſcarce be told that theſe *Senſes* are call'd, *Hearing*, *Seeing*, *Smelling*, *Taſting*, and *Feeling*.

III. The *Third* thing neceſſary is the *Bodily Inſtrument*, or *Organ* of *Senſe*; and theſe are proportionably *Five* too: The *Eye* for Sight; The *Ear* for Hearing; The *Cavity* at the Top of the Noſe (which goes into the firſt Ventricle of the Brain) for ſmelling: The *Tongue* for Taſting, and the *Skin* all over the Body for that of the Touch, or Feeling.

IV. The *Fourth* Requiſite is that Animal Spirit, derived from the Brain, (which is the Origine and Seat of the Senſitive Soul) and conveighed through the Nerves, to theſe ſeveral Organs: by the Motion and Mediation of which Spirit, and Organ, the Soul exerciſes her Faculty.

V. The *Fifth* is, what the Philoſophers were uſed to call the *Species Senſibilis*, which is in plain *Engliſh*, the Object which moves, and affects, or is propounded to the Organ: and This is of a different kind, according to the different Senſe excited, or applyed to by it. That of *Sight*, or the *Eye* (according to the commonly received Opinion,) is *Colour*; A Quality or Accident inherent in the Body coloured. *Six* of theſe are Styled Simple Colours, as *White*, *Yellow*, *Red*, *Purple*, *Green*, and *Blue*: To which ſome add *Black*, and call them Seven. But, ſtrictly ſpeaking, Black is not any Colour, but only a Privation of Light, reſembling Darkneſs; as other Colours do more or leſs reſemble Light: The Number of Compounded Colours is infinite. And indeed if we go to the Philoſophical Nicety of the Thing, there is no Colour at all in any Body, whatſoever; for This is nothing elſe in Truth but the various Repreſentation, which Light differently modified makes upon our Senſes. For when the Light is gone, all Colour is gone with it, and

as

as this never appears without ſome Colour, ſo it never diſappears, ſo as to leave Colour behind.

Now *Light* is a Quality proceeding from a Luminous Body, which creates in us a Perception and Sight of it ſelf, and of all things elſe within our View. When this terminates upon, and is ſtopp'd by any ſolid Body, it rebounds back again, and doubles its Rays by Reflection: But if it penetrate the Body, and find farther Paſſage, it cannot be ſeen except only in its firſt Source, the Luminous Body from whence it was ſhed originally; nor does it then do us any Service in ſhewing other Objects.

The Object of *Hearing* is Sound; by which we are to underſtand that Noiſe which reſults from the mutual Colliſion of two Bodies; and this is very various: For ſome Sounds are ſweet and melodious, they ſooth and charm the Soul, calm the Paſſions, compoſe the Humours of the Body, and chaſe away the Diſorders of the whole Man. Others again are ſmart and piercing, ſtrike through the very Soul, wound and diſturb our Faculties with an ungrateful Harſhneſs. But of all our Senſes, the Mind ſeems to be moſt under the Power of This; none entertains it with greater Variety; none takes more abſolute Poſſeſſion of it.

The Object of *Taſte* is what we call Savour or Reliſhes; of which the Simple are *Sweet*, *Bitter*, *Sour*, *Sharp*, *Salt*, *Acid*: But of the Compounds there is no Number; they are made ſo exquiſite, and multiplied ſo induſtriouſly.

That of *Smelling* is Flavour; which is a ſort of Vapour ariſing from the Odoriferous Object, and aſcending through the Noſe into the firſt and moſt prominent Ventricles of the Brain. Such Perfumes as are very ſtrong, commit a ſort of Violence upon the Brain, and are prejudicial or offenſive to it: But thoſe that are agreeable and moderate, miniſter

ſter wonderful Comfort and Refreſhment, and both delight and do good to the Head.

The Objects of *Feeling* are ſuch as uſually are term'd the Tactile Qualities, *Hot*, *Cold*, *Moiſt*, *Dry*; to which we may add *Soft* and *Sharp*, *Rough* and *Smooth*, *Motion* and *Reſt*, *Tickling*, &c.

VI. The Laſt thing which muſt concur in Senſation, is the *Medium*, or Space betwixt the Object and the Organ; and this, to render the Operation what it ought to be, is the *Air*, not in any wiſe changed or corrupted, but free, and in its Natural Purity and Diſpoſition.

From hence we may gather, That the Act of Senſation is perform'd, when the Object, or *ſenſible Species* preſents it ſelf by the help of a *Medium* diſpos'd to convey this Repreſentation to the proper Organ fitted to receive it; and that the Animal Spirits lodg'd there do accordingly take the Impreſſion, and apprehend the thing: So that here is *Action* and *Paſſion* both; and the Senſes are not purely *Paſſive*; for, notwithſtanding that they receive an Impreſſion, and in that reſpect are acted upon, yet do they likewiſe act in ſome Degree themſelves, ſo far as they perceive the Image, and apprehend the Object propounded to them. 2.

See the Advertiſement *at the End of the next* Chapter.

The old Philoſophy before *Ariſtotle*'s Time, made a very remarkable Difference between the *Sight* and the reſt of the Senſes: Supposing This to be meerly *Active*, and imagining, that, whereas the Others receiv'd the Object and Impreſſion from without, and ſo cou'd only be *Paſſive*; The Eye quite contrary ſhot out its Rays of Light from within, and made an Impreſſion upon the Viſible Object. But ever ſince *Ariſtotle*, this Account of Viſion hath been better ſtated, and all the Senſes 3.

ſes are allow'd to be equally *Paſſive*, equally wrought upon from without: All the Arguments of the Ancients to the contrary being very eaſily anſwer'd and ſet aſide.

4. But now, beſides theſe Five particular Senſes, the Organs whereof appear outwardly, there is Another, which is call'd the *Common Senſory* within. Here it is that the ſeveral Objects of every ſort, perceiv'd by the Corporeal Organs, make their *Rendezvous*: Hither they are brought to be examin'd, compar'd, ſorted out, and diſtinguiſh'd aſunder: For were there no ſuch Office of Enquiry, all wou'd end in Confuſion. This diſcerning Power is above the Capacity of any particular Organ of Senſe; for each of theſe is intent upon his own Buſineſs; and whatever his Fellows do, is out of His Sphere; he knows nothing at all of the Matter; nor can he be a competent Judge in it.

CHAP. X.

Of the Senſes, which are the moſt Exalted and Noble Parts of the Body.

1. *Of what Conſequence they are to us.* *See* Ch. XV. 11. THE Ordinary way of being conducted to the Knowledge of Things, is by the Aſſiſtance and Miniſtry of our *Senſes*; ſo ſay the Schools, but it is not univerſally true. Theſe are our firſt Inſtructers: All our Learning begins with them, and is at laſt reſolv'd into them: We can go no farther back than they lead us, or give occaſion for us to build Conſequences upon. Each of Theſe is ſupreme within its own Territories; and a large Dominion each of them poſſeſſes: An infinite Number

ber of Reflections and Notions ariſe from each; nor does any One of them hold under, depend upon, or ſtand in need of the reſt: Thus the Power of them all is equally abſolute, though ſome of them have a wider Range, and more Buſineſs, and a longer Train of Conſequences and Inſtructions, than ſome others. Nor are we to wonder at This, ſince the Caſe is the ſame in other Inſtances: For a Petty Prince is as independent, as truly Sovereign within his own ſmall Territories, as the greateſt Monarch upon Earth in Kingdoms of the largeſt extent.

2. *Their Number.*

It is a Maxim univerſally receiv'd, *That there are but Five Senſes in Nature*; and that which inclines all the World to think ſo, is, becauſe we can obſerve no more in our ſelves: But poſſibly there may be more, and ſome queſtion may be made of it; nay indeed ſome probable Reaſons may be offer'd, that there are more. But ſuppoſing that there are, it is certainly not in our Power to know it; nor can we poſſibly aſſert or deny the thing poſitively; For there is no way to diſcover the Want or Defect of a *Senſe* we never had. Several Brutes enjoy all the Advantages of Life that are neceſſary to them, notwithſtanding they do not enjoy all the Methods of Senſation, which Nature hath given to Mankind; and I ſee no Reaſon, why an Animal may not ſubſiſt without any of the *Five Senſes*, that of *Touch* only excepted, which alone wou'd ſupply the bare Neceſſities of Life. It is plain we live very conveniently with *Five*; and yet perhaps there may be *One*, or *Two*, or *Three* more in Nature, which we in no degree partake of. But, as I ſaid, this is more than we do or can know; for each Senſe is confin'd within its own Diviſion, and can make no Diſcoveries, nor hath any Juriſdiction out of its own Compaſs. A Man Blind from his Birth can never be brought

to any Idea of Sight; nor can he (ſtrictly ſpeaking) either deſire it, or be concern'd for the want of it. 'Tis true, he will tell you perhaps, that he wiſhes to *See*, but this is ſpoke by rote, and according as he hears other People expreſs themſelves; for indeed he wiſhes he knows not what: And all it comes to at laſt is, that he wou'd be glad to have ſomewhat which he is told the reſt of the World have, and himſelf hath not. The reaſon of all This is, Becauſe the *Senſes* are the *Doors*, at which all our Knowledge makes its firſt Entrance; and that which did not begin, and is not let in that way, cannot come in at all. Thus a Man is not capable of forming to himſelf a Conception of more Senſes, than thoſe Five which himſelf hath, and conſequently cannot perſuade himſelf, that there are, or can be more in Nature; but it does not follow from hence that there can be no more, becauſe he hath no Notion of any more. Who knows whether the many Difficulties which ſtill remain unaccounted for in many of the Works of Nature, and the Operations of Animals, that eſcape the niceſt Enquiry, and ſubtileſt Penetration of Humane Wit, may not be charged upon the Want of ſome Senſe, which we are not provided with to diſcern them? What the World uſually expreſſes by the Title of *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, and *Occult Qualities*, may have ſome Senſitive Faculties in Nature, accommodated to perceive, and make a competent Judgment of them; and perhaps our Ignorance of them is owing to our being deficient in this Point. Who can tell, whether it be not ſome particular *Sixth Senſe*, which informs the Cock, when it is Midnight, and the firſt Dawning of the Day, and by ſome ſecret Impulſe, puts him conſtantly upon Crowing at thoſe times? The ſame may be ſaid of that Direction, by which ſome Brutes are led

See Note.

led to ſuch Herbs, as are proper for their Recovery, when ſick or ſurfeited; and of many other ſuch things as theſe, which are notorious Matters of Fact, but the reaſons of them perfectly unknown. This is a Caſe in which we are utterly in the Dark; and no Man can be poſitively aſſur'd on either ſide of the Queſtion.

3. *Whether enough of them.*

Some indeed have undertaken to give a Reaſon for this particular Number of *Five Senſes*, and to prove that Theſe are ſufficient, by comparing and diſtinguiſhing them, and the Uſes they ſerve. All *Bodies* (ſay they) without us, which are Objects of our Senſes, are either very near and cloſe to Our Body, or they are at ſome diſtance from it: If they be cloſe to us, and ſtill remain without us, then they fall under our *Touch*: If they approach, and come into us, then they are the Objects of our *Taſte*: If they are more remote, and ſtand before us, ſo that their Diſtances are meaſur'd by a Right Line, then the *Sight* diſcerns them: If the Line be Oblique, and the Motion Reflex, then the *Hearing* does it. Now methinks the Diſtinction were better thus: Of the *Five Senſes* accommodated for the Service of the whole Man, as he is compounded of Body and Soul, ſome are appropriated to the Uſe of the Body only; and Theſe are the *Touch* and the *Taſte*; the One for all that enters within, the Other for that which continues ſtill without it. Some again are firſt and chiefly deſign'd for the Benefit of the Soul, and thoſe are *Sight* and *Hearing*; the Former to aſſiſt Invention, the Latter for Improvement, and Inſtruction, and all manner of Communication. And One more in the midſt of theſe Extremes, fitted to thoſe Spirits and Avenues, that belong to Soul and Body both, which is *Smelling*. Again, They anſwer to the *Four Elements*, and their reſpective Qualities; The *Touch* to the

Earth; *Hearing* to the *Air*; *Taſte* to *Water* and *Moiſture*; *Smelling* to *Fire*; and *Sight* to a Compound of *Water* and *Fire*, becauſe of the Brightneſs of the Eye. It is likewiſe pretended, that there are as many Senſes, as there are General Diviſions of ſenſible Objects; and theſe are Colours, Sounds, Scents, Reliſhes, and a Fifth ſort, which wants a Name to expreſs it, adapted to the *Touch*, and comprehending all the Tactile Qualities, as Hot, Cold, Hard, Soft, Rough, Smooth, Sharp, and the reſt of them. But This is evidently a Miſtake; for the Number of the Senſes is by no means adjuſted, according to the Number of the Objects they are capable of. Nor are theſe Objects the Cauſe of their being juſt ſo many, and no more. Were this a good Account, it wou'd follow, that we muſt have been endu'd with a great many more than we now have; whereas now one and the ſame Senſe entertains Objects of different Kinds; and one and the ſame Object creates a Perception, and impreſſes it ſelf upon ſeveral Senſes at once. The moſt probable Account of this Matter ſeems rather to be, That the Senſes were intended for Means and Inſtruments of conveying Knowledge to us; and that Nature, which, as ſhe is not niggardly, ſo neither is ſhe profuſe, hath given us as many Senſes as are ſufficient for this purpoſe; and that when ſhe had ſupply'd us with enough for our Uſe, ſhe did not think fit to give us any more.

4. *A Compariſon of them.*

Of Theſe the Senſe of *Seeing* does ſurpaſs all the reſt in the Quickneſs of its Operation; For it reaches the very Heavens in an Inſtant, and acts in the Air, which is full of Light and Images, without any Trouble or Motion; whereas all the reſt of the Senſes receive their Impreſſion by the Motion of thoſe Bodies which make it. And all Motion requires Time to be perform'd in; ſo that all the other Senſes muſt needs proceed more

ſlowly

ſlowly than This, which need but open its Organ, and is ſure to find Light and Colours ſtand always ready to be diſcern'd by it. All the Senſes are likewiſe capable of Pleaſure and Pain; but This is obſervable of the two groſſeſt of them, That the *Touch* is capable of abundance of *Pain*, and but very little *Pleaſure*; and the *Taſte*, juſt contrary, feels a great deal of *Pleaſure*, and little or no *Pain*.

5. *The Weakneſs and Uncertainty of them.*

The *Weakneſs* and *Uncertainty* of our Senſes is the Great Cauſe of our Ignorance, and Errour, and all ſort of Miſapprehenſion: For, ſince *Knowledge* is attain'd by the Mediation of the *Senſes* only, if theſe make a falſe Report, what can we do but receive and ſtick to it? But after All, who can tell what Reports they make, or how can any Man accuſe them of Falſhood, ſince we learn all from Them, and conſequently even That which gives us this Jealouſie, and is the Ground of the Accuſation? Some indeed affirm, That the *Senſes are faithful* in all their Meſſages, and repreſent the very Truth; That, when we imagine they deceive us, the Fault is not in Them, but in ſomething elſe; and that we ought rather to lay it at any other Door; for no other thing is ſo free from, ſo incapable of impoſing upon us. Some again run into the contrary Extreme, cry out upon the Senſes as downright *infamous Lyars*, and tell you, that nothing at all of Certainty can be had from them. * But the Truth lies between theſe Extremes.

* *See Advertiſement.*

6. *The mutual Deceits of the Mind, and the Senſes.*

Now, Whether the Senſes themſelves are deceiv'd or not, thus much at leaſt is evident, that they put a Cheat, nay ſometimes a Conſtraint upon *Reaſon*; and that by an unhappy Viciſſitude, *Reaſon* pays them back in their own Coin, and returns the *Cheat* upon Them. And is not Man, think you, like to be wonderful Wiſe and Knowing, when the outward and the inward Inſtru-

ments of Inſtruction are Eternally tricking one another, and his whole Compoſition is full of Falſhood and Weakneſs in the moſt neceſſary and eſſential Parts of it? Now, that the Senſes deceive, and commit a Violence upon the Underſtanding, we ſee plain enough in thoſe Inſtances, where Some of them immediately put us in a Rage, Others ſweeten and appeaſe the Soul, and Others again tickle and pleaſe it exceedingly. And why ſhou'd Men turn their Heads away, when they are let Blood, or lanced, or ſuffer Inciſions and Burnings, but from their Conſciouſneſs of the Power the Senſes have to *diſturb* their Reaſon; and that the ſame thing is better born, when the Eyes do not obſerve the Operation? The Looking down a Pit, or vaſt Precipice, diſorders and confounds a Man, though he knows at the ſame time, that he ſtands ſafe himſelf, and cannot reaſonably apprehend any danger of falling into it? And, to inſtance in no more, 'tis evident, that Senſe of Pain and Pleaſure both, does every Day vanquiſh, and utterly confound the beſt and braveſt Reſolutions of Virtue, and Temperance, and Patience.

Again, It is no leſs evident, that the Senſes on the other hand are cheated by the *Underſtanding*. This is demonſtrated by thoſe Agitations of Anger, and Love, and Hatred, and other Paſſions, which impoſe upon us, and make us ſee and hear things quite otherwiſe than they really are. Nay ſometimes our Senſes are not only deceived, but perfectly ſtupify'd, and bound up from all power of Action, by violent Diſorders of the Soul, as if the Soul retir'd inwards, and were entirely taken up there; For thus it often happens, when our Mind is very intent upon ſomewhat elſe, the Eye never ſees, nor takes the leaſt notice of thoſe Objects that ſtand directly before it, and preſent themſelves to our View. And Reaſon and Senſe judge very diffe-

differently of the Magnitude of the Sun and Stars, and of the Shape of a Stick in the Water.

7. *Theſe Senſes are common to Men and Brutes.*

Other Living Creatures have a Share in this Gift of Nature as well as We, and ſometimes are more liberally dealt with in it: For Some are quicker of Hearing than Men; Others have a ſtronger and clearer Sight; Others a nicer Smell; and Others a more diſtinguiſhing Taſte. The general Opinion is, that a *Stag* excells all other Creatures in *Hearing*, an *Eagle* in *Seeing*, a *Dog* in *Smelling*, an *Ape* in *Taſting*, and a *Tortoiſe* in *Feeling*. But yet the Pre-eminence in this laſt hath been allow'd to *Man*; which is not much for our Credit, ſince This of all the Senſes is reckon'd the groſſeſt and moſt Brutal. In the mean while, this Reflexion upon what hath gone before, may not be unſeaſonable; That if the Senſes are the Means and Inſtruments of Knowledge, and Brutes have Senſes too, nay frequently more acute and penetrating than Ours, there may a fair Argument be drawn from hence, for Their partaking in Knowledge with us, as well as they partake of the Helps and Means that convey it to us.

8. *It is hard to truſt our Senſes.*

But though the Senſes be the *Inſtruments* of *Knowledge*, yet are they not the *only* Inſtruments; much leſs are our own Senſes alone to be conſulted or depended upon in the Caſe: For if it happens that Brutes have from Their Senſes a Report different from that which Ours make, and the Judgment given upon that Evidence do conſequently diſagree with the Notions we form to our ſelves, (as in ſundry Inſtances 'tis plain it does happen) which of theſe two Teſtimonies ſhall we believe? Our *Faſting-Spittle cleanſes* and *heals* our own *Wounds*, and yet it *kills a Serpent*; Now from Two ſo different Effects, what Concluſion can be made concerning the true Nature of Humane Spittle? Shall we ſay that it is of a Drying and a Cleanſing,

or of a Poyſonous and Killing Quality? To make any certain Determination of the Operations of Senſe, we ſhou'd do well, methinks, to agree with the Brutes, who have the ſame Faculties as well as We. But the leaſt that can poſſibly be requir'd in order to it, is, That we ſhou'd be conſiſtent with our own ſelves, and that the ſame Judge, and the ſame Evidence ſhou'd always concur in the ſame Sentence. And yet even This we are not come to: Shut your Eye, and put your Finger upon part of the Lid, and this Eye ſo preſs'd ſees things after another manner, than it does in the Natural and Common Poſture. Stop your Ear, and the Sound is vaſtly different from what it is in the ordinary Impreſſion: Theſe Differences every Man, when he will, may make for himſelf. But ſome there are which Nature hath made to our Hand: A Child Taſtes, and Hears, and Sees much otherwiſe than a Grown Man; and a Man in his full Strength differs no leſs from an Old Man; One in perfect Health, from a ſick Perſon; a Wiſe Man from a Fool. Now where the Diverſity and Diſtance is ſo great, nay, where there is even a Contrariety of Perceptions, where ſhall we fix, or what can we depend upon for Truth? Even One Senſe contradicts, and gives the Lye to another; for a Piece of *Painting* which ſeems Raiſed, and in *Relief* (as they term it) to the Eye, when we come to feel it with the Hand, is perfectly flat and ſmooth.

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IN order to giving the Reader a right Notion of the Matter treated of in this Chapter, I ſhall beg leave to detain him a little, with the Conſideration of theſe *Three Particulars.*

Firſt, What dependence may be had upon the *Evidence of Senſe.*

Secondly, Whence thoſe *Miſtakes* do really proceed, which we find ſometimes charg'd upon the *Deceivableneſs of our Senſes.*

Thirdly, Whether All our Knowledge depends upon our *Senſes*, ſo as that we can know nothing but by Their means.

I. *As to the Evidence of Senſe*; This is what all Mankind, who have ever allow'd any-thing of Knowledge or Certainty at all, conſtantly look'd upon, as the ſureſt and moſt irrefragable in all thoſe Caſes, which are the proper Objects of it: And therefore He that went about to evacuate or weaken this, was eſteem'd a Man not fit to be diſputed with: Becauſe one muſt needs deſpair of producing any better and more convincing Proofs, and ſo he muſt continue in incurable Ignorance, unleſs we cou'd ſuppoſe ſo abſurd a Proceſs in arguing, as that a Man ſhou'd be perſuaded of a thing more manifeſt, by a *Medium* which is leſs ſo. It were an Affront to Humane Nature, to endeavour the eſtabliſhing this by Arguments, ſince none ever diſclaim'd the Truth of it, but They who wou'd not allow us to be ſure that any Thing was true; and conſequently, cou'd no more depend upon their own Objections againſt it, than they cou'd upon the Thing they brought them againſt. Therefore *Lucretius* hath very deſervedly expos'd the Folly of ſuch perverſe Scepticks, in his *Fourth Book.*

Denique

Denique nil ſciri ſiquis putat, &c.

He that ſays Nothing can be known, o'erthrows
His own Opinion; for He Nothing knows;
So knows not That. What need of long diſpute?
Thoſe Maxims kill Themſelves, Themſelves confute:
But grant This might be known, and grant He knew;
Yet ſince he hath diſcover'd nothing true,
What Mark, and what Criterion then can ſhow,
Or tell, what 'tis to know, *or* not to know?
Or how cou'd He what's Truth, *what's* Falſhood *learn?*
How what was Doubt, *what* Certainty *diſcern?*
From Senſe all Truth and Certainty inferr,
In vain ſome ſtrive to prove that Senſe can err;
For that which wou'd convince, which wou'd oppoſe
The Senſes, muſt be ſurer far than thoſe.

So that upon theſe Terms, it is evident all Knowledge muſt be given up, becauſe if our Senſes be falſe, we can have no ſtronger Conviction than what ariſes from Them, that any thing is true; nor that there is ſuch a thing as *Truth* or *Falſhood* in the World. But beſides, if it were proper to argue in ſuch a Caſe, any reaſonable Perſon wou'd find no difficulty in the Belief of this Matter; For if he only allow the *Being of a God*, and conſiders the mighty conſequence of our Senſes to us in all our Affairs whatſoever; it can never enter into one's Head, that a Being of ſuch Perfections wou'd leave his Creatures in perpetual Ignorance and Uncertainty, and give them ſuch Organs and Inſtruments, as ſhou'd only deceive and confound them: For God indeed is the true Efficient Cauſe of all our Senſations, and the Foundation of our Certainty; and his Goodneſs and Truth are our Pledges, that we are not miſtaken

ſtaken, and always in the wrong, in the due Uſe of thoſe Faculties he hath given us to diſtinguiſh things by.

Again: If we obſerve the manner how theſe Operations are perform'd, that it is by External Impreſſions, by which the Object ſtrikes upon the proper Organ, and that Impreſſion is continu'd till it be carry'd on to that, which is called the *Common Senſory*, or the inward Seat of Senſe; All this muſt depend upon the ſame neceſſary Laws of *Matter* and *Motion*, by which *Bodies* in general act upon one another. And therefore, ſuppoſing the ſame Object, the ſame force of Impreſſion, the ſame Situation, the ſame Diſpoſition of the Organ, the ſame *Medium*, and the like; the Report of the Senſe cannot but be the ſame: But where there is a Variation in any of theſe, the Perception is under a neceſſity of Varying too. Thus, (to uſe the Inſtance mention'd by *Charron*) When part of the Eye-Lid is preſs'd down by the Finger, the Rays are differently admitted into the Pupil, and fall upon two ſeveral places of the *Tunica Retina*, which conſequently creates a twofold Impreſſion of the Object: And This Duplicity is as natural and neceſſary in ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Eye, as truly agreeable to all the Rules of *Matter* and *Motion*, as a ſingle Repreſentation wou'd be in the uſual Poſture; ſo far from a Reflexion upon the Truth of Senſe, that our Senſes could not be true, if the thing were otherwiſe repreſented. A proportionable Difference muſt needs follow in the different Modifications of Light and Shades; (which is the Reaſon of that Appearance taken notice of here, of Pieces in *Relief*) the dextrous Management whereof makes the great Secret of the *Art of Painting*. So it is again, if there be any thing uncommon in the *Medium* through which the Rays paſs from the Object to the Organ

gan of Senſe; which is the Caſe of Priſmes, or of Eyes, either diſtorted in their Situation, or diſcolour'd in any of the Humours: And as Theſe make a Change in the repreſented Colour of the Object, ſo does the Contraction or Dilatation of the Pupil, in the Magnitude or Figure of it. And the Eye, and other Organs of Senſe, varying by Age, Sickneſs, Nature, or Accidents, unavoidably require different Senſations, in Perſons of different Years and Conditions. The Matter coming much to one, whether the Object be variouſly repreſented through Diſtance, or its own Poſture and Form, or through ſome Change and Defect of the Organ, which receives the Impreſſion. All Which ſufficiently accounts for the differing Senſations of Children, Grown-Men, and Aged Perſons; the different Taſtes of the Sick and the Healthful; and indeed the vaſt Diverſity of Palats among Mankind in general: For here is a mighty Diverſity in the Organ of Senſe; and the making one and the ſame Report is therefore impoſſible: For our Senſes are like Meſſengers, and all their Buſineſs is, To be Faithful and True in delivering their Errand, as they have receiv'd it. If it were not given as it ought to be at firſt, (that is, if there be any accidental Defects to change the Appearance) This they are not reſponſible for; but they are to tell what they feel, and hear, and ſee; and in This they are faithful, and may be depended upon. For, That they may be truſted even in Matters of the greateſt Conſequence, is beyond all reaſonable Contradiction; not only from the moſt neceſſary and important Matters of Humane Life, being carry'd on upon the Confidence of this Teſtimony, but (which to a Chriſtian is much more conſiderable) from all the External Evidences of *Religion* being put upon this Iſſue. The Life and Death, the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Bleſſed

Bleſſed Saviour, the Doctrines he taught, and the Miracles he did in Confirmation of them, being ſo many Appeals to the Senſes of thoſe with whom he convers'd, and the great Motive to Perſuaſion, which the Apoſtle urges, is, that he deliver'd That to his Proſelytes concerning the Word of Life, of which they had had all poſſible Demonſtrations, ſince it was what He and his Fellow-Preachers *had heard, what they had ſeen with their Eyes, what they had looked upon,* and their *Hands had handled.* All which was certainly a very weak and impertinent Allegation, if the Senſes are ſo liable to Miſtakes, and ſo uncertain a Foundation of Knowledge, that we cannot with ſafety fix any Concluſions from the Reports they make to us. And yet it cannot be deny'd, but Men do very frequently err by too eaſie a Credulity in this reſpect, which miniſters ſufficient ground for our Second Enquiry. 1 John I. 1.

II. *Whence thoſe Errours do really proceed, which we find ſometimes charged upon the Deceiveableneſs of our Senſes.* In This, as well as ſome Other Particulars, *Epicurus* ſeems to have been very unfairly dealt withal by the *Stoicks*, and ſome other Philoſophers of a contrary Party; who, becauſe he aſſerted the Truth of the Senſes, and vindicated their Fidelity in Reporting, have charg'd him with affirming, that a Man cou'd not poſſibly miſtake in forming Judgments according to thoſe Appearances. Whereas in Truth *Epicurus* only places the Senſes in the Quality of Evidence, whoſe buſineſs it is to relate bare Matter of Fact, but does by no means deny the Juriſdiction of the Court to which thoſe Accounts are given, to paſs Sentence as ſhall ſeem juſt and equal. To this purpoſe is that περσμενόμενον, which *Diogenes Laertius* in his Tenth Book mentions; and *Gaſſendus* in his Comment upon it, ſo rationally enlarges upon. By which is meant, that

that Men ought to avoid Precipitation, and not raſhly pronounce, that things are in reality as they are repreſented; but calmly and ſlowly examine Circumſtances, and obſerve the Cauſes of ſuch Repreſentations. Thus likewiſe *Lucretius* in his Fourth Book, after having inſtanc'd in ſeveral Appearances, which, when ſtrictly enquir'd into, are found to differ from the Nature of the things themſelves, cloſes his Account with theſe very ſignificant Verſes,

Cætera de genere hoc mirando multa videmus,
Quæ violare fidem quaſi ſenſibus omnia quærunt.
Nequicquam. Quoniam pars horum maxima fallit,
Propter Opinatus animi, quos addimus ipſi, &c.

Which the *Engliſh* Reader may take from Mr. *Creech* thus:

Ten Thouſand ſuch appear, Ten Thouſand Foes
To Certainty of Senſe; and All *oppoſe:*
In vain. 'Tis Judgment, not the Senſe miſtakes,
Which fancy'd *Things for* real *Objects takes.*

If then One Light appear to be Two, when the Eye-Lid is preſs'd; if a Square Building at a Diſtance ſeem Round; if a Piece in Perſpective ſeem a Cloyſter or a Portico; a Man is not preſently to conclude that theſe are really ſuch; nor can he be excus'd if he do ſo. For Reaſon and Conſideration wou'd convince him, that theſe Idea's muſt be ſo, and cou'd not be otherwiſe; That the unnatural Diſpoſition of the Eye muſt needs double the Image in the firſt Inſtance; That the Diſtance of the Object will naturally cut off the Angles, and render the Perception leſs diſtinct, in the ſecond; and that Shades artificially caſt, and ſome Strokes of the Pencil or Style bolder and ſtronger than

than the reſt, will of neceſſity create Imaginary Protuberances, and imaginary Diſtances in the Laſt. What Courſe then ſhall one take to prevent Errours in theſe Caſes? In general; he muſt not be too haſty in giving Judgment, but bring theſe things to the Teſt. The Firſt muſt be viewed with his Eye in its uſual Form and Condition; the Second he muſt make nearer Approaches to, and view it cloſe at Hand: For the Third he may call in another Senſe to his Aſſiſtance; and if the Eye alone cannot, the Touch muſt ſet him right.

But to this *Charron* replyes, and not only He, but *Lucretius*, That no One Senſe can poſſibly correct another:

An poterunt Oculos Aures reprehendere, an Aures
Tactus? &c.

What? Can the Ears convince the Eyes? Can Thoſe
Confute the Hand, the Palate, or the Noſe?
Tell them wherein they err, when e'er they miſs,
And give falſe Notices? Fond Fancy this!
For Each a proper Uſe and Power enjoys,
A proper Object every Senſe Employs.

But after all, What is the true Meaning of this Argument, and how much does it amount to? No more than this. That All the Senſes are not equally adapted to receive and diſtinguiſh all manner of Objects: that Each of them is equally Faithfull in thoſe peculiar to it: And conſequently, the Eyes cannot correct the Ear in Sounds; nor the Ear the Noſe in Smells: But does it follow from hence, that when two, or more of theſe Evidences are joyned, they will not corroborate the Teſtimony, and give a firmer Aſſurance? or that Rea-

Reaſon, which is the proper Judge may not ſift out the Truth by confronting theſe Evidences againſt one another? This is a Conſtruction wholly foreign to the Place, and to the Philoſopher's Deſign. And therefore (ſays *Empiricus*) *as Phyſicians pronounce of a Diſeaſe not from One ſingle Symptom, but from the Concurrence of ſeveral; and a Fever is diſtinguiſh'd, not only by the quickneſs of the Pulſe, but by the Exceſs of Heat, the Redneſs of the Complexion, the Height of the Water, the Exceſſive Thirſt, and other Characters known to the Skilful in that Art; So a doubting Philoſopher makes a Judgment of Truth, by the Co-incidence and good Agreement of ſeveral Ideas compar'd together.* And to the ſame Purpoſe, *Macrobius* hath deſcribed the Proceſs fit for ſuch Caſes. If (ſays he) *a Man ſees the Figure of an Apple at a Diſtance, it does not preſently follow that this is a real Apple; becauſe this Reſemblance may be form'd out of other Materials. What then ſhall he do to ſatisfie himſelf? Let him put it to the Tryal of another Senſe, and judge of it by the Smell: But poſſibly it may have lain among Apples, and retain the Scent: Then conſult the Touch, and examine the Weight of it: But perhaps the Cunning Artificer hath been very Nice in adjuſting this too; If ſo, let him have recourſe to the Taſt, and if he find the true Reliſh of an Apple; theſe concurring Evidences leave no reaſonable Doubt of its being really the very Fruit it at firſt ſeem'd to be.* From hence it does not only appear, what Care ought to be taken in judging the Repreſentations of Senſe; but likewiſe, how it comes to paſs, that Men ſo often err upon this Occaſion. That it is meerly the Effect of Raſhneſs, and Negligence; and the determining more than we have Evidence for. For theſe Ideas, and Impreſſions give us only the appearances, and external Accidents of things; and ſo long as we affirm them to Appear ſo to us, we are ſafe, and cannot Err. But if from theſe Accidents we ſhall under-

Saturn 7. 14.

undertake to determine of their Subſtance and Nature: if we ſhall definitively ſay, They actually Are, what they Appear, our own Mind miſguides us; and the Fault lies not in the Evidence, which told us true; but in the Judge, who decides the Cauſe, without canvaſing the Witneſſes, and declares That for Right and Truth, which was never poſ'd before him.

My Reader will eaſily apply what hath been ſaid here (perhaps too tediouſly) to what our Author inſinuates of the mutual Cheat, in his ſixth *Paragraph* of this *Chapter*. For hence it is that our Pannick Fears, and other groundleſs and violent Paſſions of the Mind, grow to ſuch Exceſſes, that they run away with the Firſt Impreſſions, and never call in Reaſon, to calm and moderate the Diſorder of the Spirits; but are perfectly tranſported in the preſent Heat and Agitation, and inſtead of examining, magnify the tormenting Ideas to themſelves. All which is in no Degree owing to the natural Defect, either of Senſe or Reaſon; but to ſtrength of Paſſion, and Neglect of ſuch timely Remedies, as Nature hath provided us with, if not wholly to prevent, yet at leaſt to abate, and ſoften, and reduce it to a convenient Temper.

III. I proceed now to the laſt Enquiry, *Whether all our Knowledge depend upon the Senſes, ſo as that we can know nothing but by Their Means.* Here *Gaſſendus* forſakes me, and fiercely vindicates that receiv'd Opinion of ſome old Philoſophers, *That nothing can come at the Underſtanding, except it paſs through ſome of the Senſes in its Way thither.*

It is not aſſerted by thoſe who undertake to maintain that Opinion, that nothing more can be known by us, than what the Impreſſions of Senſe give us an immediate Perception of; but that we are inſtructed from Reflection as well as

Sensation; so that, by abstracting, enlarging, or otherwise modifying our Ideas, we come to understand the Nature of things; yet so as that we can understand nothing, except the Ideas of it are entertain'd clearly and distinctly; either so as to represent to us the thing it self; or so as to give us sufficient Matter for Reflection to work upon, in raising fresh Ideas from it.

I. Thus it is, that they pretend to answer the Argument commonly urged against them, from that very Power we find in our selves, and the common Exercise of it, to correct the Errors of Imagination. For if all *Perceptions* of the *Mind* were *Corporeal Images* of the *Brain*, we must necessarily judge according to the Report of our Sensitive Organs; and so the Sun must be concluded no Bigger than he appears. No (say they) for the Mind knows very well, that Distance lessens the Object to the Eye; and therefore reflecting agreeably to the Rules given in the former Particular, it pronounces the Sun vastly bigger than it seems. But still, All this will not amount to those Reasons, which adjust its Magnitude, to be 160 times Bigger than the Earth. Or, if they would, yet Proportions and Distances are meer Respects, and such as we can have no Corporeal Images of. These then are the Effect of another Principle; and so is the Determinate Magnitude of this Body; for though Inlarging the Idea, and allowing for Distance, would create an Image vastly Bulky perhaps; yet this could not state the Exact Dimensions, nor form the Comparison in such Odds, between that Globe of Fire, and this of Earth.

II. Another Argument against all *Knowledge* proceeding *from the Senses*, is taken from Those, which are commonly call'd the *Reflex Acts of the Mind*, such as we perceive our Own Operations and Thoughts by: For all Ideas, which are intromitted by the

Sen-

Senſes, come from Material Objects, and ſuch Impreſſions are ſubject to the common Laws of Matter; one of which is, To act by Impulſe, and upon ſomething elſe, but not upon it ſelf. So that it is impoſſible for the Mind to have its own Image convey'd through the Organs of Senſe; and conſequently theſe ſorts of Operations, by which it retires inward, and recollects, and views it ſelf; As they are undeniable in Fact, ſo are they in all Reaſon to be aſcribed to ſome other Power than *Imagination*; and ſuch as the Senſes and External Impreſſions have nothing to do in.

III. But though we ſhould allow, that the Mind (as ſome have contended, though they have not been able to prove it) can by Similitude, Abſtraction, and ſuch other Methods, form Ideas even of theſe things; yet what ſhall we ſay to the Caſe of *Immaterial Subſtances?* And that ſuch there are, a Reflection upon our own Souls, the Objects about which they are converſant, their ſeveral Operations, and the Manner of them, very incompatible with Matter and the Laws of Motion, will not ſuffer reaſoning People to Doubt. Now if all Knowledge be derived from our Senſes, it muſt proceed from ſuch Ideas as are drawn upon the Imagination, by Impreſſions upon the outward Organ, conveyed thither in the uſual Courſe and Method of Senſation; but theſe Impreſſions cannot be made otherwiſe, than by *Matter* and *Motion*; and conſequently, either we can have no diſtinct Notion, no aſſurance of any Immaterial Subſtances; or elſe we may have ſome Knowledge which does not depend upon, nor accrew to us from our Senſes.

IV. At this Rate, neither can we have any Idea at all, of the Firſt and moſt perfect Being, God himſelf: For what Repreſentations ca nSenſe

give us? what Reflections can it help us to, of a Being Infinite and Eternal, Independent and produced from no other Cauſe; ſuch as hath the Properties of *Self*, and *Neceſſary Exiſtence* inſeparable from the Notion of it? It is not the Image of an old Man, nor the multiplying of Years into a vaſt Duration, that will do the Buſineſs here; for ſtill the main Difficulty, of never Beginning, never Ending; Self-Origination, or ἀνυποθετος remains; and will for ever remain, not only incapable of any ſenſible Repreſentation, but a Contradiction to them all. And yet *Reaſon* aſſures us, That ſuch a Being, there certainly is; nay, that there needs muſt be; for without it, nothing could ever have been at all; but We muſt loſe our ſelves and all our Ideas in a Maze and infinite Circle of Cauſes; and ſhall never be able to account for the Exiſtence of any thing, which our Senſes are confeſt to repreſent to us, unleſs we admit of One thing, which it muſt be confeſt, they never can give us any ſort of Repreſentation of.

V. Once more. To come lower, and obſerve even Corporeal Subſtances themſelves. Such as we ſee, and feel, and converſe with every Moment. From ſuch as theſe it is that our Senſes are moved. But let us conſider, What it is that moves them; or how far we can be informed by ſuch Impreſſions. Now it is granted on all Hands, that *Senſe* can only inſtruct us in the Modes and Accidents of Things; and yet All thinking Men muſt allow, that thoſe Accidents are not capable of ſubſiſting alone. So that we can learn this Way the Powers and Properties of things, but not the Things themſelves. Thus, while we are forced to make a Difference, between the Nature and Real Eſſence, and the Properties or Accidents inherent in that Nature; we muſt yield plainly, that all our Knowledge is ſo far from depending upon *Senſe*, that we

we cannot know any one thing by it. Since every Man's Reaſon undeniably aſſures him, that there is ſomething more intimate and deep, which no Ideas can reach to; and without which thoſe Superficial Qualities, of which he hath any Idea, could not poſſibly ſubſiſt.

Upon the whole Matter it is certain, that there muſt be ſome common Notices and Principles, ſuch as evidence themſelves to every conſidering Mind, which do not only aſſiſt, but carry us beyond any ſenſible Ideas, or any Reflections they can be improved into: Concerning which, if my Reader deſire more full ſatisfaction, and would ſee this Argument illuſtrated at large, he will do well to conſult the incomparably Learned and Judicious Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, in his late *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. Chap. X.

I add only upon this Occaſion, that the foregoing Reaſons are of good Force to prove, that the Humane Soul is of a more Noble Principle than *Matter*. For indeed, not only *Reaſon*, but *Senſation* is not to be ſolved upon other Terms. Of which the Modern Philoſophers were well aware; who, when they aſſerted the Souls of Brutes to be mere Matter, ſoon found an abſolute Neceſſity of affirming, that they were altogether void of Senſe too: For though the outward Impreſſion be made upon the Organ, yet it is a Reflex Act, which makes the Senſation, and informs the Patient of it. And ſuch Acts they have not been able to conceive, how *Matter* ſhould be capable of. Since it is the Property of one Body to Act upon another, but no Body can act upon it ſelf.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sight, Hearing, and Speech.

Theſe Three compared together.

THeſe are the Three Jewels, the moſt Excellent and Valuable Endowments, that belong to the Body of Man: None that appear to outward View, are comparable to them; but it will bear ſome Diſpute, which of the Three ought to be preferr'd. As to the Organ, by which they are performed, it muſt be confeſt, that That of the *Sight* is admirable for its charming Form, and nice Compoſition; it is Beautiful, Lively, and Sparkling, made up of great Variety; its Parts Subtle, and Small; and their Humours mix'd to Aſtoniſhment, both for Uſe and Comelineſs. From whence that common Obſervation hath obtained, that the *Eye* is one of thoſe Parts, which Nature firſt begins to form, and finiſhes one of the laſt. Upon the ſame Account This is one of the tendereſt, and moſt delicate Parts about us: Subject to a vaſt Number of Diſeaſes and Infirmities. Phyſicians and Anatomiſts have reckoned no leſs than a Hundred and Twenty Indiſpoſitions incident to it. *Speech* is eſteem'd the next in Dignity, but *Hearing* makes ſome amends for the laſt and loweſt Place, by the many great Advantages belonging to it. *Sight* ſeems to be the moſt Neceſſary, and moſt Serviceable to the Body. And this ſeems to be the Reaſon, why it is of greater Conſequence to Brutes, whoſe Advantages are chiefly Corporeal, than Hearing can be: But *Hearing* ſeems to challenge the Preference, with Regard to the Advantages and Improvement of the Mind. *Sight* is principally Uſeful for Invention,

vention, for moſt things are diſcover'd by the help of this Senſe; but though it lays the firſt Foundations, and gives the Hints, yet it brings nothing to Perfection. It is farther to be conſider'd, that Sight is capable of Perception in nothing but what is Corporeal, and it gives no Knowledge of Univerſals. Individuals and Bodies are its proper Object, and it cannot penetrate into theſe any deeper than the Shell or Surface. It is the proper Inſtrument of Ignorant and Unlearned Men, who look no farther, than that which is juſt before them, and makes an Impreſſion upon the outward Senſes.

Hearing may be term'd an *Inward* and *Spiritual Senſe*: It is the Agent and Conveyer of Intelligence to the Underſtanding; the Inſtrument of Learning and Thought; and receives not only Individuals, as Sight does, but dives into their moſt ſecret and abſtruſe Parts; nay it hath a Capacity ſo large as to comprehend General, Spiritual, Abſtracted, and Divine Truths; ſuch as Sight is ſo far from giving us any aſſiſtance in, that it rather diſturbs and confounds us in the Diſquiſition of them. Accordingly, there have been many Inſtances of Great Men who have been blind, and yet ſingularly eminent for Wiſdom and Knowledge; and ſome of Perſons who have depriv'd themſelves of Sight, in order to the becoming more exquiſite Philoſophers; but no one Example of either of theſe Kinds can be produced in Deaf Perſons. This is the Gate by which we enter, and ſtorm the Caſtle; By This we bend the Mind to Good or Evil. So Profane Story tells us of *Agamemnon*'s Queen, whoſe Chaſtity was preſerv'd by Muſick: And ſo Sacred Story relates, that *Saul*'s Evil-Spirit was charm'd by *David*'s Harp: and ſo the *Roman* Hiſtory obſerves, that *Gracchus* the famous Orator ſweetned his Voice by the help

2. *Hearing preferr'd.*

of one that play'd to him upon the Flute, and taught him ſuch Tones, as were moſt moving, and for his purpoſe. In ſhort, This is the Only Paſſage that Learning, and Truth, and Vertue have found to our Souls; and the *Goſpel* it ſelf enters
Rom.x.17 by it: For the Apoſtle hath told us, That *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God.* And that they who obſtinately ſtick to the Report of their Sight, will find it rather an Obſtruction than an Informer in the higheſt Myſteries of Re-
Heb.xi.1. ligion. That *Faith is the Evidence of things not ſeen,* and the Belief of Teſtimonies that are heard: And accordingly the Primitive Chriſtians had a Claſs of Believers to whom they gave the Title of *Audientes,* Hearers. To all This I may add, that This Senſe is of great Uſe in the Dark, and when Men are aſleep, by giving them ſeaſonable Alarms, and awakening them to provide for their Defence and Preſervation. Upon all theſe Accounts the Philoſophers are ſo profuſe in their Praiſes of *Hearing,* recommending the diligent uſe of it, adviſing us to purge our Ears, and keep them clean from Prejudice and Corruption; This being the beſt Security, the ſureſt Guard of our Souls, as a Commander in Garriſon would make it his firſt and chief Care, to keep ſtrict Centry, and line the Gates and Walls well, for fear an Enemy ſhould ruſh in and ſurprize him.

3. *The Power of Speech.* *Speech* is a particular Favour of Nature to Mankind, and a very uſeful, neceſſary, and excellent Gift it is. Conſider it with reſpect to the Speaker, and it is the Image and Interpreter of the Soul; the Meſſenger of the Heart, the Door by which all that lies within, comes out, and ſhews it ſelf abroad. Whatſoever is born in Darkneſs, is thus brought forth into the Light; the Mind diſcovers and diſplays it ſelf moſt clearly this way; which gave occaſion to that Saying of one of the Anci-

ents

ents, * *Speak, that I may know what you are.* Thus Men are like Veſſels, which by the Sound are quickly diſtinguiſh'd, whether they be broken or whole, full or empty; and Speech to Them is like the Touchſtone to Metals; the Counterfeit and the true Standard are immediately known by it.

But if we conſider it with regard to the Perſons to whom it is directed, thus it is a powerful and an imperious Maſter; enters the Caſtle, ſeizes the Governour; it moves and ſtirs him, it animates and encourages, it provokes and appeaſes, it raiſes and dejects him; it overwhelms him with Grief, and tranſports him with Joy; makes what Impreſſions, inſpires what Paſſions it pleaſes; manages and moulds the Soul into any Form, and bends it all manner of ways: Nay, it extends its Dominion over the Body too; makes that Red with Bluſhes, and Pale with Fear; provokes Laughter and Tears; forces it to ſtart and ſhiver; to tremble with Anger, leap for Joy, ſwoon and faint away with Violence of Paſſion.

Conſider it with regard to the World in general, and *Speech* is as it were the Hand of the Soul, which This uſes as the Body does the Natural one, for taking and receiving, for asking and for giving Aſſiſtance. This is the great Goer-between, the Carrier of Intelligence, the Factor for Trade †, as the *Latin* Etymologiſts tell us, that the Word which ſignifies *Traffick* and *Commerce*, derives it ſelf from *Mercury* the God of *Eloquence*. By It Treaties of Peace are made, War proclaim'd, all manner of Buſineſs publick and private negotiated and diſpatched; Learning, and all the hidden Treaſures of the Mind uttered and diſtributed: For This in Truth is the Original and the Inſtrument of all Communication; the Band and Cement of Hu-

* Eloquere, ut videam. † Merx à Mercurio.

mane

mane Society, (provided the Language be perfectly underſtood; for as one of the Ancients ſaid, *A Man had better be in the Company of a Dog that he knows, and is acquainted with, than in that of another Man, who cannot make himſelf underſtood by us.* So that one Foreigner to another does by no means anſwer the † Character of his Nature, and is in effect as no Man.)

In ſhort, The *Tongue* is a Tool converted to all manner of Uſes; an Inſtrument of Good and Evil, as *Wiſdom* it ſelf hath taught us; *Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue.* The Advantages and the Inconveniences that proceed from it are never to be expreſt; a prudent or an incautious, a wicked, or a conſcientious uſe of it, diſpoſes our own, and ſometimes other Peoples Fortunes; or draws down infinite Dangers; preſerves or deſtroys Reputation; So that nothing is of better or worſe Conſequence than the Tongue. *The Tongue of the Wiſe and Juſt* (ſays the ſame Divine *Wiſdom*) *is as choice Silver,* it is *Health,* it is *a Tree of Life,* enriching, healing, reconciling; a Preſervative and a Happineſs. It is as the Door to a Royal Cabinet, upon the opening whereof we immediately ſee a Thouſand precious Rarities, more beautiful, more valuable than all the Wealth of both the *Indies*; more fragrant and refreſhing than all the Gums and Spices of *Arabia.* The Wiſe draws out his Artillery in Order, ſets his Philoſophical Aphoriſms and profitable Sentences in array, applies his Similitudes and Examples pertinently and ſeaſonably, improves others by his Reading, and renders the Hiſtories of former Ages of preſent and publick Uſe, enriches all he converſes with out of his own inexhauſtible Mine; offers nothing but what is ſolid, and ſubſtantial, and try'd; and is ready

Prov. xviii. 21.

Of a good and ill Tongue.

Prov. x. 20. xii. 18. xv. 4.

† Ut externus alieno non ſit hominis vice.

upon

upon all occaſions, (like the Wealthy and Prudent Houſholder alluded to in the Goſpel) *to bring forth out of his Treaſures things new and old.* Such beneficial Inſtructions as may be of uſe to regulate the Manners of private Perſons, and direct the Government and Adminiſtration of the Publick; ſuch as may be ſerviceable to all Circumſtances, all the Parts and Duties of Men, and teach them both how to Live, and how to Die well. And when Theſe are introduc'd at ſeaſonable Times, and manag'd with Diſcretion, the Beauty and the Pleaſure of them is exceeding great, as well as the Benefit and Advantage; *A Word fitly ſpoken is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.* So the Wiſeſt of Men hath expreſs'd the Counſels, or Reproofs, or Comforts handſomly deliver'd; and what can poſſibly be more grateful, more valuable, more ornamental? Mat. xiii. Prov. xxv. 11.

The *Mouth* of a wicked Man, quite contrary, is a noiſom ſtinking Pit; his Breath is contagious, and kills like a Peſtilence; Murders his Neighbour ſecretly, Stabs and wounds his Reputation to Death; and then inſults over his mangled Honour with a barbarous Triumph. It is Sword, and Fire, and Poyſon, and Death, and Hell, and Every thing that is miſchievous and deſtructive. The Holy Spirit it ſelf hath allow'd it no better a Character; for St. *James* hath call'd it a *Fire*, a *World of Iniquity, a Defiler of the whole Body, an Incendiary to the Courſe of Nature; and this Firebrand it ſelf kindled in Hell.* And the Son of *Syrach* hath enlarg'd upon the Subject ſo well, that the whole Paſſage ought to be inſerted. *Curſe the Whiſperer and Double-Tongued, for ſuch have deſtroy'd many that were at Peace. A Backbiting Tongue hath diſquieted many, and driven them from Nation to Nation; ſtrong Cities hath it pull'd down, and overthrown the Houſes of great Men. Whoſo hearkeneth unto it ſhall never find reſt, nor dwell quietly.* Jam. iii. 6. Ecclus. xxviii. 13—21.

The

The Stroke of the Whip maketh Marks in the Fleſh, but the Stroke of the Tongue breaketh the Bones. Many have fallen by the Edge of the Sword, but not ſo many as have fallen by the Tongue. Well is He that is defended from it, and hath not paſs'd through the Venom thereof; who hath not drawn the Yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her Bands. For the Yoke thereof is a Yoke of Iron; and the Bands thereof are Bands of Braſs. The Death thereof is an evil Death, the Grave is better than it.

4. *Correſpondence of Hearing and Speech.*

Now Theſe Two, *Hearing* and *Speech*, anſwer, and have a near and intimate Relation to one another; Each of them ſingle is of no Significance at all; and therefore Nature, to make Either of them uſeful, found it neceſſary to ſupply us with Both. They are the Two Doors of the Soul, whereby ſhe ſends in and out, and holds a Correſpondence all the World over; nay, ſhe does not only ſend, but go; for by theſe two, like Veſſels with their Orifices joyn'd, the Soul communicates and pours out her Thoughts, and transfuſes her very Self into another's Breaſt. Where theſe Paſſages are ſhut and cloſed, as they are in the *Deaf* and *Dumb*, the Mind is in perpetual Miſery and Solitude; For *Hearing* is the Door for Entrance, and *Speech* for going Abroad: By the former of theſe, the Soul receives the Conceptions of others; by the latter ſhe imparts and enriches them with her own. The mutual Operation of theſe Two may be reſembled to the Flint and the Steel, from the Concuſſion and Strokes whereof, *Truth*, like a Sacred Fire, is kindled; For They agitating and poliſhing each other, ſcour off the Ruſt of the Mind, brighten and beautifie it, and bring all Knowledge to Perfection. Only we muſt obſerve, that theſe Noble Effects have their firſt Beginning from the Hearing; for Wiſdom muſt needs have been put into the Mind before it can be drawn

drawn out from thence. And accordingly we ſee that Perſons born Deaf, are conſtantly Dumb too. The firſt thing to be done is to furniſh this Houſe within, which is ordinarily done by Hearing; and then follows the diſtributing our Stores by Converſation and Speech: So that the Good and Evil of what we ſpeak, will depend upon the Good and Evil of what we hear: For ſuch as we are accuſtom'd to receive, ſuch of neceſſity we muſt give back again: And therefore a Man ſhould above all things keep his Ears chaſte and unpolluted, and ſtop them againſt Vice and Indecency; for this ſort of Communication is exceeding infectious, and taints the Mind preſently. The Advices that are proper for the Uſe and Government of our Speech, will be inſiſted upon hereafter. *Book* III. *Chap.* 43.

CHAP. XII.

Of the other Faculties, viz. *Imagination, Memory, and Appetite.*

THE *Fancy* or *Imaginative Faculty*, firſt collects the ſeveral Images receiv'd by the Senſes, forms Idea's out of them, and lays them up for uſe. This is done in ſo accurate and faithful a manner, that though the Objects themſelves be far diſtant, nay, though the Man be aſleep, and all his Senſes lock'd up, yet this Faculty repreſents them to the Mind and Thoughts, in Images ſo ſtrong, ſo lively, that the Imagination does the very ſame to the Underſtanding now, which the Object it ſelf did, by the firſt and freſheſt Impreſſions heretofore.

The

The *Memorative Faculty* is the Regiſter and Storehouſe of all the Idea's and Images firſt perceiv'd by the Senſes, and then collected and ſeal'd up by the Imagination.

The *Appetite* ſeeks, and purſues, and culls out of all theſe things ſo apprehended, ſuch of them as appear to be Good and moſt Agreeable.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Intellectual Faculty; which is peculiar to the Humane Soul.

1. BEfore we enter upon any other Diſcourſe relating to this Subject, it is neceſſary to obſerve the Seat or Inſtrument of this Faculty, and then its Action, or Method of Operating.

The Seat and Inſtrument of the Soul.

Now the Seat, or rather the Throne of the Reaſonable Soul, where it ſits and reigns Supreme, is not the Heart, (as was generally ſuppoſed before *Plato* and *Hippocrates*) but the Brain: For the Heart is not capable of Wiſdom, but is properly the Seat and Source of Vegetation. Now the Brain, which in Man much exceeds the Quantity aſſign'd to any other Creature, muſt be ſo contriv'd and diſpos'd, that the Reaſonable Soul may act freely; and in order hereunto, the Figure of it muſt be almoſt like that of a Ship; it muſt not be a perfect Round, it muſt not be too Great, nor too Little; though of the Two Extremes the Exceſs is much leſs to be found fault with, than the Defect: It muſt be compos'd of a delicate fluid Subſtance, of fine and ſubtle Parts, and theſe well joyn'd together, and all united without any Separation, or void Spaces throughout the whole. It hath Four ſmall Cavi-

ties

vities or Ventricles, Three of which lie forward in the middle, and are plac'd in a Collateral Line to one another: The Fourth lies behind theſe, toward the hinder part of the Head, and is ſingle by it ſelf. This is the Shop in which the Vital Spirits are firſt form'd and united, in order to the being afterwards converted into Animal Spirits, and then convey'd into the Three Cavities that lie forward: And theſe Animal Spirits are the Inſtruments made uſe of by the Soul, for diſcharging her ſeveral Functions, and exerciſing all her Faculties. Thoſe Faculties are likewiſe Three; the *Underſtanding*, the *Memory*, and the *Imagination*: And theſe are not exercis'd diſtinctly and apart, nor hath each of them a different Ventricle of the Brain appropriated to it; (which is all an old and vulgar Errour concerning them) but their Operations are alltogether, and in common. All the Three Faculties exert themſelves in all and every of the Three Cavities; ſomewhat like our Bodily Senſes, which are double, and have Two Organs, in each of which the ſame Senſe performs all its Operations entire. From hence it comes to paſs, that a Man who is hurt or diſabled in Two of theſe Three Ventricles, (as one in a Palſie, for Inſtance) does yet continue to have the uſe of all his Three Faculties: That is, He underſtands, and remembers, and forms Idea's ſtill, by virtue of that One Cavity, which the Diſeaſe hath not yet ſeized upon. It is true, he does this more weakly, and every Operation of every kind is more imperfect than it was formerly, becauſe the Strength and Vigour of One is not equal to the united Force of Three: But yet it evidently follows from hence, that each Faculty hath not its Workhouſe in a diſtinct Apartment, and entire to it ſelf alone; for then, aſſoon as any of theſe Ventricles begins to be diſabled, that Faculty to which it be-

belongs, muſt immediately ceaſe, and cou'd never more be exerted in any Degree at all.

3. *How far the Reaſonable Soul is Organical.*

Some Perſons have been of Opinion, that the *Reaſonable Soul* is not Organical; that is, that it can act ſeparately and independently, and hath no need of any Corporeal Inſtrument to aſſiſt it in the Diſcharge of its Functions. And this Notion they have been more fond of, becauſe they imagine it of conſequence for proving the *Immortality of the Soul.* Now without engaging in a vaſt and dark Labyrinth of Diſpute, about a Matter which we are incapable of knowing perfectly, this Queſtion may be brought to a ſhort Iſſue: For if we will but credit our own Eyes, and our own Experience, every Day gives us Demonſtrations, which overthrow this Opinion, and eſtabliſh the Contrary. It is certain that all Men have not equal Capacities, nor do they apprehend things, or argue upon them alike, but the Diſparity is very great and viſible between one Man and another. It is no leſs evident, that the ſame Perſon changes, and differs from himſelf; that his Reaſon is more clear, and perfect, and ſtrong at one Time, and at one Age, in one Diſpoſition of Body, and in one Circumſtance of Fortune and Life, than it is in another. One Man can do nothing except he have Eaſe and Leiſure; another requires Dangers and Difficulties to rouze him, and never thinks to purpoſe, till he be preſt hard, and driven to Extremities: A Third finds himſelf much more capable in Health than in Sickneſs: And a Fourth feels his Mind moſt vigorous and active, then when his Diſeaſes and Weakneſs have reduc'd his Body loweſt. The ſame Man at one Seaſon excels in Judgment, and flags in his Fancy; ſo that One Faculty decays in proportion as Another improves. Now the moſt probable Account that can be given for all theſe Differences and Alterati-

rations, ſeems to be a difference in the State and Diſpoſition of the Organs, which are to the Soul as Tools to the Artificer. Which way but this ſhall we anſwer for the ſtrange Effects we ſee produc'd by Drunkenneſs, by the Bite of a Mad Dog, by a high Fever, by a Blow upon the Head, by the Vapours that riſe from the Stomach and annoy the Brain; and by ſeveral other Accidents which affect any of the Parts thereabouts? What Confuſions do they make, how perfectly ſtupid, and childiſh, and frantick do Men grow upon them, loſe their Memory quite, and feel their Heads turn'd upſide down, their former Idea's eraced, their Judgment deſtroy'd? All the Wiſdom of *Greece* is not able to maintain it ſelf againſt them; and if the Shock be very violent indeed, then it does not only diſturb and enfeeble, but quite drive away the Soul, and conſtrain her to remove out of the Body. Now it is plain, that theſe Accidents are purely Corporeal, and conſequently they cannot affect what is not ſo; they can never fly ſo high as the exalted and Spiritual Faculties of the Reaſonable Soul; all that they can do is to vitiate the Organs, to put Them out of their Courſe, and intercept the uſual Communications; and when This is once effected, the Soul can no longer act regularly; She may command, but They cannot obey; and if theſe Organs are ſore bruiſed, and diſtorted very grievouſly, then She and They can no longer ſubſiſt together: The Lodging is no longer fit to entertain her, and ſhe muſt be gone.

Now I do by no means ſee, how this Opinion can be guilty of any Prejudice to that of the *Immortality of the Soul*; For firſt, We are not here enquiring what the Soul is, but how ſhe operates, and what Laws of Action ſhe is bound up to, while in Conjunction with a Mortal Body. And

Secondly, The making Uſe of Corporeal Inſtruments, does by no Means prove the Uſer to be Corporeal or Mortal. God, without all Queſtion, is Immortal, and yet God himſelf does not think it below him to uſe ſuch; and to proportion the Effects and Operations of his Providence to them. He produces Men of different Underſtandings and Parts, according to the Conſtitution of their Parents, and the Concurrence of other Natural Cauſes; nay, even according to the different Climate, and Country, and Air they are born in. For *Greece* and *Italy* have ever been obſerv'd to produce Men of quicker, and clearer Wit, than *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*. And as God does in this Caſe, ſo does the Mind in others. It reaſons better or worſe, remembers more or leſs Faithfully, hath a more fruitful, or more barren Imagination, according as the Organs (which are the Corporeal Inſtruments appointed to ſerve it upon theſe Occaſions) are better or worſe diſpoſed to do their Duty. Now the Brain is properly the Inſtrument of the Reaſonable Soul, and therefore upon the due Temperament of This, a great deal muſt needs, indeed the Whole in a manner, will depend: That therefore ſhall be the next Thing we attempt to give an Account of.

4. *Of the Temperament of the Brain.*

By this *Temperament* is to be underſtood the Mixture and Proportion of the *Four* Prime *Qualities*, *Hot* and *Cold*, *Moiſt* and *Dry*; or rather a *Fifth Quality*, which is, as it were, a Harmony reſulting from a due Conjunction of all theſe together, like that Concord in Sounds, which ariſes from a Friendly Complication of different Notes. Now upon that Mixture of the Brain it is, that the State and the Operations of the Reaſonable Soul depend. Only This is Man's great Unhappineſs, that the *Three Faculties*, *Underſtanding*, *Memory*, and *Imagination*, do each of them require different, nay, contrary Temperaments, for their Exerciſe and Perfection. The

Tempera-

Temperament proper for the *Underſtanding* is a Predominance of Dry; and this gives us ſome Account, how it comes to paſs, that Perſons far gone in Years, are more Intelligent and Judicious, than thoſe that are Younger. For, beſides the Advantages which Art, and Study, and Experience may give them; they have a Diſpoſition to it from Nature; The Brain, as Men grow older, purifying it ſelf from Excrementitious Humours, and growing dryer every Day: For the ſame Reaſon, in all likelihood, Melancholy Perſons, and thoſe under Affliction, and Want, and Perſons that are faſting (it being an Effect of Grief and Faſting to keep the Brain dry) may be better diſpoſed to think; and qualified to do it to good Purpoſe, as well as ſome of them are neceſſitated by their Circumſtances, to apply themſelves to it. This is farther obſervable in Brutes; Ants, and Bees, and Elephants, as they are the Dryeſt, ſo they are the moſt capable, and ingenious of any; and thoſe of a moiſt Conſtitution, (the Swine for Inſtance) are Stupid and Senſeleſs. Thus again in Men; Thoſe of Southerly Countries, excel in Wiſdom, from the Drought of their Brain, and their inward Heat being moderated, by that of a Violent Sun without, which exhales it.

The *Temperament* beſt accommodated to the *Memory* is *Moiſt*; and hence it is, that Children are more ready and perfect in it, than old People; hence it is moſt apt and faithful in a Morning, when the Brain hath been well refreſhed, and throughly moiſtned by a good Nights Sleep; hence alſo the Inhabitants of the *Northern* Climates, have the ſtrongeſt Memories, for Theſe are under a moiſter Air, by Means of their great Diſtance from the Sun. But this Moiſture muſt not be ſo miſtaken as if I meant, that the Temper of the Memory is fluid, like Water; but rather ſuch a

Moiſture as we may obſerve in Air, Glew, Greaſe, or Oyl; ſomething of ſuch a Subſtance and Continuity of Parts, as may both take the Impreſſion eaſily, and keep it a great while; as we ſee Pictures do, that are laid in Oyl Colours.

The *Temperament* fitteſt for the *Imagination*, is *Hot*, which makes Diſtracted, Hair-brain'd, and Feveriſh People, excel all others in bold and lofty Flights of Fancy. Thus *Poetry*, *Divination*, and all that depends upon *Imagination*, were always thought to proceed from a ſort of Fury and Inſpiration. This Faculty is for the ſame Reaſon moſt Vigorous in Youth and the Flower of our Age: The Poets accordingly flouriſhed at theſe Years, and Almighty God, (who even in Supernatural Influences and Effects, made great uſe of Natural Cauſes, and did as little Violence as was poſſible, to a Courſe of his own Inſtituting) ordered the Matter ſo, that moſt of the Prophets ſhould do ſo too. The ſame Reaſon holds likewiſe for thoſe Middle Regions, and more Moderate Climates, between the *North* and the *South*, where Men are obſerv'd to excel in thoſe Arts and Sciences, which are derived from the Strength and Sprightlineſs of Fancy.

Now, from this great inequality of theſe Mixtures and Proportions, it frequently happens, that a Man may be tolerably well to paſs in all theſe Three Faculties, and not arrive at an Excellence in any one of them; as alſo, That a Man may be conſpicuous, and exceeding well Accompliſh'd in one of theſe Reſpects, and yet very Wanting and Deſpicable in the other Two. It is manifeſt, the *Temperaments* adapted for the *Memory*, and the *Underſtanding*, are the moſt Diſtant and Contrary in the World; for what can be more ſo than, *Moiſt* and *Dry*? That of the *Imagination* does not ſeem ſo remote from the Reſt, for *Hot* will agree well enough with *Moiſt* or *Dry*, and is far from being In-

Incompatible with either; and yet, though these seem so consistent in Nature, we see them very seldom reconcil'd in Fact; For those who are esteemed most Excellent in *Imagination*, are generally found very Weak both in Point of *Memory* and *Understanding*; and thought near a Kin to Fools or Mad-Men. The Reason whereof may possibly be This. That the *Heat*, which feeds and exalts their *Imagination*, wasts and exhausts that *Moisture*, with which the *Memory* is assisted; and also the finest and most volatile of Those Spirits, of which that *Dryness* Partakes, which is serviceable to the *Understanding*; and the Faculty, when destitute of these, grows flat and heavy. So that in Effect This is an Enemy to both the other Temperaments, and Experience shews it to be Destructive of them.

5. *But Three of them.*

From all that hath been said we may plainly see, that the Principal *Temperaments*, which serve, assist, and set the reasonable Soul on working, and which distinguish the Excellencies of the Mind, according to its Faculties, are *Three*, and cannot exceed that Number. For *Cold* which is the *Fourth*, is of no significance at all; *Hot*, and *Moist*, and *Dry* only, can contribute to Mens Ingenuity. The Other is a sluggish, unactive Principle, and, instead of quickening, does only benumb and stupifie the Soul, and put a Stop to all its Motions. Therefore, when in reading some Authors, we find them recommending *Cold*, as of use to the *Understanding*, and saying, that Men of a Cold Brain, such as those of Melancholy Complexions, or under the Southern Climes, are Prudent, Wise, Ingenious and the like; we must not there understand the Word *Cold* in its Natural and most received Sense, but interpret it of a large Abatement and more moderate Degree of *Heat* only. For nothing can be more opposite to *Wisdom*, and a good Understanding, than that Excess of *Heat*, which yet to

the bettering of the Imagination, and refining the Fancy would be of great Importance. And according to the three Temperaments, of the Brain, there are three correſponding Faculties of the Reaſonable Soul. But both the One, and the Other of theſe admit of ſeveral Degrees; and may be variouſly ſubdivided, and diſtinguiſhed.

6. *The Faculties Subdivided.*

The Principal Offices, to be diſcharged by the *Underſtanding*, and the different Qualifications of Men, with regard to it, are *Three*; To *conclude truly*, To *diſtinguiſh nicely*, and To *chooſe wiſely*. The Sciences that fall properly under this Faculty, are School-Divinity; The Speculative Part of Phyſick, Logick, Natural and Moral Philoſophy.

The *Memory* hath likewiſe Three Qualities to be diſtinguiſhed by. For there is *One ſort of Memory*, which eaſily receives Impreſſions, and eaſily loſes them again. A *Second*, which quickly remembers, and ſeldom or never forgets; and a *Third*, where the Impreſſion is hard to be made, and yet is preſently worn out again. The Sciences proper to this Faculty are Grammar, and the Theory of the Civil Law, Dogmatical Divinity, Coſmography, and Arithmetick.

The *Imagination* abounds in Diſtinctions, and Differences are occaſioned by it, much more than either the *Memory* or the *Underſtanding* is capable of. To this belong, after a more peculiar manner, Fanciful Inventions, Pleaſant Conceits, Witty Jeſts, Sharp Reflections, Ingenious Repartees; Fictions and Fables, Figures and Compariſons, Propriety and Purity of Expreſſion; and in a Word, All that Quaintneſs, and Elegance, and Eaſineſs, which adorns Converſation, and becomes the Character of a Man of Senſe, and Good Breeding. And therefore we may range under this Diviſion, Poetry, Eloquence, Muſick, Correſpondence, Harmony, and Proportion.

Now

Now, from hence it appears, that Sprightlineſs, Subtilty, Readineſs of Parts, and all that which commonly goes by the Name of *Wit*, is to be imputed to the *Warmth of Imagination. Solidity, Mature Judgment*, and Truth to the *Dryneſs of the Underſtanding*. The *Imagination* is Active, and Bluſtering, and Buſy; keeps all about it awake, and ſets the other Faculties on work. The *Underſtanding* is a grave, ſedate, and ſevere Action; The *Memory* acts not at all, but is purely Paſſive; and the manner of theſe Operations, ſeems to be thus. In the Firſt Place, the *Imagination* collects together the Idea's and Figures of Things, not only ſuch as are preſent by the conveyance and miniſtry of the five Senſes; but thoſe that are abſent too, by the Aſſiſtance of that Inward and Common Receptacle, called the *Senſorium commune*, where the Forms of them lie depoſited. The Next thing in Order is to repreſent theſe to the *Underſtanding* (if that be thought fit) and then this Faculty takes them into Conſideration; examines, digeſts, and makes a Judgment of them. When That is over, the *Imagination* lays them up carefully to be preſerved in the *Memory*; (as a Man takes down a Memorandum in his Table-Book) that ſo they may be conſulted, and made uſe of again, when any future Occaſion ſhall call for them. Or if the *Imagination* be not ſo diſpoſed, then ſhe commits theſe things into the *Memory's* Cuſtody, without referring them to the *Underſtanding* at all, and ſo the Second Branch of this Operation is wholly Superſeded. Now this Account informs us, that the Acts of Recollection, Repreſenting to the Intellectual Faculty, laying up in the Memory, and drawing out thoſe Stores again for Uſe, are all of them Operations of the Imaginative Faculty. So that That *Common Repoſitory*, the Internal Senſe, (*Reminiſcence*, as it is called) and Fancy, come within

7. *The Properties of the ſeveral Faculties.*

within the Compaſs of This, and are not (as ſome pretend) Powers of the Mind, diſtinct and ſeparate from it. And conſequently there is nothing in thoſe Operations, that ſhou'd oblige us to quit the former Diviſion, or allow more Faculties of the Reaſonable Soul, than the Three already inſiſted upon.

8. *The Faculties compared together.*

The Common People, who (to give them their due) are very ſeldom in the right, have an high Eſteem, and make a marvellous to do with *Memory*, extolling This infinitely above the other Two; The only Reaſon whereof ſeems to be, that this hath more of Shew, is more pretending and forward, and makes a greater Noiſe in Converſation. Hence it is, that a Man whoſe Memory is well ſtored, is uſually reputed a great Scholar; and that to pronounce one a Perſon of good Parts, you look no farther than his having a good Memory; as if *Learning* were to be preferr'd before *Wiſdom*, which indeed comes infinitely ſhort of it; and this Faculty from whence it is furniſh'd, is the leaſt valuable of all the Three; For it is conſiſtent with great Folly, and inſufferable Impertinence; and very rarely to be met with in any great Degree, where the Perſon excels in Underſtanding and Wiſdom; for the Temperaments indeed from whence they reſult, are contrary to one another. From this vulgar Errour, I ſuppoſe the improper Methods of teaching Children, to have taken their Riſe; it being the Cuſtom of Country-Schools almoſt every where, to follow them cloſe with Tasks to be got by Heart (as they call it) that ſo they may be able to repeat, and quote things readily out of Books. Thus they ſtuff their Memories full, and load them with the Riches of other Men, without taking any care to awaken and whet the Underſtanding; to form or to refine the Judgment: Which, after all, is the moſt ne-

neceſſary part of Inſtruction, to ſhew them the true worth of their Natural Faculties, to draw out the Stores and Abilities of their own Mind, and by the Exerciſe and Improvement of their Home-Growth, to render them conſiderate, and wiſe, and qualify'd for all manner of Buſineſs. Accordingly we ſee, that many of your Scholars, which carry all *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* in their Heads, are mere *Prigs* and *Puts*, and incapable of any management at all; and, that, (generally ſpeaking) the World is led by the Noſe, and all the weightieſt Affairs of Governments entruſted with Men of little or no Learning. Which yet no doubt is of infinite Advantage, and wou'd render even the prudenteſt and cunningeſt Politicians, yet more capable than they are, if wiſely inſtill'd, and well us'd. But then they muſt not (as the way of the World is) value themſelves upon Other Men's Wiſdom; nor think it their Own, becauſe they remember it; but make it ſo, by digeſting what they read, incorporating it with their own Thoughts, refining and improving upon it, and knowing how to convert it to the Uſe and Benefit of themſelves and others. But to return; All Wiſe Men have given the Preference to the *Underſtanding*; and admit it to be the moſt excellent and choiceſt Piece of Furniture belonging to the Mind. If this moves right, all the reſt goes true, and the Man is wiſe; and if this be falſe, the whole Movement is out of Courſe. *Imagination* is the Second in Dignity; and *Memory* is the Laſt and Loweſt.

9. *An Image of the Three Faculties.*

The following Similitude may perhaps contribute ſomething to our apprehending the true State of theſe Faculties, and the different Circumſtances and Relations they are in, more perfectly. The *Reaſonable Soul* then cannot be more painted to the Life, than by forming an Idea of it to our ſelves, as a Court of Judicature. Now in every

ry ſuch *Court* there are *Three Degrees* and Orders of Perſons concern'd: The Uppermoſt and moſt Honourable Order is the *Bench of Judges*; and here there is little or no Noiſe, but a World of Buſineſs and Diſpatch: For They proceed calmly and quietly; and without any Hurry or Paſſion, try Cauſes, decide Controverſies and Claims, make Decrees, and give the Final Determination to all Matters brought before them: This carries a very lively reſemblance to the *Underſtanding*, which is the higheſt, the moſt honourable, and the judging Faculty of the Soul. The *Second* is the *Bar*, where the Council and the Attorneys are plac'd; and here is a world of Clutter, and Bawling, and Noiſe, but nothing done; for they can bring nothing to an Iſſue; They make no Orders nor Awards, pronounce no Sentences: All Their Buſineſs is only to diſcuſs Matters, to plead the Cauſe, and to lay it before the Judge. This is a lively Picture of the *Imagination*, which is a loud, a bluſtering, and a reſtleſs Faculty; never lies ſtill, not even then, when the Soul ſeems perfectly bound up in the profoundeſt Sleep; but is eternally buzzing about the Brain, like a boyling Pot; and this can never fix, or come to a peremptory Reſolution in any thing. The *Third* and laſt Degree is that of the *Notaries*, and *Regiſters*, and *Clerks*; where there is neither Noiſe nor Action: It is no part of their Concern which way things go; they are purely Paſſive; and all they have to do, is to make Entries of what paſſes in Court, and to take Care that the Records be faithfully kept, and ready to be produc'd upon occaſion. This gives us no ill Idea of the *Memory*, and its Office.

10. *Its Operations.* The *Action* or Employment of the Soul is *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding*; and this is of Univerſal extent: For the Mind is a Houſe open to every Gueſt;

Gueſt; a Subject ready to receive any Impreſſion. As the Philoſophers ſay the Primitive Matter is diſpoſed to be moulded into any Forms; or as a Looking-Glaſs receives and reflects all Faces; ſo this Soul is capable of conſidering all things indifferently, be they Viſible or Inviſible, Univerſals or Particulars; Objects of Senſe or not, the *Underſtanding* is in at All. But (if we may be allow'd to argue from the vaſt, and almoſt infinite Diverſity of Opinions, and the ſtill growing Doubts upon this Matter) it is acquainted with it ſelf the leaſt of any thing. This Knowledge is but dim and indirect: It is attained by Reflection only, and the Knowledge of other things brought home, and apply'd to it ſelf: By which it feels, that it does underſtand, and thence infers a Power and Capacity of this kind. This ſeems to be the Method, by which our Minds attain to the Knowledge of Themſelves. Almighty God, who is the Sovereign Mind, knows Himſelf firſt, and all things elſe in Himſelf: But Man, who is the laſt and loweſt of all the Intellectual World, inverts that Order quite, and diſcerns other things before he can come to any Knowledge of Himſelf; for His Mind is in Contemplation of Other Objects, (like the Eye in a Looking-Glaſs) which cannot work upon it ſelf without the help of a *Medium*, and ſees nothing at Home, while the Viſion is continu'd in a ſtreight Line, but can do it by Reflection only.

11. *The manner of it.*

But the great Difficulty to be enquir'd into upon this occaſion, concerns the Manner of Operation, and by what Method the Soul attains to the Knowledge of Things. The moſt receiv'd Opinion is that deriv'd from *Ariſtotle*, importing, That the Mind underſtands and is inſtructed by the Senſes: That it is naturally and of it ſelf, a perfect Blank, a clean White Paper; and that what-

whatever is written in it afterwards, muſt be dictated by the Senſes, and cannot be convey'd thither any other way.

But firſt of all, This is far from being Univerſally true; for, (as was hinted before, and the Point referred hither for a farther Diſquiſition) there have been great Authorities of Philoſophers, that the firſt Seeds of all Sciences, and Vertues, and neceſſary Knowledge, are originally ſown in our Minds, and grafted there by Nature; ſo that Men may if they pleaſe, live very comfortably, and grow Rich out of their own Stock; and, provided they take but a little care to cultivate and cheriſh the kindly Beginnings, the Harveſt will not fail to be plentiful, and abundantly to reward their Pains.

Again; That Opinion ſeems highly injurious to God and Nature, and taxes them with unreaſonable Partiality: For upon theſe Terms the Rational Soul is more ſparingly dealt with, and left in a much worſe Condition, than either the Vegetative, or Senſitive, or any other Creature whatſoever: For all Theſe, as hath already been obſerv'd, exerciſe their Functions readily, and are ſufficiently inſtructed by their own Native Endowments, in all things neceſſary for their Purpoſe. Thus Beaſts apprehend ſeveral Things without Experience, and the Diſcipline of Senſe: They make Inferences, ſo far as their Caſe requires, and conclude Univerſals from Particulars: From the ſight of One Man they know the Humane Shape whereſoever they ſee it again; they are forewarn'd to avoid Dangers, even while inviſible; and to follow after That which is agreeable and beneficial to Themſelves, and their Young: And wou'd it not be a Reproach, or ſcandalous Blunder and Abſurdity in Nature, if this Noble, this Divine Faculty, ſhou'd have no Proviſion at all of its own, but

See Adv. upon Chap. XXIV.

but ſent about a begging, and depend for mere Neceſſaries upon ſo mean, ſo frail Relief, as what the Senſes are able to give?

Once more; How can we perceive that the *Underſtanding* ſhou'd go to School to the *Senſes*, and be taught by Them, who are not able to teach themſelves? What precious Maſters are theſe, whoſe utmoſt Knowledge goes no deeper than barely the Accidents and Outſides of Things? For, as to the Natures, Forms, and real Eſſences of them, they know nothing at all of the Matter. And if This be the Caſe of *Individual* Subſtances, much leſs are they capable of penetrating into *Univerſals*, the dark and profound Myſteries of Nature, and all thoſe things which do not affect the Senſe at all.

Beſides; If all *Knowledge* were deriv'd from the *Senſes*, the Conſequence of this (one would think) ſhou'd be, That They, whoſe Senſes are the quickeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt diſcerning, wou'd always be the Perſons moſt conſpicuous for Ingenuity, and Learning, and Skill in Reaſoning. But we frequently ſee it happen juſt contrary; that ſuch People are the dulleſt, moſt ſtupid, and moſt incapable of all others. Nay, ſome Perſons have thought their Bodily Senſes rather an Obſtruction than any Advantage to their Improvement: And upon that Account have wilfully depriv'd themſelves of them, that ſo the Soul might be more expedite and free, and do her Buſineſs without Diſtraction, when the Avocations and Diſturbance of Senſible Objects were taken out of the way.

Now if this Matter be as I have repreſented it; you will ask perhaps, Why theſe things are not always perform'd by the Soul, and why not by every Man alike? What hinders that all ſhould not be equally Wiſe and Knowing; but eſpecially, why it ſhou'd lie dormant, without being reduc'd into act; Or, if it do act, how comes it

it to paſs that its Operations are not always equal, that it goes about its Duty feebly, and performs its Functions much more lamely and imperfectly at one Seaſon than at another? This is the Caſe even of the Wiſeſt and moſt Capable Perſons; and ſome are ſo miſerably ſtupid, that the *Intellectual Soul* ſeems never to exert it ſelf at all. Where it does, the *Vegetative Soul* is vigorous and active in Youth, and very weak in Old Age: It is then decay'd, and ſpent, and cannot repair the Loſſes of Nature, (thoſe of Teeth eſpecially.) Which yet it does with the greateſt Eaſe imaginable, in Children and Young People. The *Reaſonable Soul*, quite contrary, is evidently weaker in Infancy, and Youth, and cannot exert it ſelf then, as it does afterwards in riper Years, and old Age: This alſo performs ſome ſort of Actions in ſome ſorts of Diſtempers, which it hath not power to do in time of perfect Health: and Others again there are perform'd in time of Health, which it is utterly incapacitated for, when the Body labours under a Diſtemper.

Now all theſe Objections are inſufficient: For, Firſt of all, They who hold the Opinion I am now contending for, never pretend, that the Faculty and *Power of Underſtanding is communicated to every Man in equal Proportions.* They admit a very great Inequality; from whence that Ancient and Noble Aphoriſm became ſo uſual in the Mouth of Philoſophers, That *the acting Intellect is given to very few*; and this very Inequality they make uſe of, as an Argument to prove that *Science* does not proceed from *Senſe*; ſince it is very manifeſt, according to what hath been urged already, that They who are moſt advantageouſly provided for in point of Senſe, are oftentimes leaſt ſo in point of Learning and Wiſdom.

As

As to the Second part of the Objection, That theſe Functions are not always perform'd alike; The true Reaſon of this is certainly, The different Condition of thoſe Inſtruments, which the Soul hath abſolute occaſion for, and conſtantly works by; for Theſe neither are, nor can be at all times in the ſame Order and Diſpoſition. Sometimes they are diſturbed ſo as to be fit for no Buſineſs at all: And when they are not put out of their Courſe, by any accidental Interruption, yet, even in their Natural State, they are not qualify'd for all Buſineſs alike; nay they act in perfect Contrariety, and croſs, and interfere with one another. To expreſs this now in as few Words, and as clearly as the thing will bear:

That *Temperament of the Brain*, which you have heard ſo much of already, is the next and immediate Inſtrument, by which the Soul is aſſiſted and determin'd in her Actings. Now This is exceeding various and mutable; and at thoſe Seaſons when it ſerves well for one Function of the Soul, it obſtructs and runs counter to another. In *Youth* it is *Hot* and *Moiſt*; and this Complication is extremely proper for ſtrengthening the Vegetative Faculty; but it keeps the Rational one Weak and Low. On the other hand it is *Cold* and *Dry* in *Aged People*; and This is a convenient Temper for the Reaſonable Soul, but highly prejudicial, and improper for the Vegetative. When this Temperament of the Brain is ſoundly heated and refin'd by a high Fever, it is then accommodated to the Imaginative Faculty, and does Wonders in Invention and Fancy; but this very Condition diſables the Intellectual Faculty, and is the moſt oppoſite that can be, to *Mature Deliberation*, and ſound Wiſdom and Judgment.

It is no part of my Intention, by all this Diſcourſe, to defraud the *Senſes* of any part of the Com-

Commendation, which is their juſt due; but only to prevent their ingroſſing All, and aſſuming more than their due. 'Tis confeſs'd, that the *Mind* reaps great Advantage, and is very conveniently ſerved by the *Senſes*; eſpecially in the beginning of its Contemplations, the firſt Hints and Occaſions, the Invention and new Diſcoveries of Things. But ſtill we affirm, in vindication of the Mind's juſt Rights, that it does not depend upon the Senſes entirely; that it is capable of Knowledge and Underſtanding; can reaſon and diſcuſs Matters, infer and conclude, without the Senſes: Whereas, on the contrary, all Knowledge proceeds from the Mind; and the Senſes, when left to themſelves, cannot make the leaſt Progreſs, nor have one ſingle Perception without it.

12. It is farther obſervable, that the *Mind* proceeds in different Methods, and makes regular and gradual Advances in the Conſideration of Things. Sometimes it proceeds by the Addition and Conjunction of Idea's: As firſt it conceives a *Lion* ſimply and directly, without attending to any of his Qualities: Then it adds the Idea of *Strength* to the former; and ſo having from ſome Effects had reaſon to believe that theſe will agree well together, and be true of each other, it concludes, that the *Lion* is *Strong*. This is what they call the *Affirmative* way of Arguing. Sometimes it proceeds by the Diviſion of Idea's, which is what they term the *Negative* way. Thus it underſtands the *Hare* to be *Fearful*; for obſerving her to run away and hide her ſelf, it concludes from this Timorous Behaviour, that a *Hare* is not *Stout*. Sometimes again we come to the Knowledge of things by Similitude, and the help of Compariſon; and of Others by a Collection of ſeveral Idea's, Exaggerating and Amplifying theſe as we ſee fit. Other Methods there are, which need not be inſtanced

ſtanced in particularly, becauſe any Man, from his own Obſervation, and what hath been already deliver'd here, may eaſily repreſent the manner of them to himſelf.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Parts of the Humane Soul: And firſt, of the Underſtanding, which is its nobleſt Function; Imagination, Reaſon, Wit, Judgment, &c.

THis *Mind* of *Man* is a dark and deep Abyſs, an Intricate Labyrinth, full of Corners and Creeks, and ſecret lurking Places: Such is the Diſpoſition and State of this exalted part of the Soul, diſtinguiſh'd by the Term of *Intellectual*, which conſiſts of vaſtly many Parts, and Faculties, and Operations, and different Movements; each of which have their proper Names, and each of them infinite Doubts and Difficulties peculiar to them.

The Firſt part of its Office is commonly known by the Name of *Apprehenſion* or *Imagination*; and this conſiſts in barely receiving and apprehending Images and ſimple Idea's; which is indeed in the Nature of a Paſſion and Impreſſion, occaſion'd by the Preſence of things that ſtrike upon, or are repreſented to it. 1.

The next is that Power by which we feed upon thoſe Idea's, to which the Imagination hath given ſuch Entertainment; we handle and turn them about, chew the Cud, concoct and digeſt them; and this is *Reaſon*, or λόγος. 2.

3. The Third Action or Office, is what we commonly term *Diſcourſe* or *Ratiocination* (λογισμὸς, διάνοια, becauſe διὰ νοῦν) And the Exerciſe of this Power conſiſts in collecting or ſeparating; joyning together, or taking aſunder the Idea's thus received; and, according as thoſe are found to agree or diſagree, adding ſome freſh to them, which is the Nature of Inferences, and Concluſions.

4. The Doing all this with Eaſe, Nicety, and Readineſs, ſearching deeper, and ſeeing farther into Matters than the World commonly do, is an Excellence known by the Name of *Penetration*, or Sagacity; (*Ingenium*) and the Perſons happy in it, are diſtinguiſhed, by the Titles of *Ingenious*, ſhrewd, ſharp Men, Perſons of good Parts, good Senſe, and the like.

5. The bringing things over again, allowing them a Second Thought, and applying the Touch-Stone to them over and over, that our Diſquiſition may be as Curious and Elaborate as poſſible, and nothing may paſs, but what we are well aſſur'd is true Standard; this is *Judgment*; and its Buſineſs is to go upon ſure Grounds, and come to no Reſolutions, but ſuch as one may abide by.

6. The Effect Laſtly of the *Underſtanding*, thus exerciſed is, as you perceive, *Knowledge*, Speculative Wiſdom, and Reſolution.

7. The Action, which follows next, and is a Natural Conſequence of ſuch Knowledge and Reſolution, is that of the *Will*, or *Volition*; by which the Mind reaches forward, and makes ſome Advances, towards the Object ſo known.

8. Now, from hence I think it follows, that the *Eſſence* of all theſe Things is the ſame; and the Operations of them only are different. That is, *Underſtanding* and Imagination, and Reaſon, and Diſcourſe, and Penetration, and Judgment, and Wiſdom, and Reſolution, are only ſo many ſeveral

ſeveral Methods, by which the ſame Mind moves, and exerts it ſelf. And accordingly we find ſome Perſons better diſpoſed to one of theſe Ways, than they are to others; a Man for Inſtance, ſhall be Excellent for Quickneſs and *readineſs of Wit*, and yet very Weak and Childiſh with Reſpect to his *Judgment*. Every Man hath all theſe Powers inherent in his Mind; but every Man hath them not alike, nor is alike qualify'd for the Exerciſe of them all.

2. *Deſcription of the Mind. Its Advantage.*

I am well enough content to hear the Characters and Lofty Commendations of the Soul of Man; and take great Delight in the Account of its Comprehenſion, and Sprightlineſs, and vaſt Abilities. I allow it to be called, the *Image of the Living God*; a *Drop of the Fountain of Immortality*, an *Efflux of the Divinity*, a *Beam of Heavenly Light*; That the Great Creator hath furniſhed it with Reaſon, by which, as by a living Rudder, this Veſſel may ſteer its Courſe Regularly; That it is an Inſtrument moſt exquiſitely Harmonious; That by it we contract a great Reſemblance, and have the Honour of being near of Kin to God; and that therefore he hath ſo diſpoſed the Seat and Situation of this Mind, that it ſhould be in a perpetual Diſpoſition of looking upward, to the Place of its Birth. In a Word, I agree, that there is nothing in this lower World truly Great, but only *Man*; and nothing truly Noble in Man, but his *Mind*; that if you come up to the utmoſt Height of this, you have climbed Higher than the very Heavens Themſelves: Theſe Characters I conſent to very heartily, and they are ſuch as the Schools, and Chairs of Philoſophers and Divines have commonly abounded in; with a Deſign to render Men duly Senſible of the Dignity of their Nature, and to teach them not to debaſe or undervalue themſelves.

2. *Its Diſadvantages.* All This, I ſay, is admitted; but ſtill with this Proviſo, that Men would apply themſelves withal, to examine, and come to a more diſtinct Knowledge of This *Soul* of ours. For upon a more intimate Acquaintance, we ſhall find, that it is capable of being made, and (as the Matter is commonly order'd) does actually prove an Inſtrument of much Danger and Miſchief to ones ſelf and others; a Terrible Diſturber of the publick Peace; which like a Common Juggler, with his Legerdemain, amuſes you with Slight of Hand; and waits all Opportunities of putting the Cheat upon you. For in Truth all the Falſehood, and Forgery, and Miſchief, that the World labours under, are owing purely to This, and have no other Original.

3. *Different ſorts of Souls.* The *Bodies* of Men, as infinitely various as we ſee them, are yet leſs different from one another than their Souls are: In general, They may properly enough be reduced into Three Claſſes; each of which is capable of being ſubdivided again, and hath ſeveral Diſtinctions and Degrees comprehended under it. The *Loweſt* of theſe are poor, and *weak Souls*, not much remov'd from that of Brutes. And this Defect may be cauſed, ſometimes from the Faults and Imperfections of the Natural Conſtitution; Too great a Predominance of Cold and Moiſture in the Temperament of the Brain; as Fiſhes, whoſe Compoſition is of this kind, are reckoned the Loweſt and moſt wanting of all other Animals: This Infirmity is born with us, and deriv'd from our Parents. Sometimes it is Chargeable upon accidental Failings afterwards: Want of due Care to awaken, and exert the Natural Powers, and letting them ruſt upon our Hands, till they Degenerate into Senſeleſſneſs and Stupidity; Of theſe we can make no certain Account, nor can they be eſteemed a certain Species; For in Truth they are not in a Condition to govern

vern themſelves as Men, but are Minors and Ignorants all their Days, and ought to be conſtantly kept under the Tuition and Care of others, Wiſer than themſelves. * They ſnore and nod with their Eyes open; and while they ſeem to live and act, are dead in the very midſt of Life; Moving Carkaſſes, and Men that walk in their Sleep. Such are the *Boors* and Common People, without Senſe, without Apprehenſion, without Judgment. The *Uppermoſt* Claſs are thoſe Elevated, and Singularly Excellent Souls, that ſeem rather to be Angels and Demi-Gods, than Common and Mortal Men; Strong and Vigorous, and every way Accompliſhed; Theſe are conſpicuous, and admirable indeed, but ſo rare and few withal, that if we could bring all of them together that ever the World knew, this long and numerous Succeſſion could not furniſh enough to compoſe one Common-Wealth. The *Middle Sort*, is Infinite in Partitions and Degrees, Men of moderate Endowments, refin'd from the Dregs, but ſtill beneath the Cream and Flower of Humane Nature. And Theſe take in much the greateſt Part of Mankind. Of thoſe Diſtinctions, there will come a more proper Time to treat more largly hereafter. In the mean while, we muſt try to give a more particular Deſcription of this *Soul*, with Regard to its Nature, and Qualities, which yet are ſo intricate, and manifold, that it is as hard to repreſent them truly, as it would be to draw a Picture like, from a Face that is always in Motion.

5. *Its Deſcription.*

Firſt of all; We may obſerve, that it is perpetually in Action The *Soul* indeed *cannot live Idle*, for to be doing ſomewhat is its very Eſſence; and hence it is, that for fear of lying quite Unactive, it employs it ſelf in falſe and fantaſtical Imagina- *A perpetual Agent.*

* Qui vigilans ſtertit.
Mortua cui vita eſt prope jam vivo atque videnti.

tions, forms a Thouſand wild Idea's, will ſtudy to cheat and deceive it ſelf, and go directly contrary to its own Knowledge and Perſuaſion, rather than be out of Buſineſs. Like Fallow and neglected Grounds, which muſt always be kept ſown with ſome Grain or other, if the Soil be Rich and Fruitful; otherwiſe they will provide themſelves a Harveſt, and put forth vaſt Crops of wild and noxious Weeds. Thus the *Mind*, if it be not ſet on Work, and kept cloſe to ſome particular Subject, turns Vagabond, wanders and floats among a Thouſand Whimſies; there is nothing ſo Fooliſh, or ſo Extravagant, but it will produce it. And if it be not fix'd down, it is loſt; for to be every where, is in Truth to be no where. *Agitation* is indeed the very Life and Beauty of the Soul, but then this Agitation ought to be directed and preſcribed; found for it by another Hand, but by no means left to its own providing. Suffer it to go all alone, and on its own Head, it ſanters about and tires its ſelf to no Purpoſe; languiſhes and grows Feeble. And yet the other Extreme is every whit as Dangerous; for if you hold it too high, and lay too much upon it, This is keeping the Bow always bent. Conſtant intenſe Thought, is what cannot be born; it ſtrains and puts the Mind upon the Stretch, till at laſt it cracks, and breaks it.

6. *An Univerſal Agent.*

This *Agent* is alſo *Univerſal*, and in at every thing. No Subject whatſoever, No Topick is out of its Compaſs; let the Farce be what it will, the Soul will have a Part in it, though it be never ſo low, or ſo extravagant. The vaineſt and moſt trifling Matter will ſerve its Turn to work upon, as well as that of the greateſt Conſequence and Weight; Things, which it knows not, nor hath any Comprehenſion of, as well as thoſe, with which it is never ſo well acquainted. For even the being made Senſible, that it is out of a Man's Power to enter deep,

deep, and ſearch things to the Bottom, and that in many, (in moſt Caſes indeed) all the Knowledge we can have, is merely Superficial, and goes no farther than juſt the Shell, and Out-ſide of Things; The very Coming to this Senſe, I ſay, is a very brave and bold Stroke, and argues a Maſterly Judgment. *Learning*, nay, *Truth* it ſelf may be found in a Man that wants *Judgment*, and many may have a good Judgment too, who are unskill'd in Learning and Books, and under ſome Miſtakes, as to particular Opinions. But for a Man to ſee, and to acknowledge his own Ignorance and perſonal Defects; to pretend to no more than he really hath, and is; this ſingle Quality argues ſo much Judgment, that there are few better Teſtimonies to be given of it.

7. *Ready and quick in its Motions.*

A Third Character very conſiderable in this Agent is, the *Nimbleneſs* of its *Motions*; whereby it traverſes the whole World, and runs from the one End of it to the other, in a Moment of Time; never ſtanding ſtill, never at reſt; but fluttering about, and peeping and medling every where. * *Man is endued with a buſy, active, Mind; that never keeps at home; but expands and dilates it ſelf; wanders every where, cannot bear any Reſt, and is never ſo agreeably entertain'd as with Novelties, and freſh Objects. Nor is it ſtrange; For this Mind of ours is deſcended from that Celeſtial Spirit above; and Motion, we know, is ſo natural there, that the Heavenly Beings, are never out of it.* This mighty Quickneſs and Agility muſt be confeſſed in one reſpect Prodigious, and one of the moſt Miraculous Qualifications belonging to the Soul. But on the o-

* Mobilis & inquieta mens homini data eſt; nunquam ſe tenet; Spargitur vaga, quietis impatiens, novitate rerum lætiſſima; Non mirum ex illo cœleſti ſpiritu deſcendit. Cœleſtium autem natura ſemper in motu eſt.

ther hand, it is very dangerous too; For Spirits so exceeding subtle and refin'd, are liable to great Inconveniences; and an Excellence of this kind is observed to be a mighty Disposition to Folly, and borders hard upon *Madness*, as you will hear by and by.

Upon the Consideration of these Three Qualities it is that the Arguments for the *Immortality of the Soul* are usually grounded. Since *Matter* (which is corruptible by Nature) hath none of these; and what is not Material, no reason in Philosophy can evince to be Mortal. Now an Agent in *perpetual Motion* is very distant from Matter, to which *Rest* seems natural, since it neither does, nor ever can move it self. An unlimited and Universal Agent differs extremely from Matter, which is cramped and confin'd in all its Operations, and proper only for one, or a few; but always the same Matter can serve only some and the same determinate uses: And That again which is sudden and instantaneous, which is bounded by no Time, no Place, but carries its Thoughts to the most distant Objects with equal Swiftness as to those that are neareſt: This sure is most contrary to *Matter*, whose Motions are local and gradual, bound up by necessary Laws, and proportion'd by the respective Distances of the several Objects. Consequently This *Mind* is something above *Matter* and *Mortality*, a *Spark* of *Divine Fire*, and the express Image of that Active and Omnipresent Spirit, which we call *GOD*.

8. *Its Employment.* Now the Trade and constant Employment of this Soul, is to be perpetually upon the seek, ferretting, and doubling, and hot in the pursuit of Knowledge, as of its proper Food. This *Appetite* and Hunger for the *Truth*, makes Men eternally prying, and curious, and inquisitive; which made the *Greek* Poets call Men ἀλφησας, a sort of Creature

ture whoſe Thoughts and Inventions are always at work. Nor is there any End of our Enquiries; for they are circumſcrib'd within no Bounds, nor regulated by any Forms and Meaſures. Doubts and Difficulties are the Suſtenance we live upon; and the Principle within us is a *perpetual Motion.* The whole World is our School, and our Theme, and, which is particular to the Caſe now before us, *We labour for labour's ſake*; The Chace and Purſuit is not ſo much our Toil, or our Diverſion, as it is our Game, and our Prey: For the ſucceeding, or not ſucceeding in our Diſquiſition, is a thing of another and very different Conſideration.

9. *Its manner of working.*

But ſtill, in the midſt of all this buſie Curioſity, it is raſh, tumultuous, and diſorderly, obſerves no certain Rules and Meaſures, but is eternally roving, and variable, and inconſiſtent with it ſelf: 'Tis a perfect Noſe of Wax, that bends every way, ſtretches it ſelf to any length, is accommodated to all Forms, more ſupple and yielding than Water or Air. * Thus juſtifying the Character given of it, that as a Spirit is more refin'd and ſubtle, ſo it is likewiſe more flexible and yielding than any the thinneſt Matter whatſoever. Of this *Theramenes* his Shooe was the true Emblem, which fitted Feet of all Sizes. All it is at a loſs for is, only for ſome Contrivance how to turn and change with ſome Appearance of Probability; for when This is once found, it moves every way, takes all ſides, croſſes and contradicts it ſelf, and argues for Truth or Falſhood indifferently.

10.

Thus *Reaſon* ſports wantonly, and invents or entertains Arguments for the wideſt and moſt diſtant Contrarieties. Nothing ſo extravagant, no-

* Flexibili omni humore obſequentior, & ut Spiritus, qui omni Materiâ facilior, ut tenuior.

thing

thing ſo abſurd, but hath found its Aſſertors and Abettors: And this not only in the fanciful Conceits of private Perſons, but in the more general Senſe, and Agreement of large Societies and Communities. Thus *Hiſtory* tells us, that what is deteſted as Impious, Unjuſt, and Unnatural in one Country, hath been receiv'd with Veneration, and practiſed as highly Decent, and a Duty, nay even eſteem'd an Act of Religion in another. And there are not many Laws, or Cuſtoms, or Opinions, which we can ſay have univerſally obtain'd, or have been every where rejected. The *Marriages of near Relations* Some condemn as Inceſtuous; but Others have not only allow'd, but recommended, nay in ſome Caſes even enjoyn'd them. The *Murdering of Infants*, and *of Parents, when old and decrepid*, and the *having Wives in common*, are now, and in our parts of the World, lookt upon as barbarous and execrable; but the Worſhippers of *Moloch*, we know, thought their Children the moſt acceptable Sacrifice; and if *Herodotus*, and ſome other Hiſtorians, ſay true, the *Scythians* thought the other not only innocent, but a Mark of Tenderneſs and Reſpect; and never pretended to any Propriety in a Marriage-Bed. When *Dionyſius* offer'd *Plato* a rich Embroider'd Robe, he refus'd it, with this Reaſon for his denyal, That it was not fit for a Man to be ſo effeminately clothed; And yet *Ariſtippus*, another Philoſopher, accepted it; and he had his Reaſon for That too, which was, That no External Habit cou'd corrupt the Mind; and that the Soul might ſtill be Maſculine and Chaſte, though the Body were attir'd in Clothes never ſo Soft and Effeminate. The *Dialogue* between this laſt Philoſopher and *Diogenes*, each vindicating his own manner of Living, and reflecting upon the others

that

that differ'd from him, is thus represented by *Horace* *,

Diog. *If* Aristippus *patiently cou'd dine*
On Herbs, he wou'd the Courts of Kings decline.
Arist. *If He that censures me, knew how to use*
The Courts of Kings, He wou'd his Herbs refuse. Creech, *Epist.* XVII

When *Solon* was mourning, and full of lamentation for the Death of his Son, a Friend advised him to moderate his Passion, since Tears upon that occasion are unprofitable, and to no purpose; That very Consideration, says *Solon*, excuses my Excess of Grief; for what can justifie a Man's Concern, what can provoke Tears so much as the Thought that all our Sorrow is Fruitless and Vain? *Socrates* his Wife pretended this Aggravation of her Grief, that the Judges had condemn'd him unjustly: Nay sure, (reply'd he) if a Man must suffer, it is infinitely more eligible to die innocent, than to deserve Condemnation. One Philosopher tells you, That a Man is truly possest of nothing which he is not prepared to lose. †*For the Fear that a thing may be lost, is a Passion every whit as tormenting as the Concern for it when actually lost.* Another, who passes for as Wise a Man as He, comes and tells you quite contrary; That the Uncertainty of what we have, and the Apprehension of its being taken away from us, heightens and gives a Relish to our Enjoyments, by disposing us to hold the Blessings faster and closer to our Hearts, and rendring us more affectionate and tender of them. A Cynick beg-

* Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret Regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus, qui me notat——

† In æquo enim est Dolor amissæ rei, & Timor amittendæ

ged

ged of *Antigonus*, that he wou'd beſtow a *Drachm* of Silver upon him; No, ſays the King, So ſmall a thing is not a Preſent fit for a Prince to give: Then, Sir, be pleaſed to give me a *Talent*: Nor that neither, ſays *Antigonus*; For a Talent is a Summ as much too great for a Philoſopher to receive. A certain Perſon was extolling a King of *Sparta* for his exceeding great *Goodneſs* and *Clemency*; and the Inſtance he gave of it, was, That he was kind even to the Wicked and Unworthy: And this argu'd a great Degree of Goodneſs in him. So far from that, ſays another, that according to this Account he is no Good Man, for no Prince can be ſo, who is not ſevere to the Wicked. Thus you may obſerve, how many different Faces *Reaſon* puts on, and what a *Two-edg'd Sword* it is, which with dextrous Management will cut both ways. * *Every Medal hath its Reverſe*, ſays the Proverb. There is nothing ſaid, but hath ſomewhat to be ſaid againſt it, ſays the ſoundeſt Philoſophy; and a Man might demonſtrate the Truth of it upon any Subject in the World.

11. Now this great Variety and Flexibility may be imputed to ſeveral Cauſes: It may come from that perpetual Flux of Humours, and variable Conſtitution of the Body, which is ſo great, ſo conſtant, that a Man is never exactly the ſame in this reſpect at any two times of his whole Life. It may be charg'd upon that infinite Variety of Objects that offer themſelves to his Contemplation; It may proceed from the Temper of the Air, the Difference of Weather, of Climates and Seaſons; for, as was obſerv'd before,

* Ogni Medaglia ha il ſuo riverſo.

† *In*

† *In each Man's Breaſt that Weathercock, the Mind,*
Moves with the Rack, and ſhifts with every Wind.

And a Thouſand other external Cauſes may contribute to it. But if we come nearer home, and look within, much may be laid upon the ſeveral ſorts of Motion, which the Mind is put into, both by its own natural and conſtant Agitation, and by the different Impreſſions, which the Paſſions make upon it. Much alſo may be argu'd from the different manner of the Object's being repreſented to it, according to the different Proſpects taken of them: For in this reſpect it happens to the *Eye* of the *Mind*, as it does to that of the *Body*, that no two Perſons ſee the ſame thing exactly, and in all reſpects alike. Their Situation, their Organs, and infinite other little unobſerv'd Accidents there are, that make ſome, though perhaps not ſo great a Diverſity as to be diſcern'd in the Act of Viſion. Beſides; every thing we know hath different Gloſſes and Faces, and is capable of being conſider'd under different reſpects; which was *Epictetus*'s meaning, when he ſaid, *That every thing hath two* (he might very truly have ſaid a great many) *Handles.* "But after all, nothing "adds more to this Ambiguity, and variety of "Opinions, than that *Spirit* of *Contradiction* and "*Diſpute*, and a vain Affectation of *Wit*, general-"ly predominant in the World, which lets no-"thing paſs quietly in Converſation; and accounts "it a Reflexion upon one's Parts, not to have "ſomewhat to ſay by way of Repartee and Ob-"jection, though never ſo contrary to Truth, and "ſometimes even to the Perſon's own Judgment

† Tales ſunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipſe
Jupiter auctiferâ luſtravit lampade terras.

"too.

"too. And hence it is frequent for ſuch People "to take contrary Sides; for their Buſineſs is not "ſo much to advance an Opinion, or to urge "what is really Argument and Good Senſe, as "to ſhew their Talent in oppoſing what any Body "elſe ſhall ſay.

12. From hence it comes to paſs, that the Mind obſtructs it ſelf in its Buſineſs, like Silkworms that are intangled in Webs of their own ſpinning: For while it reaches forward, and expects to attain ſome diſtant Truth, and is led on in this Hope by I know not what imaginary Probabilities; in the midſt of his Courſe, up ſtart ſome freſh Difficulties, and theſe multiply and croſs the way upon the Man, and ſo by putting him upon a new Scent, carry him off from his firſt Deſign, till he is quite intoxicated, and bewildred in the Maze of his own Thoughts.

Truth, its End, but not attainable.

13. The End of all this anxious Purſuit is two-fold; That which is more general, and more natural indeed, is *Truth*: For of all the Deſires that we feel our ſelves moved with, there is not any of them more cloſely interwoven with our Nature, than the Deſire of *Truth*: It is with great Eagerneſs and Diligence that we try all the Means capable of leading us to the Knowledge of it; but alas! our utmoſt Attempts are ſhort and inſufficient; for Abſolute Certainty is not a Prize allotted to us; nor does it condeſcend to be taken, and poſſeſſed by any the moſt aſſiduous Humane Soul. *Truth lodges in the Boſom of God*; there is its Retreat and proper Apartment; Men underſtand not any thing in its utmoſt Perfection; *We know in part*, and *here we ſee through a Glaſs darkly*, ſays the Fountain of all Truth. We turn and tumble Objects about, and grope like Men in the Dark for probable Reaſons; but theſe are to be found every where; and *Falſhood* as well as *Truth* hath ſomewhat

what to be alledg'd in its behalf. We are born indeed to ſearch and ſeek for *Truth*, but the Enjoyment of it ſeems to be a Bleſſing reſerv'd for ſome greater and more exalted Powers than any that Mortals are endu'd with. "That is the Hap-"pineſs of Beings above us at preſent, and is re-"ſerv'd for Mankind in a future State, till he be "purify'd from the Droſs of Matter, and Fleſh, "and Infirmity; and the Clouds that now hang "before us, and dim our Sight, be ſcatter'd by "Clear and Everlaſting Day. At preſent the Difference between one Man and another, is not who reaches the Goal, and gains the Prize, and who not; but who is diſtanced, and who not; who runs beſt, and makes the neareſt Approaches to that which none of us All can come up to. If at any time it happens that a Man in the ſtudy of Nature fixes upon Truth, This is more by a lucky Hit than otherwiſe; and his good Fortune is to be extoll'd as much as his Induſtry; and when he hath it, 'tis odds if he can keep it; for many times a Man ſuffers it to be wreſted out of his Hands again by Sophiſms, and Deluſions, and contrary Appearances, for want of being Maſter of his Point, and able to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and Reality from the Counterfeit. Errours are entertain'd by the ſame way that Truth is; the Paſſage by which both enter our Souls, is one and the ſame; The Methods made uſe of for diſcovering it, are *Reaſon* and *Experience:* And both Theſe are extremely weak and defective, floating and uncertain, hard to fix, and changeable upon every ſlight occaſion, when we think they are fixed. The great Argument of Truth is That of *Univerſal Conſent.* But what will all this amount to, when a Man hath conſider'd, what a vaſt Majority of Fools there are, and how very few Wiſe Men in the World? And again,

To

To any one that obſerves how Opinions ſpread, and become general: Men take them from one another, as they do *Diſeaſes*, by *Infection*: And *Applauſe* is that Breath that corrupts the Air, and bears about the Venom: This Applauſe again is given commonly blindly and inconſiderately, by them who never examine into the true Merits of the Cauſe; and by them too, who if they do pretend to examine, are not capable of judging in the Caſe. And thus, when ſome few have begun the Dance, the reſt have nothing to do but to fall in with the Tune, and follow them that lead it up of Courſe.

14. *Invention.* The other End aim'd at by the Mind, is *Invention*; which if it have leſs of Nature, yet hath more of Ambition and bold Pretenſion in it: This is aſpir'd to, as its higheſt Point of Honour, that which makes moſt Shew to the World, and contributes moſt to its Reputation; That which it looks big with, and thinks the livelieſt Image of the Divine Nature: It is this particular Accompliſhment, to which all thoſe noble Works have owed their Original, which have fill'd the World with Tranſport and Wonder. And thoſe that have been of Publick Uſe among them, have even Deify'd their Authors, and immortaliz'd their Names. What Renown have ſome gain'd, that were mere Curioſities, only for being eminent in their Kind, though no Benefit at all accrued to Mankind by their means? Such as *Zeuxis*'s Vine, *Apelles*'s *Venus*, *Memnon*'s Statue, the *Coloſſe* at *Rhodes*, *Archytas*'s Wooden Pigeon, the Sphere of *Sapores* King of *Perſia*, and infinite others. Now the Excellence of Art and Invention ſeems to conſiſt not only in a good Imitation of Nature, but in outdoing it. This often happens in particular Inſtances; for no Man nor Beaſt ſeems ever to have been ſo exquiſitely formed

formed in all its Parts, nor the Proportions of any one and the ſame Body, to have met together of Nature's Compoſition, ſo exact as theſe Artiſts have delineated, and repreſented them in Their Pieces. There are likewiſe ſeveral *Improvements* and Exaltations of *Nature*, in producing and compounding thoſe things by *Art*, which Nature alone never produces. This is plain from the Mixtures of Simples and Ingredients, which is the proper Buſineſs for Art to exerciſe it ſelf in; the Extraction of Spirits and Oyls, and Diſtillation of Waters, and compounding of Medicines more refin'd, more powerful and efficacious, than any Nature furniſhes us with. And yet after all, Theſe things are not ſo wonderful, nor do they commend Humane Wiſdom and Induſtry ſo highly, as the generality of the World are apt to imagine: For, if we will paſs that Judgment in this Matter, which is agreeable to Truth and Duty, and pay a juſt Deference and Acknowledgment to the Firſt Author, Theſe are but *Imitations*, and not properly *Inventions*; They are Improvements, but they only promote and perfect what God hath firſt revealed. And what we commonly value and extol as our own Original Contrivance, is nothing more than obſerving the Works of Nature, arguing and concluding from what we find there, and then reducing thoſe Obſervations into Practice. Thus *Painting* and *Optiques* were firſt rude and imperfect Hints, taken from Shades; and the Perfection they are now in, conſiſts only in a due, and proper, and beautiful Mixture of Colours, which makes thoſe Shades. The *Art of Dyalling* comes from the Shadows caſt by Trees; and what they do in our Fields, we do upon our Planes; They are Nature's Meaſure of the Sun's Motion, and the Gnomon is Ours. *Sculpture*, and Engraving of Seals, and Characters, and

Cyphers, ſeems to be derived from the particular Marks, and Figures, and Emboſſings found in Precious Stones. And if This be allowed, the reſult of all our Boaſts is very poor; for it all terminates here, That Man (in truth, and ſtrictly ſpeaking) hath invented nothing, but God and Nature give the Hints and firſt Draughts of all, and We improve, and by degrees refine upon them.

15. *The Dangers it expoſes us to.* If all that went before be true, we eaſily perceive to what Raſhneſs and Errour the Mind of Man is ſubject, and how great the Dangers are which it expoſes every one of us to; but thoſe Men above all the reſt, in whom it is more ſprightly and vigorous than ordinary: For, ſince the Nature of it is perpetual Agitation, ſince its Motions are ſo free and unconſtrain'd, and ſince all kind of Objects fall within its Contemplation; ſince it refuſes to be bound up, or directed by any certain Forms and Meaſures; and upon all Occaſions is ſo bold in the Uſe of its Native Liberty, without ſubmitting to be captivated and controuled by any thing: The common and natural Effect of this is, to ſhake and diſſettle Opinions generally receiv'd, and already eſtabliſh'd, and to complain of all thoſe Rules by which Men endeavour to regulate and reſtrain it, and check thoſe Extravagancies which ſome Men call *Free-Thinking*, as an unjuſt Tyranny and Uſurpation upon Nature, and a Yoke which every Man hath a right to break. Hence it pretends a Privilege of taking nothing for granted, but aſſumes a Power of examining every thing; and pronounces the greateſt part of thoſe *Notions* which are entertain'd and approv'd by the generality of the World, to be no better than *Vulgar Errors*, ridiculous and abſurd Prepoſſeſſions. It finds ſome appearance

pearance of Reaſon on every ſide; and becauſe nothing above a bare Probability is to be found, it believes nothing certain. Some Notions may have more, and ſome leſs; but all have ſome Allegations in their Favour: And by indulging theſe ſort of Ambiguities, it is to be fear'd, that at laſt Men are loſt in a Labyrinth, give All up, and ſit down in *Doubt* and *Scepticiſm*. That thus it often hath happen'd is too manifeſt; and as evident, that this is commonly the Diſeaſe of warm and witty Men, who truſt to their own Sufficiency, and have brisker Parts than their Neighbours; (ſuch as, Par. II. according to our former Scheme, may deſerve a place toward the upper part of the middle Claſs of Souls.) For ſuch as theſe, we commonly find by experience, are more looſe in their Principles, more particular in their Opinions, more extravagant and diſorderly in their Manners, than any other ſort of Men whatſoever. There are but very few of this Conſtitution, fit to be left to their own Conduct; or who know how to manage their Abilities to their own Safety and Advantage, and how to let their Judgments run beyond the common eſtabliſh'd Opinions, without plunging out of their Depth, and paying dear for their Raſhneſs. A great and ſprightly Wit, well temper'd with Solidity and Diſcretion, is now ſo hard to be found, that it is almoſt a Miracle among Men. For This is an Edged-Tool, and apt to do great Miſchief, if it be not in a very Wiſe Man's Hand: 'Tis like a nimble Sayler without Balaſt, whoſe Swiftneſs does but haſten its Ruine, and drive it ſo much the ſooner upon Rocks and Shelves. And if Hiſtory be enquired into, all the Diſorders in the State, Hereſies in the Church, Revolts in Armies, Parties and Factions of every kind, will be generally found to have taken their Riſe from

ſuch Authors as Theſe. * *Great Errors* (ſays one) *have never ſprung from any but great Wits; Nothing is more prejudicial, more deteſtable to true Wiſdom, than too much Smartneſs of Parts.* No doubt That Man hath a better time on't, lives longer, enjoys more Eaſe and Happineſs, and is better qualify'd for Government, (ſays *Thucydides*) who is but moderately, or not ſo much as moderately, provided in point of Natural Parts, than He, who hath a very Noble and Tranſcendent Elevation of Soul: For This Temper commonly is good for nothing, but to create Trouble and Torment, and never let one's ſelf, nor others, live in quiet. It is obſervable, that the deareſt Friends, when they fall out, make the Bittereſt and moſt Irreconcileable Enemies: And, that the ſoundeſt Health, and moſt vigorous Conſtitutions, are ſubject to the acuteſt and moſt mortal Diſeaſes; and our Minds do ſo far ſympathize with our Bodies, that Thoſe of them, whoſe Operations are more quick and ſubtle than ordinary, are of all others moſt exquiſite in their Follies, and have the ſtrongeſt propenſion to Madneſs and Extravagance. Wiſdom and Folly may be ſaid to dwell pretty near one another; There is but a ſhort Turn between them; The Behaviour of diſtracted People plainly ſhews it. Philoſophy tells us, the ſame predominance of Humours diſpoſes to both; for each abounds in Melancholy. And ſure there is no Folly comparable to That, which we find is the effect of Nice and Subtle Wiſdom. This mov'd *Ariſtotle* to affirm, That *Nature never made a great Soul without an Alloy of Folly*; and *Plato* upon the ſame Account declar'd, That *it was a vain Attempt for a Man of good Judgment, and ſound Senſe, to knock at the Door of Poetry*;

* Magni errores non niſi ex magnis ingeniis; nihil Sapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio.

That

That was not a Place for such as him to be admitted into; The Solidity of his Judgment wou'd hinder the Soaring of his Fancy. And upon this Consideration it is, that the most skilful and celebrated Poets have not always thought it necessary to submit to Rules, but approve of extravagant Flights, and the giving one's self a Loose now and then. Thus we may understand those known Sayings, * *It is pleasant to fly out. 'Tis decent sometimes to be vain. While the Mind continues it self, its Performances are mean: Great and Noble Thoughts require a vehement Agitation to give them Birth.* Creech, Hor. Ode XII. Lib. IV.

16. *The necessity of restraining it*

Upon this account, They were certainly in the right, who have set strong *Barriers* and *Boundaries about the Soul.* The necessity of curbing and fettering it with all manner of Restraints, with the Articles and Precepts of Religion, with the Authority of Laws and Customs, the Rules and Sciences of Learning, the Promises of Reward, and Threatnings both in This and a Future State; This Necessity, I say, hath been well consider'd both by God and Man; And great indeed it is; for notwithstanding all these Checks, the Soul hath its Frolicks and Flyings-out still; and in these Humours it leaps over, and bursts through all; so exceeding fierce and intractable, so head-strong and self-conceited is it naturally: And therefore *Art* must manage, and make it tame, for *Force* is to no purpose at all. † *The Mind of Man* (says *Seneca*) *is naturally stiff and rebellious, continually bending the wrong way, and bearing hard upon the Bit; and is easier led than driven, as high-mettled Horses are*

* Insanire jucundum est. Dulce est desipere in loco. Non potest grande & sublime quicquam nisi mota mens, & quamdiu apud se est.

† Naturâ contumax est Animus humanus, in contrarium atque arduum nitens; sequiturque facilius quam ducitur, ut generosi & nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur.

better ridden with a Snaffle than with a Curb. It is a much ſafer Courſe to keep it under the Cuſtody of a Guardian, to ſooth and gently lay this indiſcreet Minor aſleep, than to let him have his Head, and ramble abroad at his own Pleaſure, and go his own Pace. For, if the Mind be not very regular and prudent, as well as very lively and ſtrong, (the Conjunction of which Qualities make that happy Diſpoſition of Souls, of the firſt and higheſt Order) or if it be not weak, and tender, and ſomewhat dull of Apprehenſion, (which were ſaid to be the Characters of the laſt and loweſt Set) there is great hazard of its loſing and ruining it ſelf by the Freedom it takes of Examining and judging Things, and ſubmitting to no Preſcription or Authority. And therefore very expedient it is, that it ſhou'd be put under ſome Confinement; and if it go abroad, that it be duly and conveniently equipp'd: For there is greater need of a Clog, than of Wings; and of a ſtreight Rein, than of a Spur: The Advice of *Phœbus* to his Son;

* *Son, ſpare the Whip, and ſtrongly uſe the Rein;*
They of their own accord will run too faſt,
'Tis hard to moderate their flying haſte.

That Advice is neceſſary here too; otherwiſe This, like another *Phaeton*, and his Steeds ungovern'd, wou'd ſet the World on Fire. The Prevention of that Inconvenience, is what hath been chiefly aim'd at by all thoſe Great Men, who have either modell'd Mankind into particular Societies at firſt, or devis'd Laws for them ever ſince. And this ſort of Men are the very Perſons, with whom both the Founders and the Governors of States

* Parce puer Stimulis, & fortiùs utere Loris.——*Ovid.*

have

have been moſt of all perplex'd. For the common People, and thoſe of meaner Capacities, are generally more Peaceably diſpoſed, than thoſe whom *Wit* and *Parts* make Thoughtful and Buſy, and conſequently Factious and Troubleſome. The general Genius of a People is very Remarkable to this Purpoſe; for in the ſingle City of *Florence*, who are a Sharp-Witted People, there have been more Seditions, and Civil Confuſions, within the Compaſs of Ten Years, than have been known among all the honeſt dull *Suiſſes* and *Griſons* for above Five Hundred Years together. And juſt ſo it is with particular Perſons in the ſame Community: They that have but a bare Competency of Underſtanding, are generally the honeſteſt Men, the beſt Subjects; more flexible, and tractable, more contented to ſubmit to the Laws, to be commanded by their Superiours, to hearken to Reaſon, and be governed by it, than theſe briſk and diſcerning Sparks, whoſe Parts and Penetration are above being controuled by Power or Perſuaſion, and put them upon new Hazards and Projects, and will not let them content themſelves with their own Buſineſs, and ſleep in a whole Skin. So very wide a Difference there is between *Wit* and *Wiſdom*.

17. *The Defects of the Mind.*

The *Mind* hath likewiſe its *Defects*, Decays and Diſeaſes, as well as the *Body*, and indeed the Number of theſe is greater, the Conſequence of them more Dangerous, and the Cure of them more Difficult and Impracticable, than that of Bodily Diſtempers. For the better underſtanding of theſe, it is Neceſſary to diſtinguiſh them into their ſeveral Sorts. Now ſome of theſe are purely Accidental, and fall upon it from outward Cauſes. Among which we may take Notice of Three more eſpecially.

Accidental.

The Firſt is, The *State and Diſpoſition of the Body.* For Diſeaſes, which make any Alteration in the

Temperament of the Body, do manifeſtly carry their Influence farther, and produce a mighty Alteration in the Mind, and impair the Judgment at the ſame time. Sometimes the Subſtance of the Brain is not of a good Compoſition, and ſo the Organs of the Soul are not in a Condition to do their Duty. And this again happens either from a Fault in the Firſt Formation, as in Them who have an Ill-ſhap'd Head, too little, or too round; or elſe from ſome accidental Hurts, afterwards, as many have ſuffered extremely in their Reaſon and Memory, by Falls, and Blows, and Wounds upon their Head.

From the Body.

For The Second Cauſe of theſe Defects, we may aſſign that *Univerſal Infection of common and popular Opinions, entertained in the World*; With which the Mind is tinctured early, and theſe take Poſſeſſion, and uſually keep it obſtinately. Or which is yet worſe, ſometimes wild and fantaſtical Deluſions have been drunk in, and with theſe the Mind is ſo ſtrongly ſeaſoned, ſo groſſely cheated, that They are not only not diſmiſs'd, but made the Rule of our Judgments, and the Meaſure of Truth in other Caſes. All is brought to this Standard; and receiv'd or rejected, as it agrees or diſagrees with it. Here the Man fixes his Foot, and will not be got one Step backward or forward. The Inſtances of this kind among the Vulgar are Infinite; moſt of whom are guided by ſome fantaſtical Notion, ſome erroneous Conceit, that hath grown up, and is like to live and die with them. And indeed when theſe Fancies or Opinions are common, they are like a ſtrong Torrent; Every Body hath not Force and Vigour of Mind enough to ſtem it, and keep himſelf from being carried down the Stream with his Neighbours.

Prejudicate Opinions.

The Third, and That which ſticks much the cloſeſt to it of all the reſt, is the *Sickneſs and Corruption*

Paſſions.

ruption of the Will, and the *Inordinacy and Strength of the Paſſions*. And in this Caſe, the Soul is a World turn'd upſide-down. The *Will* is made by Nature to follow the Directions of the *Underſtanding*; This is its Guide to Inſtruct; Its Candle to give it Light; but when once the Strength of Paſſion hath corrupted, and as it were laid violent Hands upon the *Will*, then the *Will*, in like manner, corrupts, and commits a Violence upon the *Underſtanding*. And from this diſorderly Procedure it is, that the greateſt Part of our falſe Judgments grow. Envy and Malice, and Love, and Hatred, and Fear, make us ſee things with other Eyes; and take them for what they really are not; and draw ſuch Concluſions, and Inferences from them, as they miniſter no Juſt Ground for. From whence it is, that we ſo often are admoniſh'd, and do admoniſh others, *to Judge without Paſſion*. This puts us upon all thoſe baſe and black Interpretations, by which we labour to eclipſe the virtuous Behaviour, and generous Actions of other Men; Hence we ſtudy and invent Cauſes, and Intentions, for them, and, of our own Malice, aſſign vain and wicked Motives and Occaſions for what they do. This is a moſt abominable Vice, and an evident Proof of great Malignity in our Nature, and of a diſeaſed Mind; There is no great Matter of Wit or Judgment ſhewn in ſuch Proceedings, but they betray a World of Baſeneſs and Ill-Nature. For whence can all this Miſconſtruction ſpring, but either from that Envy, which our Neighbours Honour and Reputation provokes in us; or from a meaſuring of others by our ſelves, and ſo taking that for granted in Them, which we are Conſcious of in our ſelves; or from a Weakneſs and Diſtemper in the Mind, which like ſome Sickneſſes in the Body, alters and vitiates the Palate, confounds and blinds the Sight, that we neither

ſee

ſee nor taſte Things as they are; and that Virtue, in its native Purity and Luſtre, is too Strong for us to bear or conceive? From the ſame Cauſe it is, that we are ſo officiouſly Spightful, in publiſhing other Mens Vices and Failings; that we aggravate theſe beyond what they deſerve, but take good Care to extenuate their Virtues as much; hence from ſingle Actions, and particular Circumſtances, we draw general Inferences, and fix ſtanding Characters upon Men; Hence comes our Partiality in judging, and our Regards, not to the Thing, but the Perſon. If he be a Friend, or of Our Opinion, or in Our Intereſt; then all he does is juſtified or applauded, and every Thing becomes him; and his very Vices are Virtues; But if he be an Enemy, if he have diſoblig'd us Perſonally, or be engag'd in a Contrary Faction; he is ſtark naught, and nothing is as it ſhould be. Thus we are content to wrong and diſgrace our Judgment, provided we may but gratify our Paſſions. But alas! we are not come to the End, nor to the worſt Part of it yet; For moſt of the Impieties, and Hereſies, the Errours in point of Belief, and Controverſies of all Sorts in Religion, if we examine them ſtrictly, and trace them up to their firſt Head, will appear to be ſo many noiſome Streams of this bitter Fountain; a polluted and wicked Will, inordinate Paſſion, and ſenſual Pleaſure; which by Degrees bribes and debauches the Underſtanding, and wins it over to its own Side. *The People ſat down to eat and to drink, and roſe up to play*; As the Scripture obſerves of the *Iſraelites* Idolatry; and St. *Auguſtine* very well to this purpoſe; * *That when a Man feels an Errour agreeable to him, he does not believe what is True, but what he would gladly have to be True.* Thus by Degrees it hath come to paſs, that the Wickedneſſes which at firſt

* Quod vult, non quod eſt, credit, qui cupit errare.
Lib. 2. *de Civ. Dei.*

were

were committed with many Doubts, and Misgivings, and great Reluctancies, have not only out-worn all Scruple in time, but been asserted and maintained for Divine Truth, and Expres's Revelation. What was at first in the Sensual Appetite only, hath made its Way higher, and got the upper Hand of the Understanding; What was meerly Passion and Pleasure, hath been advanced into a Principle of Religion, and an Article of Faith. So dangerous a thing is it for any part of the Soul to be diseased; So Strong the Infection, and so quickly does it spread from one Faculty to another. And thus you have had an Account, what those Three Causes of Our Mental Defects, and the Errors in our Judgment are, which were said to be external and foreign to the Mind it self. For it appears, that the Understanding may be wanting or impaired, by Means of Sickness or Bodily Indisposition, more especially any Disease or Hurt in the Head, or any inconvenient Shape of the Skull. From the prejudicate Opinions of the World, and taking up groundless Whimsies for measur'd and certain Truths. And Lastly, from any Disorder in the other Faculties of the Rational Soul; which are plac'd below, and ought by Nature to be under the Governance of the Mind. Those whose Failings proceed from the first of these Causes, deserve our Pity, not our Censure or Blame; and of them some are curable, and others incurable. The Second are not wholly Innocent, but yet Faulty in such a Degree, that we may pardon, and excuse them. But the Third sort are altogether Guilty. They deserve both Censure and Punishment, for suffering the Order of their Creation to be so inverted, that those which were born Subjects, and ought to submit, should usurp the Throne, and presume to give Laws to their Natural Sovereign.

But

16. *Its Natural Defects.* But, beſides theſe outward and accidental Failings, there are others, Natural and Internal, ſuch as take their firſt riſe from, and are born and cheriſhed in the Mind it ſelf. The greateſt of All, and indeed the Source and Root of all the Reſt, is *Pride* and *Preſumption.* (The Firſt, and the Original Sin of Mankind, the Bane of every Soul, and the Cauſe of all manner of Evil) 'Tis This that puffs Men up with *Sufficiency* and *Self-Satisfaction*; This will not ſuffer us to yield to any body, or think others Wiſer or Better than our ſelves. This makes us deſpiſe the good Counſel of our Friends; and place an entire Confidence in our own Opinions. This calls the Judgments of other People into Queſtion; arraigns and condemns them; nay, ſometimes, ſuch as we underſtand nothing of, nor are capable of examining or comprehending the Reaſons of them. 'Tis moſt truly obſerv'd, that *Judgment* and *Wiſdom* is not only the Beſt, but the Happieſt Portion God Almighty hath diſtributed among Men. For tho' this Diſtribution be made with a very uneven Hand, yet no body thinks himſelf ſtinted or Ill dealt with; but he that hath never ſo little is contented in this Reſpect however, and thinks he hath a Child's Share at leaſt. Now This Diſtemper is owing to no Cauſe ſo much, as the want of being more intimately acquainted with our ſelves; for by this means we are Strangers to our Wants and Weakneſſes, and not at all ſenſible of our greateſt Misfortunes, So that the Root of all our Diſeaſes is *Ignorance*, not That which is oppoſed to Skill in Arts and Sciences, and converſing with the Writings of Learned Men; but Ignorance of our own Affairs and Condition, the Removal and Cure whereof was propoſed in the Beginning, as the Deſign of this whole Firſt Book.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Memory.

Memory is very often miſtaken by the Vulgar for *Underſtanding* and *Good Senſe*; but in truth they are very different Things. For both Reaſon and Experience tell us (as hath been obſerved formerly) that it is very poſſible and uſual, for a Man, who is Excellent in one of theſe reſpects, to be wretchedly weak and wanting in the other. This indeed is a Faculty very Serviceable and Uſeful to Mankind; but it comes far ſhort of the *Underſtanding*; and is much the Tendereſt, and moſt Feeble of all thoſe Parts, whereof the Rational Soul is compoſed. To excel in it is not very neceſſary; except for Three Sorts of People. 1. Men of *Trade, and much Buſineſs.* 2. Thoſe that are *extremely Talkative*, for this is the Store-houſe, from whence they muſt be furniſhed with Matter for Diſcourſe; and it is naturally more full and fruitful than Invention; but he that cannot be ſupplied from hence, muſt make it up by Stuff of his own forging, and 3. *Great Lyars*, for * *Theſe, indeed, ought to have good Memories.* The Want of Memory hath its Conveniences too. For this will diſpoſe Men to ſpeak Truth, to be Modeſt, and talk no more than their Share, and to forget the Faults and Injuries of other People. A moderate Proportion of this Faculty, will ſerve ones Turn, and anſwer all the Ends of it very well.

* Mendacem oportet eſſe Memorem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Imagination and Opinion.

1. *The Effects of Imagination.*

THE Power of *Imagination* is exceeding great; This is in Effect the very Thing, that makes all the Noiſe in the World: Almoſt all the Clutter and Diſturbances we feel, or make, are owing to it. (Accordingly it was obſerv'd before, that This is, if not the *Only*, yet at leaſt the moſt *active* and buſtling *Faculty* of the Soul.) And, in good Truth, the Effects of it are Wonderful, Unaccountable, and almoſt Incredible. For the Influences of *Imagination* are not confined to the Body or the Mind of that Perſon alone, where it is born and cheriſhed; but extend and transfuſe themſelves far and wide, and act very Strongly upon other People. It is fitted for all manner of Operations, and the moſt diſtant and contrary Paſſions are raiſed by it; It puts the Man into all manner of Forms, and the Face into all Colours and Complections: Makes Men bluſh with Shame, look Pale with Fear, tremble and quake, caſts them into Fits of Raving and Confuſion; Theſe, tho' ſtrange, are yet ſome of its leaſt Effects, and gentle in Compariſon of others. It checks and enfeebles Men in their hotteſt Career; balks their Pleaſures, and chills all their Spirits. It Marks and deforms, nay, ſometimes kills *Embryo's* in the Womb; haſtens Births, or cauſes Abortions; Takes away the Speech, and ties the Tongue; and ſometimes enables the Dumb to ſpeak, as the Story of *Cræſus* his Son aſſures us. Makes Men Stiff and Motionleſs, benumbs and binds up the Senſes, ſtops

ſtops the Breath; Theſe are its Effects upon the Body. Then for the Mind, It robs Men of their Knowledge and Judgment, turns them into Fools and ſtupid Sots; as *Gallus Vibius* for Inſtance, who having ſtrain'd his Imagination too far in the ſtudy and practice of Folly, and its Motions, is ſaid to have diſturb'd his Underſtanding to that Degree, that he turn'd a mere Natural, and cou'd never return to ſound Judgment and good Senſe again. It inſpires Men with ſtrange Preſages of things hidden and future, fills them with Enthuſiaſms and Fancies, out of the common Road of Thinking; throws them into Extaſies and Raptures; nay poſſeſſes them with the Thoughts and Expectations of Death, till at laſt they die indeed; as it did that Malefactor, who, when his Cap had been pull'd over his Eyes in order to Execution, was found ſtark dead upon the Scaffold, when they came to uncover him again, and read his Pardon. In a word, A great part of thoſe unuſual Operations, which create ſuch Amazement in the Vulgar, Apparitions, and Viſions, and Witchcrafts, are to be attributed to the force of Imagination; and what They think done by the power of the Devil, or ſome familiar Spirits, (for I meddle not here with the Supernatural Operations of God's own Spirit) is commonly no more than a ſtrong Fancy, either in the Perſon that does theſe ſtrange things, or of the Spectators that are deluded with them, and think they ſee thoſe Objects, which really they do not. And the great Care in theſe Caſes is, to diſtinguiſh wiſely between Truth and Falſhood, and not ſuffer our Judgments to be captivated with vulgar Errours.

2. In this part of the Soul it is, that *Opinion* keeps its Reſidence, which is nothing elſe but a vain and eaſie, a crude and imperfect Judgment of things, taken up upon ſlight and inſufficient grounds; too

too credulous an Aſſent to the Repreſentations of our outward Senſes, or common Report, which reſts in the firſt Appearances of Things, and fixes in the Imaginative Faculty, without ever going farther, or referring the Matter to the Underſtanding, to be throughly examin'd, and digeſted there, and ſo wrought up, and finiſh'd into ſolid Reaſon. Till This be done, no true Judgment can be made, and ſuch as a Man may venture to abide by. And accordingly we ſee the other is mutable and inconſtant, fleeting and deceitful. A very dangerous Guide, that makes Head againſt Reaſon; of which it is only the Image and Shadow, and that but an empty and falſe one neither. This is the Source of all our Evils, our Confuſions and Diſorders, our Paſſions and Troubles; the moſt, and the worſt of them riſe out of a prepoſſeſt Fancy, and heated Imagination: So that in truth Madmen and Fools, the Ignorant and the Mobb, are blindly led by the Noſe by it, and follow this Leader; and betray their Folly in doing ſo; as Wiſe and Judicious Men diſtinguiſh themſelves, and approve their Prudence in ſuffering nothing but *Reaſon* to guide and govern them.

The World is govern'd by Opinion.

3. That thus it is, we ſee plainly; for, as hath been obſerv'd long ago by one of the Ancients, *It is not the Reality, nor the true Nature of Things, but the Notion and Opinion Men entertain of them, that diſquiets, and ſo violently Torments their Souls* *. Thus we turn our own Executioners, form Evils to our ſelves which *are not*, and ſtrangely aggravate thoſe that *are*, by frightful Idea's, which belong not to them. The Truth and Eſſence of Things never enters our Minds in its true Pro-

* Opinione ſæpius quam Re laboramus: plura ſunt quæ nos terrent, quàm quæ nos premunt.

portions,

portions, nor works upon us by its natural Force and Authority; for were it thus with us, all things that are alike in Themſelves wou'd be alike to Us; and the ſame Object wou'd produce the ſame Affections and Reſentments in all Men, allowing only ſome ſmall matter of difference in the Degree of them. At this rate all Mankind would be of the ſame Opinion: What is falſe wou'd be univerſally rejected, and what is true as univerſally embrac'd; for *Truth* can be but One and the Same; and is always equal and conſiſtent with it ſelf. But quite contrary, We find that the Difference of Opinions is infinite; Men do not only vary from, but directly contradict one another. And there are but very few Inſtances, in which even Men of the beſt Natural Abilities, and moſt eminent for their Improvements and acquir'd Learning, are all of a Mind. This ſhews ſufficiently, that the Idea's of things are compounded and mixt before we entertain them, that we have them at our Mercy, and put what Forms we pleaſe upon them; And, that the Condition they come to us in, is not what Nature gave, but what the Temper and Diſpoſition of our own Minds have moulded and modell'd them into. That which I firmly believe my ſelf, I cannot prevail with my Friend to believe; Thoſe are Arguments to Me, which to Him are none at all. Nay, which is more; Let one be never ſo confidently aſſur'd of a thing to Day, I cannot engage that I ſhall continue in the ſame Opinion of it to Morrow: And it is odds I may, (and plain that I often do) entertain very different Notions of it, and be quite otherwiſe affected with it another time. So ſure it is, that Things have juſt that place in our Opinion and Eſteem, which we think fit to aſſign them; that they are reliſh'd juſt as our Palate ſtands at that time; and ſhew to us accor-

ding to thoſe Colours which we our ſelves have tinctur'd them with. Like the Eyes of Men in the *Jaundice*, or the *Priſmes*, that refract and vary the Rays that fall upon the Organs of our outward Senſes, ſo does the Soul alter its Objects too; and the preſent Conſtitution of it is the *Medium*, through which they muſt paſs to us. St. *Paul*'s obſervation with regard to Morals, may be apply'd to Speculation too, *Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto the defiled is nothing pure.* Thus our Thoughts are like our Clothes, that keep us warm, with a Heat which is none of their own, but ſuch as we firſt gave them, and they keep it; and at the ſame time that they receive our Warmth from within, they receive and keep the Cold of Froſt and Snow without. But ſtill the Warmth we feel is all our own; we firſt impart it to Them, and they in requital preſerve it for our Benefit, and pay what they received, back again to Us.

Tit. I. 15.

4. How few are there of thoſe Opinions, which we profeſs to entertain, that, when lookt into, are not at laſt reſolv'd into Authority, and taken upon Truſt? We believe and act, we live and die upon Credit and Content; and our great Buſineſs is to conform our ſelves to Cuſtom, and to think and do like the reſt of the World, and according to what They, not our own Reaſon, eſteems moſt adviſeable. Thus *Faſhions*, and not *Judgment*, govern Mankind; and perhaps indeed, for the greateſt part of Mankind, this is not much amiſs; for moſt People have not Wit enough to chooſe for themſelves, and therefore ought to reſign the Government of their Actions to others: But Wiſe Men are above theſe mean and ſervile Compliances; they have a better Rule to walk by than *Authority* and *Example*; As I hope to ſhew at large in the following Parts of this Treatiſe.

Book II.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Will.

THE *Will* is a moſt exquiſite Piece, a magnificent Accompliſhment of Humane Nature indeed; of wonderful Importance, and ſuch as deſerves and requires our utmoſt Care and Study, to regulate and manage it well: For this hath the moſt commanding Influence upon a Man's Condition; and his whole Happineſs in a manner depends upon it alone. This is the only Faculty which Nature hath put in our own Power. All the reſt, ſuch as *Memory*, *Underſtanding*, *Imagination*, are at the Mercy and Diſpoſal of a Thouſand Accidents, which oftentimes diſturb, and change, and impair, nay ſometimes deſtroy, and take them quite away from us. Again: This draws the whole Man after it, and carries him whitherſoever it ſelf is determin'd; for he that conquers the *Will*, hath ſubdu'd the Perſon. When the *Underſtanding* is convinc'd, the Conqueſt is by no means entire; for the *Will* frequently holds out afterwards, and makes an obſtinate Defence againſt Reaſon and Sober Judgment. But when once This yields, All is ſurrendred, and the Man is not now any longer his own Maſter, he hath from thenceforth nothing left that he can call his own. Once more; This is the very Thing that fixes our Character; It makes and it denominates Good or Ill Men: This gives our Temper and Complexion, and we appear to the World under its Colours and Diſpoſitions. As of all Virtues and Qualifications of the Soul, *Probity* is the firſt and chief, and infinite-

1. *Its Pre-eminence.*

ly more deſirable than Learning, or Parts: All that Nature, or Art, or Induſtry can give, are not comparable to it; ſo it muſt be confeſt, that the *Will*, which is the Seat and proper Reſidence of Virtue and Goodneſs, is infinitely the moſt excellent Faculty that Humane Nature can boaſt of. A Man is neither Virtuous nor Vicious, Honeſt nor Diſhoneſt, for knowing what Virtue and Vice, Honeſty and Diſhoneſty are; tho' this Knowledge be never ſo nice and exact in the Speculation; but by his Inclination, and Love, and Practice of theſe things, by the Diſpoſition of his Mind, the Choice of his Heart, the Bent of his Affections, and the general Tendency of his Manners and Behaviour. There are indeed ſome other Preeminences peculiar to the Underſtanding; it is as the Husband in the Family, and this as the Wife, which ought to be under its Governance and Direction: That is the Guide, or as the Light, This as the Traveller, which ſhou'd follow its Inſtructions, and walk by them: But ſtill the laſt Reſult of all depends upon the *Will*; This finiſhes the Action, and determines the whole Matter; and in that reſpect the *Will* is ſuperiour even to the *Underſtanding* it ſelf.

2. The true and moſt remarkable Difference between theſe two Faculties, with regard to the manner of their Operation, ſeems to be This: That by the *Underſtanding*, Objects come into the Soul, and are there receiv'd and entertain'd, as the ſeveral Terms by which the Offices proper to this Part, are uſually expreſſed, (ſuch as Apprehending, Conceiving, Comprehending, and the like) do plainly import. And here they make their Entrance, not according to what they really are in their true Nature and full Proportions; but according to the preſent Diſpoſition and Capacity of the Perſon, and in ſuch Meaſures only as he is

is able to receive them in. Thoſe Objects which are great and ſublime, are for this reaſon under a neceſſity of condeſcending and contracting themſelves, and come to us with conſiderable Abatements and Defalcations; becauſe the Paſſage at which they enter is not large enough for their true Height and Bulk: Juſt as the *Ocean* flows into the *Mediterranean*, not in ſuch Quantities as are agreeable to its own Fulneſs, but ſuch only as the *Streight's Mouth* can give admiſſion to. Now in the Operations of the *Will*, the Method is quite contrary; Here the Soul goes as it were out of it ſelf, it ſtretches and moves forward toward the Object; it ſeeks and runs after it with open Arms, and is eager to take up its Reſidence, and dwell with the Thing deſired and beloved: Nay, it even transforms it ſelf into *That*, aſſumes its Name and its Nature, wears its Livery, and is diſtinguiſh'd by the Things it ſerves, and retains to. Hence we give it the Title of a *Virtuous* or *Vicious*, a Spiritual or a Carnal Mind; according as it purſues commendable and exalted Objects, or is ſunk into Senſuality and Vice. Thus the true and only way by which the *Will* can ennoble it ſelf, is by loving and chooſing worthy and noble Things; and the abandoning it ſelf to little and low, baſe and unworthy ones, is the debaſing and diſparagement of it. So that our former Compariſon is in this regard juſtify'd again; for thus the *Will* is, as a Wife, who gets or loſes Quality, according to the Perſon ſhe marries; and in ſtrictneſs can claim no Honour, nor Place, but that which belongs to her Husband.

3. Daily Experience aſſures us, that there are *Three Things* which whet and ſtimulate the *Will*; The Difficulty of Obtaining; The Rarity or Excellence of the Thing we ſeek; and The Abſence, or Fear of Loſing it. And the Three Conſi-

derations oppoſite to Theſe, which are, Its being Eaſie, and in our own Power; The Abundance or Commonneſs of it; and The Conſtant Preſence, and Secure Enjoyment, do as much blunt and pall our *Will*. The Three former raiſe our Eſteem of any thing; the Three latter render it cheap, and beget Neglect and Contempt. We are alſo ſharpned, and made more eager by Oppoſition and Refuſal; and entertain ſome ſort of Indignation, which makes us more reſolute againſt any thing that pretends to ſtand in our way, and diſappoint our Deſires. And thus, in the other Extreme, we diſdain and overlook the Bleſſings we have in hand, though never ſo valuable; and loſe what we are already poſſeſt of, for things diſtant and in Reverſion; and in proportion, what we lawfully do or may enjoy, for ſuch as we cannot or ought not.

* *What comes with Eaſe we nauſeouſly receive;*
Reſtraint inflames, and Hardſhips Pleaſure give.

Thus the Caſe ſtands with us in our Pleaſures of all ſorts. † *The Danger, which in reaſon ſhould abſolutely deſtroy Delight, is the very thing which heightens it, and the ſtrongeſt Incentive to our Appetites in the purſuit of it.* So that both Extremes have at laſt the ſame Effect, and either of them ſerves to make us miſerable: Want and Plenty, Security and Fear, Deſire and Enjoyment, all give us the ſame Diſquiet, and put us to perpetual Pain. And this unhappy Diſpoſition is the true account, why Men ſo ſeldom make a right eſtimate of Things; from

* Quod licet, ingratum eſt, quod non licet, acrius urit.
Ovid. Eleg. Amor. Lib. II.

† Omnium rerum Voluptas ipſo quo debet fugari periculo creſcit.

whence

whence grew that Proverb of the *Prophet in his own Country*, to intimate, how very different Intrinſick Worth and Common Opinion are; and that the higheſt Endowments, and moſt Divine Excellencies, when Cuſtom and Acquaintance hath rendred them familiar to us, can no longer preſerve the Value and Veneration moſt juſtly due to them.

What Courſe is to be taken for the managing and regulating our Will, will be ſhewn hereafter. See B.II.Ch.2. B.III.Ch.6

The Paſſions and Affections.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Paſſions* of the *Mind* are a very large and copious Subject, furniſh great variety of Matter for Reflection, and are one of the moſt conſiderable Topicks in all this Treatiſe of *Wiſdom*: And, upon this occaſion, we are to obſerve, that the firſt Step to be made in this Branch of it, is to learn the true Nature of the Paſſions, and how to diſtinguiſh them from each other, which ſhall be taught you here in the *Firſt Book*: And then, for the Remedies of Cure, by which they are to be curb'd, controul'd, and brought within due Bounds, ſuch of them as are general, will be laid down in the *Second*; And thoſe that are proper for each Paſſion in particular, will be directed and ſpecify'd accordingly in the *Third Book*. This Method being moſt agreeable to that Scheme of the whole Work, drawn out in the *Preface*.

Now in order to attaining to a clear and diſtinct Knowledge of them at preſent, I deſign to employ one Chapter in treating of the *Paſſions* in general, and then to ſpeak of each *Paſſion* ſingly in the Chapters

that follow. But before I enter upon That, I think my ſelf oblig'd in Juſtice to declare, that of all the Authors I have ſeen, none hath repreſented this Matter more copiouſly, and to the Life, than the *Sieur de Vaux* in his Moral Tracts; to whom I have been much beholding, and have borrow'd a great deal from thence, of what I ſhall ſay upon this Subject of the *Paſſions*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Paſſions in general.

1. *An Account of Paſſion; what and whence it is*

Paſſion is a violent Motion of the Soul, in that which is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Its Senſitive part: And the Cauſe and Tendency of this Motion is, either to purſue ſomewhat which the Soul apprehends to be *Good*; or to decline, and run away from ſomething, which it apprehends to be *Evil*.

2. But it is very neceſſary, and of great conſequence upon this Occaſion, to be rightly inform'd how theſe Motions begin, and what it is that cheriſhes and kindles theſe Fires in us. Of This, ſeveral Accounts may be given, and different Compariſons made uſe of, to illuſtrate it by, according to the different Reſpects in which we conſider them. And firſt of all, with regard to the ſuddenneſs and vehemence of their Emotions, it is to be obſerv'd, That the Soul, which, however ſeemingly multiply'd by Diſtinctions, is really but One and the Same in the Body, hath ſeveral Powers belonging to it; and Theſe differ greatly in their Qualities and Operations, according as the ſeveral Veſſels in which the Soul keeps her Reſidence, and

and the Inſtruments ſhe makes uſe of in diſcharging her Functions, and the Objects propounded to her Contemplation, are differently diſpos'd. Now when the Parts, where the Soul takes up her Lodging, are not crowded or over-burdened, but filled in ſuch Proportions as ſute well with their ordinary Cuſtom and Capacity, and ſuch as are convenient for a due diſcharge of their reſpective Duties, then all the Operations of the Soul are gentle and mild, ſedate and regular. But, on the other ſide, when any of theſe Parts are either put into a ſwifter and more violent Motion, or are heated above their ordinary and proper Temper, then they immediately feel a conſiderable Change, to the great Prejudice and Diſorder of the Soul. The like we ſee in the Beams of the Sun, which, when ſcatter'd looſely with all that Freedom they naturally take in diffuſing themſelves, impart a moderate and gentle, a cheriſhing and kindly Warmth; but when contracted within the Concave of a Burning-Glaſs, they burn up, and quite conſume the very things to which they gave Life and Nouriſhment before. It muſt be farther obſerv'd too, that Theſe Parts are not always diſtributed alike; And from hence ariſes another Diſtinction, not only with regard to the Kind and Quality, but to the Degree of their Emotion; and ſo they differ in the ſame ſort, as their Violence is greater or leſs. Thoſe Motions that are moderate, are capable of being reliſhed and digeſted; a Man knows what he feels, and is in a Condition of expreſſing his Reſentment in Words, or giving it Vent by Tears. But thoſe that are exceſſive and extreme, are too big, and too mighty. They ſtun and take away our Senſes quite, fill the Soul with Confuſion and Amazement, bind up, and quite overbear her Powers, and diſable her from acting.

* *Slight*

* *Slight Paſſions find a Vent, and Words command;*
The Fierce ſwell inward, Dumb and Stupid ſtand.

2. *Of the Vicious Irregularity in them.*

Thus much may ſuffice, to give us ſome little Notion of the *Paſſions*, the manner of their Operation, and their Degrees in general. But if we now look upon them, in the Second Place, with Regard to the Vicioufneſs, and Irregularity, and Extravagance; the Injuſtice and Unreaſonableneſs theſe Paſſions are frequently guilty of; thus Man may not unfitly be reſembled to a State or Common-Wealth, and the Condition of the Soul, to that of a Monarch, preſiding over that State, conſtituting ſeveral Officers and Magiſtrates under him, to aſſiſt in the good Government of ſuch vaſt Multitudes of People; giving particular Laws and Directions for their Behaviour, and for the due Exerciſe of their particular Charges and Commiſſions; but ſtill reſerving to himſelf and his own Supreme Juriſdiction, the Cognizance and Determination of all Matters of great Weight and general Importance; and for the giving freſh and neceſſary Orders, commanding that all extraordinary Accidents and Emergencies, ſhould immediately and faithfully be reported to himſelf in Perſon. Now upon ſuch a Conſtitution, and ſuch Orders duly obſerved, the Peace and Proſperity of the whole Kingdom will depend. But if theſe be neglected and broken, and put out of their proper Courſe; If the Magiſtrates, which go between, and are a ſort of Balance between King and People, ſhall ſuffer themſelves, either to be impoſed upon thro' Eaſineſs, or Credulity; or corrupted by Favour or Affection; or if they ſhall employ their Authority

* Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent. *Senec. Hippolyt.* in

in acting contrary to the Eſtabliſhed Laws, and Duties of their Places; or if they ſhall go beyond their Commiſſions, and come to a final Reſolution in Cauſes, which they ought not to determine, without ever laying them before their Sovereign, who hath reſerv'd the Hearing and Deciſion of all ſuch Matters to himſelf in Perſon: In all theſe Caſes, I ſay, the publick Peace is violated, the Eſtabliſhment infring'd, the Prerogative incroach'd upon, and nothing but Miſchief, and Miſery, and Confuſion can be the End of it. Now thus it is likewiſe in our *Little World*. The *Underſtanding* is *King* in *Man*; and under him is employed a Faculty, whoſe Buſineſs it is to receive Idea's, and to make an Eſtimate of them; This is the Subordinate Magiſtrate, whoſe Office obliges him to examine, and to judge; The Evidence he goes upon, is that Report the Senſes make of all things repreſented to them; and according to this Teſtimony, and the Judgment in conſequence of it, the Affections are by the ſame Faculty put forward, in order to execute this Sentence. For his Direction, and Governance in the Execution of this Office, our Judge in Commiſſion hath the Law, the Light of Nature, and Dictates of Reaſon to go by; and this, in ordinary Caſes, is ſufficient without any farther Formality: But if it happen, that the Affair be of great Moment, or if any Difficulty ariſe, then he muſt have recourſe to, and know the Pleaſure of his Superiour; and in this Caſe the Underſtanding, which ſits Supreme, anſwers all Doubts and Points of Law, and expects to be conſulted and applied to for Orders and Advice. This is the Scheme of our Government and Conſtitution; and ſo long as Matters are thus managed, all is quiet and well. But it is our Great Unhappineſs, that this Imaginative Faculty, (which is under the Intellectual, but over the Senſitive, and

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to whoſe Juriſdiction the firſt Examination and Judgment of things belong,) often ſuffers it ſelf to be bribed, corrupted, impoſed upon; And the Effect of this is, Firſt to paſs wrong and raſh Judgment; then to ſet the Affections at work to very ill Purpoſe; and at laſt to diſturb, and confound, and ruine All. Now ſeveral things there are, which may contribute towards the depraving, and diſordering this Power, in its Judgments and Operations: As firſt of all; The *Senſes* themſelves, which cannot penetrate into the Bottom, nor comprehend the Real Subſtance, and hidden Nature of Things, but the bare Surface, and next Appearance of them only: And Theſe make a Report to the Soul, according to their preſent Apprehenſion; ſet before it the outward Images only, and that, ſo as may gain them Favour and Recommendation, and pre-poſſeſſing it with a Character of their Qualities, founded upon the Satisfactions and Delights they are capable of adminiſtring to theſe Senſes in particular, and not upon the Conſiderations, how Neceſſary, or how Advantagious they may prove to the whole Man in general. A Second Corruption, which often confirms, and ſtrikes in upon the Neck of This, is the Falſe Notions, and Unthinking Cry of the *Vulgar*; when we look upon our ſelves oblig'd to Approve and Diſapprove, as Others do; and when nothing is reputed needful to eſtabliſh an Opinion, more than its being Popular. From theſe two falſe Offices of Intelligence, The *Report of our own Senſes*, and the *Voice of the People*, proceeds a Raſh Inconſiderate Opinion, which the Soul takes up of Things; and without fair Tryal, or ſufficient Deliberation, pronounces them, Good or Evil; Advantagious or Hurtful; fit to be courted, or fit to be deteſted and avoided. And this is without all Diſpute a very dangerous Guide; a very hot and haſty Miſtreſs; for

for as ſoon as ever we entertain it, without more ado it ſeizes upon the Imagination; and there ſtanding upon its Defence, ſtrengthens it ſelf as in a Caſtle, Mans all the Works, and holds it out againſt Reaſon; then it comes down to the Heart, and there ſtirs and agitates the Affections, with the violent Reſentments of Hope and Fear, and Joy and Grief. In a Word, it is a perfect Incendiary in the State, looks out all the Fools, and Diſaffected in the Soul, and blows them up into Sedition; raiſes the *Mobb*, that is, the Paſſions, and ſets all in an Uproar and Confuſion. And all this by taking wrong Methods, going Headlong to work, and not ſubmitting the Matter to the *Underſtanding*, as by the Nature of this Eſtabliſhment, and the Duty of its Station, that Faculty was obliged to do.

Permit me to ſet before you another Illuſtration of this Matter by a Compariſon taken from Military (as the former was an Alluſion to Civil) Government. The *Senſes* anſwer here both to the Centinels, whoſe Poſt it is to watch, and be conſtantly upon the Guard, for the ſafety of the Soul; and alſo to Scouts, who are to look out, and ſcour the Country, and bring in Intelligence to the *Underſtanding*, which is the Supreme *Commander* of the *Soul*. To qualify them for this Duty, They are endued with a Power, of perceiving things; diſcerning and taking the Faces and Forms of them; and embracing or rejecting them, according as they appear Agreable or Diſagreable, Delightful or Odious to them. But now in the Execution of their Office, their Buſineſs is only to ſpy out, and to report; to take Care, that their Intelligence be True, and to bring it Faithfully, and relate it Plainly and Calmly. And they ought to ſatisfy themſelves with delivering their Meſſage, without taking upon them to diſturb the higher Powers, or to ſound to Arms immediately, and ſo put all into

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Conſternation and univerſal Diſorder. And thus it often happens; that as the Centinels in an Army, may lie under Miſtakes, becauſe they are not acquainted with the ſecret Deſigns of the General; and ſo receive Them for Friends, which are Enemies in Diſguiſe; and ſuſpect thoſe for Enemies, which are Allies, and marching to their Aſſiſtance; The *Senſes*, in like manner, not being privy to all that paſſes above, and for want of conſulting Reaſon in the Caſe, are frequently impoſed upon by counterfeit Appearances, and apt to take That for a Friend, which is, in truth, our deadly Enemy. And when they go giddily to work upon this Imagination, and without ever expecting Orders from the *Underſtanding*, fall on immediately, and alarm the *Concupiſcible*, and *Iraſcible* Faculties; then they raiſe Tumults, and Mutinies in the Soul; and while theſe laſt, there is nothing but Clamour and Violence; the Voice of *Reaſon* cannot be heard, nor the Commands of the *Underſtanding* be at all obeyed.

4. *Their Diſtinctions.*

Let us now in the next Place, obſerve their ſeveral Regiments and Ranks; the General, and the Subordinate Kinds and Diviſions of them. Now we muſt know, That all *Paſſion* whatſoever, is moved by the Appearance, either Real or Imaginary, of Good or Evil; what actually is, or what is by the Perſon apprehended ſo to be. If the Object be Good, and the Soul conſiders it as ſuch, ſimply, and without any other Circumſtances, this is that Motion of the Soul, which goes by the Name of *Love*. If to that Good, ſo conſidered as before, be added the Circumſtance of its being preſent, and the Man reflect upon himſelf, as in full Poſſeſſion and actual Enjoyment of it, This is call'd *Joy*, or *Pleaſure*; but if it be future and diſtant, then it is *Deſire*. On the other Hand, conſider an Evil Object, abſtractedly, and merely as ſuch, and the

According to the Object and Subject. Six in the Concupiſcible Part. Three for Good, and Three for Evil.

the Paſſion it ſtirs in us, is *Hatred*: If it be preſent, and affect us ſenſibly, it is *Grief* and *Pain*; if ſome other Perſon labour under it, 'tis *Pity* and *Compaſſion*; if it be future and approaching only, then 'tis *Fear*. And This is remarkable, concerning the Paſſions already named; that Thoſe of them, which proceed from the Apprehenſion, or the Appearance of Evil, ſuch as we run away from, and are poſſeſt with an Abhorrence of, do of all others ſink deepeſt into the Heart, take faſteſt Hold of us, and are moſt difficult to be diſpoſſeſt again. This now is the firſt Regiment of Mutineers, which diſturb the Content, and break the Peace of our Souls, and theſe are quarter'd in that which is term'd the *Concupiſcible* Part. The Effects and Diſorderly Carriage of Theſe are, it muſt be confeſt, of very dangerous Conſequence; but yet they are not near ſo Outragious and Miſchievous, as thoſe that we are going to mention. For theſe firſt Motions, formed here by the Repreſentation of the Object, are afterwards continued, and communicated to the *Iraſcible* Part of the Soul, that is, The Place, where the Soul is active, and contriving Means to obtain what ſhe apprehends to be Good; and to deliver her ſelf from that which ſhe apprehends to be Evil. And then, as a Wheel already in Motion, when a freſh Force puſhes it, receives that Addition eaſily, and whirls about with wonderful Strength and Swiftneſs; ſo the Soul, which is already ſtirred and warmed with the firſt Apprehenſion, when a Second Attempt is made upon it, and the Coals are blown, flames out, and is tranſported with Rage and Violence, much greater than before. The *Paſſions* Then raiſed, ride higher; are much more furious and ungovernable; for now indeed they are double: The firſt have come in and joyned them, and thus they back and ſuſtain one another, by this

Five in the Iraſcible; Two for Good, and Three for Evil.

this Union, and mutual Conſent. For the former Paſſions, which were the Reſult of Good or Evil in Appearance, conſidered in Speculation only, now fall in with the Practical Conſideration of Means proper for the acquiring or avoiding them, and ſo excite in us *Hope* or *Deſpair*. And here, thoſe that ariſe from the Proſpect of a future Evil, produce in us, either *Fearfulneſs* or *Courage*; the Apprehenſion of a preſent Evil, kindles *Anger* and *Indignation*; which are Paſſions extremely Furious and Violent, and ſuch, as when they find the *Reaſon* once diſturbed, confound and abſolutely overturn it. Theſe are the Principal Winds, that raiſe all the Storms in our Souls; and the Cavern (like that of *Æolus*) where they are ingendred, and from whence they break looſe, is nothing elſe but *Opinion*, (And *Opinion* is moſt commonly a falſe, fleeting, and uncertain Thing; contrary to Nature, and Truth, to Reaſon and Certainty) that is, A Notion we have, that the Things which are then repreſented to our Imaginations, are Good or Evil. Nor matters it much, how wild, and extravagant, this Notion is in it ſelf, provided We do but give it Entertainment. For Men proceed not upon Realities, but upon their own Fancies; and when once we have taken a Conceit that a Thing is Good or Evil, we run after, or we run away from it, with as much Eagerneſs and Impatience, as if it were actually ſuch; and yet it often, very often happens, that the Nature of the Object is directly contrary to our Apprehenſions, and ought to move Reſentments, juſt oppoſite to thoſe we feel upon its Account. And ſuch in general are our *Paſſions*.

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THE Nature of these *Passions* comes next to be consider'd; and my Design in it is, to expose the Folly, the Vanity, the Misery, the Unreasonableness and Injustice, the Horrour and Deformity that is in them; that so Men may be taught to know them as they are, and to hate them as they deserve. The Advices proper for preserving our selves from the ill Effects of them, will be deliver'd at large in the following Books. For the two Parts of a Physicians Business, you know, are first to shew the Disease, and then to apply fit Remedies. My present Care then shall be, to tell Men what they ail, and where their Distemper lies; and for the Prescriptions they must wait a little longer. *See* Book III. *In the Vertues of Fortitude and Temperance*

Now of the several *Passions* here to be describ'd, those shall first be spoken to, which have a respect to the Appearance of Good, such are *Love*, and the several sorts of it; *Desire*, *Hope*, *Despair*, *Joy*, and the like. And after these we will enter upon those that are excited in us by the Apprehension of Evil, which indeed are very numerous, as *Anger*, *Hatred*, *Envy*, *Jealousie*, *Revenge*, *Cruelty*, *Fear*, *Grief*, and *Compassion*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Love in general, and at large.

Love compared with and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt.

LOVE is the Firſt, the Chief, the Reigning Paſſion; the reſt are all deriv'd from, and reduced at laſt into This; But it is of vaſt extent, employ'd upon different Subjects, diſtinguiſh'd into different ſorts and degrees. Of Theſe the *Three* principal that fall within our preſent purpoſe, and to which all the reſt may very well be referr'd, are *Ambition* or *Pride*, which is the Love of Honour and Greatneſs; *Avarice*, which is the Love of Riches; and *Senſuality* or *Carnal Deſire*, which is the Love of Pleaſure. (Theſe I call ſuch as come within our preſent Deſign, which is to treat of *Love*, as it is vicious, and the effect of Paſſion; for *Virtuous Love*, which may be diſtinguiſhed into Friendſhip, Charity, and Natural Affection or Tenderneſs, is out of the compaſs of this place, and will be ſpoken to under the *Virtue* of *Juſtice*.) Book III.

The *Three* foremention'd *Paſſions* are thoſe Three Gulphs and Precipices, that drown ſo great a part of the World in Deſtruction and Perdition; the Plagues of Mankind; from the Infection whereof, how few, exceeding few eſcape untouch'd? the Corruptions that taint every part of us, even All we are, and All we have, and All we take in hand; our Souls, and Bodies, and Poſſeſſions: Theſe are the Magazines, from whence thoſe Three mortal Enemies of the Peace and Salvation of Mankind, the *Devil*, the *World*, and the *Fleſh*, furniſh themſelves with Arms to aſſault and deſtroy

deſtroy us. They may in truth be call'd Three *Powers* or *Potentates*, the commoneſt and moſt univerſal Paſſions, whoſe Territories are ſo large, that the Apoſtle hath divided the whole Univerſe between them. *All that is in the World* (ſays he) *the Luſt of the Fleſh, and the Luſt of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life.* 1 John ii. 16.

Of theſe, *Ambition* is the moſt refin'd and Spiritualiz'd, and hath therefore been eſteem'd more Noble, or leſs Mean, than the Two others. *Senſuality*, or *Love of Pleaſure*, in regard of its being more Natural and Univerſal, (for even Beaſts, which are wholly unacquainted with the other ſorts, have a ſhare in this) is more violent, and leſs vicious. When I ſpeak of Violence, I mean, conſidering it ſimply, and according to the Nature of the thing. For though it may, and ſometimes does happen, that *Ambition* prevails over it, yet this is a particular Diſtemper, a Caſe excepted from the common Courſe, and general Rules. But of all the Reſt, *Avarice* is the moſt ſtupid and ſenſeleſs Paſſion, the ſureſt Symptom of a ſordid and ſickly Mind.

CHAP. XX.

Of Ambition.

Ambition is a Thirſt of Honour and Glory, a greedy, and gluttonous, and inordinate Deſire of Greatneſs. It is naturally a gentle and pleaſing Paſſion, which with much Eaſe inſinuates it ſelf into Great and Generous Spirits, and is not driven out again without great Difficulty. We all think it our Duty and Commendation, I. *Definition of it.*

to purſue and embrace that which is *Good*; and of all Things that pretend to this Character, *Hònour* is moſt in requeſt and eſteem with us. And therefore all of us run full ſpeed, and put our ſelves upon the utmoſt Stretch, where This is the Prize. The Ambitious Man ſtrives to be firſt, keeps his Eye forward upon the Goal, and upon thoſe that have the Start of him; but forgets and takes no notice of the many he hath outſtript himſelf. He feels more Diſcontent, for One Man that hath got before him, than he enjoys Satisfaction for a Thouſand that he hath left lagging after. *Seneca* obſerves very well, * *This is the conſtant Fault, and inſeparable ill Quality of Ambition, never to look behind it.* Now *Ambition* is of *two* ſorts; The *one* aſpires after Glory and Honour, a Good Reputation, a Great and Immortal Name; and this is of great Uſe, and publick Benefit; It is not only allowable, but in ſome Senſe, and under certain Qualifications and Reſtraints, highly commendable: The *other* ſort affects Greatneſs and Power; and this is generally not only vicious, but deſtructive, and of moſt fatal Conſequence to the World.

2. *'Tis natural to us.*

Ambition hath this peculiar Advantage, that the Seeds of it are ſown, and the Root of it faſt fixed in the Heart of every one of us. We have a Proverb indeed, which tells us *Nature is contented with a very little*; but then we have another too, that ſays with as great Truth the direct contrary; That *Nature is never ſatisfy'd*, nor capable of being contented at all. A Man never comes to the End of his Deſires, ſo as to ſet up his Reſt, but is always for climbing a little higher, and growing a little richer. No Man goes a mode-

* Habet hoc vitium omnis Ambitio, non reſpicit.

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rate pace, or chooſes to advance leiſurely, towards Greatneſs and Glory; but lays the Reins in the Neck, and rides Whip and Spur. † *Humane Nature is greedy of Preference and Power, and drives furiouſly on toward the gratifying thoſe Deſires.* And indeed their Speed is oftentimes ſo great, that the Riders are thrown, and break their Neck; as Hiſtory and Experience ſhew a world of Aſpiring Men to have done, who have paid dear for all their Hopes, and loſt both Them and Themſelves, juſt when they were in view, and upon the Point of enjoying their promis'd Happineſs. This, in ſhort, is a Paſſion riveted into, and interwoven with our Conſtitution; it ſeizes us early, 'tis violent while it laſts, and leaves us very late; from whence ſome of the Philoſophers have wittily called it the *Shirt of the Soul*, the *Vice next our Skin*, and that which is laſt pull'd off. * For even Wiſe Men are obſerv'd to ſtrip off all other Vices, before they quit this Deſire of Glory and Reputation.

3. *Its Strength and Superiority.*

As *Ambition* is the moſt violent and powerful in its Influences and Effects, ſo is it likewiſe the loftieſt and moſt noble in its own Nature, of any Paſſion whatſoever. The Power and Force of it is manifeſt in that abſolute Maſtery it gains over all other things, even thoſe which the World is moſt ſubdu'd by, even all other Paſſions and Deſires. Nay even *Love* it ſelf, which ſometimes pretends to diſpute the Point of Power and Precedence, is yet miſerably vanquiſhed and tyranniz'd over by it. *Alexander*, *Scipio*, and *Pompey*, are ſo many Inſtances of this Obſervation; and

† Natura noſtra Imperii eſt avida, & ad implendam Cupiditatem præceps.

* Etiam Sapientibus Cupido Gloriæ noviſſima exuitur. *Tacit.*

ſo are abundance of great Generals beſides, who have refuſed to gratifie their Inclinations, upon extraordinary fine Women, when they had them at their Mercy: And all this from no other Principle than a Point of *Honour*; and a Soul enflamed with *Ambition*; to which the Fires of Love were ſo far from being equal, that they were made ſubſervient to it; and the Conqueſt of theſe Deſires became a Triumph and a Sacrifice to their Glory. Thus it happen'd very remarkably in *Cæſar*; For no Man alive was ever more fiercely addicted to Amours of all ſorts, than He, (as the many Extravagances he had been guilty of both at *Rome*, and abroad in Foreign Parts, abundantly teſtifie) no Man was ever more choice of his Perſon, more nice in Dreſs, more careful to preſerve and render it agreeable to the Ladies; and yet *Ambition* was evermore his reigning Paſſion. The Pleaſures of Love, tho' they had him in perfect Subjection, when This came not into Competition with them, were then ſo feeble, and ſo over-match'd, that they never cou'd prevail for the throwing away upon them ſo much as one Hour, which was capable of being employ'd, or made in any degree ſerviceable to the promoting his Honour. So that, notwithſtanding the Mixture of any other Paſſions, which had their Seaſons too; yet *Ambition* ſat Supreme in his Soul, and was, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if It had had the ſole and entire Poſſeſſion of him. 'Tis true, we meet with an Example, the very *Reverſe* of this, in *Mark Anthony*, and ſome Others, who have been ſo enſlaved by Love, as to give up All, baniſh their moſt neceſſary and weighty Cares, and loſe themſelves, and their Crowns, through mere Effeminacy and Neglect. But then theſe have been Perſons of quite different Tempers; For where both meet together, and are fairly weigh'd one

Conquers all other

one againſt the other, *Ambition* will caſt the Scale. Some indeed, who argue for the force of *Love* above it, tell you, that in Reaſon it muſt needs be ſo, becauſe This extends to the Body as well as the Mind, keeps the whole Man in Captivity, and is not only agreeable, but neceſſary and convenient too. But I ſhou'd think, the Reaſon holds on the contrary ſide, and that *Ambition* is therefore the ſtronger, becauſe the more Spiritual Paſſion: What they pretend of the Body being alſo concern'd in Love, proves the Paſſion to be ſo much the Feebler; for from hence it muſt by neceſſary conſequence, be capable of being ſatiated and cloy'd. Again; What is Corporeal it ſelf, admits of Corporeal Remedies and Cures, ſome which Nature provides, and others which Art invents; and accordingly Experience hath approved theſe, and ſhewed Inſtances of many who have beaten down the hotteſt *Flames of Love*; and of ſome who have overcome and quenched theſe quite, by artificial Means, and good Management. But now *Ambition* is ſo far from being glutted, that its Appetite is never ſatisfy'd. Enjoyment does but whet it more; and being ſeated wholly in the Soul, and the Reaſon, renders the Diſeaſe obſtinate and incurable, incapable of outward Application, and too deep and ſubtle for Medicines to reach and faſten upon.

4. *The Care of Life.*

It does not only conquer the Regard for one's own Health and Eaſe, (for indeed *Honour* and *Eaſe* can never dwell together) and make Men content to ſacrifice all their Quiet, and Comforts, and Enjoyment of the World; but even the natural Care and Tenderneſs for our very Lives is not able to ſtand before it. *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*, was an eminent Example of this Nature, who, being extremely deſirous that her Son ſhould be Emperour, and inform'd that he

ſhould be Emperour indeed, but it ſhou'd be at the Expence of Her Life, made an Anſwer fit for the Mouth of *Ambition* her ſelf, cou'd that be perſonated: Provided he may have the Power, (ſays ſhe) I am content it ſhould be upon the Condition of uſing it to my deſtruction. * *Let my Son kill me, ſo my Son may but reign.*

5. *The Laws.* Thirdly; *Ambition* makes its way through all Laws, and tramples Conſcience it ſelf under Foot: The great Profeſſors of Morality, who tell you, that a Man muſt make it his Buſineſs to be entirely Virtuous, and pay an univerſal Obedience to Laws; yet when they ſpeak of *Ambition*, begin to mince the matter, and are content to make an excepted Caſe of it. A Crown it ſeems is ſo ſweet, ſo delicious a Morſel, that the Temptation is invincible, and deſerves a Diſpenſation. The moſt abſtemious Man may ſtrain a Point, and break his Faſt upon this Feaſt. * *If ever Breach of Law and Equity be allowable,* (ſays one) *it is in the Caſe of gaining a Kingdom; but in every thing elſe, be ſure to be ſtrictly Virtuous.* "Not that even in "this, or any Caſe, ſuch Liberties are to be in-"dulg'd; but They who thus expreſs themſelves, "ſignifie the ſtrong Propenſity of Humane Na-"ture to this Paſſion; how ſtrong it is in all, "and how difficult to be ſubdu'd by any, who are "tempted with very great Advantages.

6. *Religion.* With the ſame Inſolence does it treat the Holieſt things, eraces all Reverence of God, and treads *Religion* under Foot: For what greater Contempt of theſe can be ſhewn, than the World have ſeen in *Jeroboam*, who eſtabliſh'd an Idolatrous Worſhip for the ſecuring his Throne; and *Mahomet*, who gave general Encouragement to all

* Occidat modo imperet. † Si violandum eſt Jus, regnandi causâ violandum eſt, in cæteris pietatem colas.

Per-

Perſuaſions, and valu'd not which was uppermoſt, ſo he might reign: And the old Broachers of Hereſies, who rather choſe to forſake the right Way, and ſo become Heads of Parties, and Ringleaders in Falſhood and Lyes, tho' a Thouſand Diſorders and Impieties were the viſible and unavoidable Conſequences of that wicked Choice, than to continue in a lower and leſs conſpicuous Station, by being Diſciples and Followers of the Truth? With regard to ſuch as theſe it is, that the Apoſtle hath admirably foretold the Doom of Ambitious Men, That they who ſuffer themſelves to be intangled in theſe Snares, *make Shipwrack of a good Conſcience, err from the Faith, and pierce themſelves through with many Sorrows.* 1 Tim. i 6.

7. *Natural Affection.*

In ſhort; It changes Men's Natures, hardens their Hearts, and makes them brutiſh; defaces all thoſe tender Impreſſions and Reſentments, which are moſt cuſtomary, and moſt due to our neareſt Relations. The infamous Accounts, which Sacred or Prophane Hiſtory hath recorded, the Barbarities and Murders committed upon the Perſons of Parents, or Children, or Brethren, are moſt of them inſtigated by this *Paſſion.* Witneſs *Abſalom*, and *Abimelech*, and *Athaliah*. *Romulus*, *Sei* King of *Perſia*, who ſlew his Father and his Brother; *Soliman* the *Turk*, that diſpatch'd his two Brothers. So unable is any thing to ſtand againſt the Force of this impetuous Paſſion, which is for removing every thing out of its way; and where-ever it takes its Courſe, overturns, and lays all level with the Ground.

8. *It is a lofty Paſſion.*

* That which renders the Caſe yet more deplorable, is, that the Nobleſt and moſt Generous

* Eſt autem in hoc genere moleſtum, quod in maximis Animis, ſplendidiſſimisq; ingeniis plerunq; exiſtunt honoris, imperii, potentiæ & gloriæ Cupiditates. *Cic. Lib. 1. de Offic.*

Spi-

Spirits, ſuch as Nature ſeems to have deſign'd for Maſter-pieces and Patterns, are moſt liable to this Paſſion. It is in it ſelf a tall and ſtately Quality, and none but great Souls are capable of giving it Reception. This was the Temptation which ſeduc'd the *Angels* themſelves; a Temptation of all others beſt accommodated to Their Circumſtances, and perhaps the Only one the Perfection of their Nature cou'd be corrupted by: For *Ambition* is a Vice not ſuited to mean and little Souls. Your pitiful ſcoundrelly Fellows cannot come up to it; nor can common and indifferent Performances pretend to any Reward or Deſert, ſuch as it thirſts after. Glory and Renown always imply ſomewhat Brave and Great, and of a larger Size than ordinary; they are never to be bought at cheap and eaſie Rates; but are the Recompence and Effects of Good and Beneficial, ſhall I ſay? nay rather of Great and Noble, and very Difficult Actions; of Uncommon and Wonderful Excellencies; ſuch as excite Admiration and Aſtoniſhment, at the ſame time that they command Honour and Applauſe.

That ignoble greedineſs of Reſpect, that baſe and beggerly way of gaining Reputation, which ſubmits to cringing and fawning upon all ſorts of People, and declines the uſe of none, no not the moſt ſcandalous Methods of acquiring it; is ſordid and ſhameful. Such Honours are a Scandal and Diſgrace. A Man muſt take care not to expreſs ſuch an Eagerneſs after theſe things, as is inconſiſtent with the things themſelves; not to be exalted and puft up with vain Opinions of one's ſelf, every time he does well; For he that does thus, procures his own Diſhonour; and while he ſtrives with great Pains to lift his Head above the Crowd, diſcovers his *Nakedneſs* and *Shame* at the ſame time.

Am-

Ambition is intricate and various; it takes several Roads, and exerts it self by very Different Methods. Sometimes it goes to work openly, and marches ſtrait up to the Mark; And thus *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, and *Themiſtocles*, and other truly generous Spirits have proceeded. Sometimes it works in Secret, and goes in crooked Paths; and thus ſome Philoſophers, and great Pretenders to Piety and Virtue, have indulged themſelves in the Exerciſe of it. They fetch a Compaſs, and come in at the Back-Door; like Water-Men, that row one way, and look another; they have laboured to get Honour, by a ſeeming Neglect, and contempt of Honour: And no Doubt, as *Plato* told *Diogenes*, there is more Glory, and greater Vanity, in refuſing, and trampling upon Honours and Preferments, than in ſeeking and enjoying them. And *Ambition* never manages it ſelf with greater Cunning and Succeſs, than when it goes out of the beaten Road, and comes up to the Prize ſome unuſual, and unſeen Way. 9. *It operates different Ways.*

Ambition is without Queſtion a very vain and fooliſh Paſſion; For after all, what does it ſo Zealouſly purſue, or what can be the Gains of it, when rightly computed? It is giving Chaſe to a Vapour, catching at Smoke, inſtead of Fire and Light; Embracing a Shadow, in ſteadof Body and Subſtance; It is making a Man's whole Happineſs precarious, ſuſpending all the Satisfaction and Content of his Mind, upon Popular Opinion, the Humour, and the Breath of an ignorant and changing Multitude. It is a voluntary, and conſequently the very worſt, and moſt deſpicable Slavery; the parting with our own *Native Rights* and Liberties, and depending upon the *Arbitrary Paſſions* of other People: 'Tis the putting one's ſelf under perpetual Conſtraint; and engaging to act contrary to ones own Senſe, in Hopes, by diſpleaſing and diſapproving 10. *The Folly of it.*

ing our ſelves, to pleaſe and gain the Approbation of Standers-by; Tis a ſacrificing our Affections and Reaſon to the Capriciouſneſs of Spectators; 'Tis the *proſtituting* of *Conſcience* to common Opinion; renouncing all Love of Virtue, any farther than the World ſhall pleaſe to like, and keep it in Countenance; and 'tis the doing of Good, not for the Sake of Goodneſs, but merely in Conſideration of the Credit and Advantage to be got by it. In a Word, ſuch Men are like full Veſſels, that muſt be pierced for the Liquour they contain; not one Drop can be drawn from them, unleſs you give them Vent; nor any Benefit to be had of theſe Qualities, but ſuch as takes Air.

11. *'Tis Inſatiable.* *Ambition* hath no Bounds; 'tis a deep *Gulph* without Bank or Bottom; This is that true *Vacuum*, or vaſt empty Space, which the Philoſophers after all their Study, have never been able to diſcover in Nature; a Fire that feeds, and grows upon the Fewel we heap upon it. And in this Reſpect indeed it is juſt to its Maſter, and pays him for his Pains. For *Ambition* is only juſt in this, that it is ſufficient for its own Puniſhment, and never fails to teaze and torment it ſelf abundantly. What the Poets have couched under the Fable of *Ixion*, is the Reſtleſs Motion of the Ambitious Man's Deſires; Theſe are the Wheel that rolls to all Eternity within its own Circle, and, by its conſtant and wearisome Returns, gives no quiet, no relaxation to the Mind of the Vain Man that is condemned to turn it.

12. *The Excuſes for it, vain.* Some, who have undertaken to flatter *Ambition*, pretend in its Vindication, that it is of great Uſe to Virtue, a Whet and Spur to brave and noble Enterprizes. For Men are content to abandon many other Vices, for the Sake of This; and by Degrees come at laſt to reſign this too, for the Sake of Virtue. But alas! the Matter, when critically exa-

min'd

min'd, will be found far otherwiſe. 'Tis true, *Ambition* covers over, and conceals many *Vices*; but it takes away, and throughly reforms never a one. And even that Induſtrious Concealment, is but for a Seaſon. It rakes them up, like Fire in the Embers, under the Duſt and Rubbiſh of Hypocriſy, and Miſchievous Diſſimulation; but it is only to keep the Fire from going out, that it may be blown up, and flame out again more fiercely than ever, as ſoon as this Cheat hath carried its Point, and Men have gain'd Authority ſufficient to bear them out in Bare-fac'd Wickedneſs. When the Man is in Power, and too Big for Puniſhment, or Controul; then, and not before, you ſee what he truly is. Before that, truſt him not; for if you do, you will be apt to miſtake him. When Serpents are numb'd with Cold, they have ſtill the ſame Venom in their Nature, though the Effects of it be ſuſpended for the preſent: And the Ambitious Man hath ſtill the ſame Vices, the ſame Heat and Fury; he carries it about him; how Gentle, and Tame, and Cool ſoever his Diſguiſe may be. The Fiſh is not yet caught; but when it is, then he will come abroad, in his true Colours, and Natural Complexion; and though *Ambition* ſhould make ſo good Progreſs toward Virtue, as to quit all other Vices; yet there is but very little Hope or Appearance of its ever renouncing it ſelf. It puſhes Men to Brave and Illuſtrious Actions, I confeſs it; and the Benefit of theſe Actions to the Publick is unſpeakable; but though Others may reap the Fruit, and be the better for ſuch Actions, yet it will not follow, that the Perſon who does them is one whit the Better for them. Theſe may be the Effect of *Paſſion*, and not of *Virtue* or Principles; and if they be ſo, this Excuſe is vain. For at preſent it is not the *Profit*, but the *Intrinſick Goodneſs* of ſuch Exploits, that we are inquiring

ring into. I know indeed this Paſſion ſhelters it ſelf under that very excellent Maxime, *That We are not born for our ſelves alone, but for the General Good of Mankind*; But how good a Sanctuary this is, the Methods made Uſe of for riſing in the World, and Mens Behaviour after their Promotions and Succeſſes, muſt ſhew. And Theſe, if they be nicely obſerv'd, will give us Cauſe to ſuſpect, that the Men, who talk at this Rate, ſpeak againſt their own Conſciences; and that *private Intereſt* is at leaſt an equal, if not a ſtronger *Motive* to the Generality of Mankind, than the *Good of others*. Men look nearer Home in all they do, and That, how large ſoever the Pretenſions to it may be, (for we cannot wonder, that Men ſhould pretend at leaſt to One of the beſt and moſt valuable Qualities in the World,) yet a *truly Publick Spirit* is very rarely to be found.

See Advice *and* Remedies *againſt this* Paſſion *in particular*. Book III. Chap. 42.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Avarice, and the Paſſions oppoſite to it.

1. *What it is.* BY *Avarice* is to be underſtood an inordinate Love, and vehement Deſire of Riches. Tho', indeed, it is not only, the Love and Fondneſs for them, that deſerve this Name, but all Sort of over-curious Niceneſs, and ſollicitous Concern about Riches will bear it very juſtly; even the Care of diſtributing them; and Liberality it ſelf, if it take up too much of our Time and Pains, in ordering and making it exact. In ſhort, All manner of Anxious Thought, with Relation to Riches, ſavours ſtrongly of

of this Paſſion; for they ought to be entertain'd and uſed with a becoming Negligence, and to be looked upon, as they really are, not worth any earneſt Attention of the Mind, nor a fit Object of our Care and Trouble.

2. The vehement Deſire of Riches, and the mighty Pleaſure of Poſſeſſing them, is merely Fantaſtical; a Creature of our own Imagination, and hath no Being, no Foundation in Nature at all. 'Tis a Canker, or Gangrene in the Soul, that ſpreads and mortifies, and with its Venom corrodes and quite conſumes all Our Natural Affections, and fills us with noxious and virulent Humours in their ſtead. No ſooner hath This taken up its Dwelling in our Hearts, but immediately all thoſe Tenderneſſes, and kind Concerns are baniſhed thence, which either Nature inſpires, or Virtue recommends, and improves in us. All the Duties and Regards we owe to our Relations, to our Friends; nay, to our very Selves, are no longer of any Conſideration with us. All the World, when ſet in competition with Intereſt and Profit, goes for Nothing; and at laſt we come to that paſs, as even to over-look and deſpiſe our own Perſons; our Eaſe, our Health, our Bodies, our Souls, All are ſacrificed to this Darling, this adored Wealth; and, as the Proverb expreſſes it, *We ſell the Horſe to get the Provender.*

3. *The Folly and Miſery of it.* *Avarice* is a mean ſordid Paſſion; the Temper, or rather the Diſeaſe, of Fools and Earth-Worms, who eſteem *Riches*, as the *Supreme Good*, and moſt exquiſite Attainment Humane Nature is capable of; and dread *Poverty* as the *Laſt of Evils*; who cannot content themſelves with a bare Competency, or ſuch Proviſions as are neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, which indeed are ſo ſmall, that very few want them. They meaſure their Riches by the Bags and Weights of Bankers, and Goldſmiths; whereas Nature teaches us to make a different

ferent Judgment, and directs us to the Standard of our own juſt Occaſions. Now, is not this the very Extremity of Folly, to fall down and worſhip That, which Nature hath taught us to deſpiſe, by caſting it under our Feet, and hiding it in the Bowels and dark Caverns of the Earth; as a thing not fit for publick view; but to be trampled and trod upon, as a juſt Object of our Neglect, and an Intimation of its own Worthleſſneſs? There it was Originally, and there it had remained to all Eternity, had not the Vices of Mankind ranſack'd thoſe dark Cells, and with great Difficulty and Violence drawn it up: And great their Reward of ſuch Induſtry hath been: For what have they gain'd by it, but the Ground of Infinite Controverſies, and Quarrels, and Blood-ſhed, and Rapine, a Fatal Inſtrument of devouring and deſtroying one another? * *We take unſpeakable Pains to fetch up that above Ground* (ſays one) *which, when we have it, ſerves us only to fight for. Nay, we are not out of Countenance to have thoſe very Things in higheſt Eſteem, which God and Nature had made loweſt, and thought the deepeſt Mines of the Earth, a Place Good enough for.* Nature indeed ſeems in ſome Meaſure to have given ſure Preſages, how Miſerable thoſe Men ſhould be, who are in Love with *Gold*, by the manner of its Growth, and the Quality of the Soil that produces it. For, as That Ground where the Veins of this Metal are found, is Unprofitable for other Uſes; and neither Graſs, nor Plants, nor any other Thing, of Value and Service to Mankind, will grow there; it is in this Reſpect a moſt lively Emblem of the Minds of Men, which are enamour'd with it; They being, in like manner, the moſt ſordid, and abject, and

* In lucem propter quæ pugnaremus excutimus; non erubeſcimus ſumma apud nos haberi, quæ fuerunt ima Terrarum.

aban-

abandoned Wretches, curſed and condemned to Barrenneſs; void of all Honour, loſt to all Virue; and no kind of thing that is Good in it ſelf, or Beneficial to the World, is to be obtained, or expected from them. What a horrible Degradation is this? and how do we leſſen and diſparage our ſelves, when we give up that Dominion and Liberty to which we were born, by becoming Servants and Slaves to the very meaneſt of our Subjects? * For *Riches* (as is moſt truly obſerv'd) *are the Wiſe Man's Servants, and the Fool's Maſters.* And in Truth, the Covetous Man cannot be ſo properly ſaid to poſſeſs Wealth, as That may be ſaid to poſſeſs Him. He hath it indeed, but he hath it in ſuch a Senſe only, as he hath a Fever, or ſome violent Diſeaſe, which hath got an abſolute Maſtery over him, and preys upon his Vitals, and all his Faculties. How extravagant is it to dote upon That, which neither hath any Goodneſs of its own, nor was ever able to make any one Man Good ſince the beginning of the World? A thing that *Providence* diſtributes Promiſcuouſly, and with a negligent Hand; ſcattered in common to all the World, and the greateſt Share, very often, permitted to the worſt and moſt ſcandalous Part of Mankind? Nor is this all. For, though the Thing be indifferent in its own Nature, and that ſingle Conſideration is ſufficient to wean, or at leaſt to moderate our Affections; yet the Effects and Conſequences of it are by no means indifferent, but in the Iſſue and Event, incline ſtrongly to the Worſe. The debaſement of Mens Minds, and the depravation of their Manners, being the manifeſt and frequent Effect of it. And, though it cannot be proved, that *Riches* ever reform'd one ill Diſpoſition, and

* Apud Sapientem Divitiæ ſunt in Servitute, apud Stultum in Imperio.

made it Virtuous; yet there are innumerable Inſtances of Perſons otherwiſe well-diſpoſed, who have been corrupted, and made Vicious by their Means. And when we have computed all the Conveniences that attend them, and repreſented theſe in their beſt Light, and to all poſſible Advantage; it muſt be acknowledged after all, that a great many wiſe Men have lived very Eaſy and Happy without them; and a great many more fooliſh and naughty Men have died Scandalouſly for them. So then They are no *neceſſary Ingredient* of *Life*, and they expoſe us to Danger, and Diſgrace, and Death. In a Word, This is to act upon our ſelves the Barbarity and Tyranny, for which the cruel *Mezentius* was Infamous; to tie the living Body to the dead Carkaſs, that ſo it may languiſh, and expire with greater Torment; to mix a Noble and Refined Spirit, with the Droſs and Excrement of the Earth; to perplex and involve the Soul with innumerable Difficulties, and Tortures, which this Paſſion will be ſure to bring upon it; to entangle one's ſelf in the Snares of the Wicked one, and voluntarily to be taken Captive by the *Adverſary of Souls*, as the Scripture admirably expreſſes it. And, indeed, there is ſcarce any Vice more pathetically, and more frequently decried in thoſe Holy Books. Where we find theſe very ſignificant Characters given of It; *The Unrighteous Mammon*; *The Thorns which choak the Good Seed*, of Piety and Virtue; *The Robber, that ſteals away Mens Hearts and Affections*; *The Nets and Snares of the Devil*; *The Idolatry*, that draws Men off from the Regard and Worſhip of the True God; and *The Love of Money, which is the Root of all Evil.* And ſure, if Men would but turn their Eyes inward, and obſerve that Ruſt and fretting Canker of Sins and Diſcontents, and deſperate Anxieties, which *Riches* breed in their Hearts, with the ſame Atten-

Luk. xvi. 9.
Matt. xiii. 22.
1 Tim. vi. 9.
Coloſſ. iii. 5.
1 Tim. vi. 10.

Attention and Diligence, that they gaze upon their glittering Metals with, the Conſequence of This muſt be, that They wou'd then be as much, and as generally hated and deſpis'd, as now, we ſee, they are belov'd and admir'd. * *Neceſſity* wants many things; *Covetouſneſs* wants every thing. † The Covetous Man is good to no body, but worſt of all to himſelf.

4. *The contrary Paſſion.*

Not but that there is another Paſſion in the contrary Extreme, which is by no means free from Vice neither; and that is, a downright Deteſtation, and obſtinate Refuſal of Riches: For this is Refuſing the Means and the Opportunities of doing good, and putting it out of a Man's own power to practiſe many excellent and very beneficial Virtues. There needs but little Conſideration to convince us, that the uſing Riches as one ought, and getting an abſolute Dominion over them, is a Task much more laborious and difficult, than the being content under the Want of them; and a Prudent and Virtuous Behaviour in Poverty, is more attainable than a ſteady Goodneſs in the midſt of Plenty. In the former of theſe Circumſtances, a Man hath but One Attack to guard, and may bend all his Forces againſt That without Diſtraction; If he can but keep his Courage up from ſinking under the Affliction, and maintain his Ground with Conſtancy and Reſolution, he hath done his Buſineſs effectually. But the *Temptations of Wealth* and Proſperity are Various, I had almoſt ſaid Infinite; and the Duties which are expected from Perſons in that Condition, are proportionably ſo too. There muſt be *Temperance* in the Uſe of them; *Moderation* in our Deſires; *Liberality* to thoſe that want the Com-

* Deſunt Inopiæ multa, Avaritiæ omnia. † Avarus in nullum bonus eſt, in ſe peſſimus.

forts we enjoy; *Prudence* in the Choice of fit Objects to exerciſe that Liberality upon; *Humility*, and *Meekneſs*, and *Condeſcenſion*, and ſeveral others, too numerous to be ſpecify'd particularly. The Indigent Man hath only his own Virtue to take care of; the Rich muſt preſerve That, and hath another Task of Action and Diſtribution to take Care of afterwards. He that deveſts himſelf of large Poſſeſſions, is at leiſure for greater and better things, which mov'd ſome Philoſophers and Chriſtians to do ſo. He does at the ſame time disburden himſelf of a world of Cares and Sorrows, of Duties and Difficulties unavoidable, which attend the Management of himſelf, firſt in the Purſuit and Acquiſition, then in the Keeping, then in the Uſing and Diſpenſing of Wealth. So that upon the whole Matter, (except when done upon a Principle of Charity and Religion) This is only the declining of Sollicitude, and Buſineſs, and Trouble; and when ſuch Men pretend to Reſignation, and Magnanimity, and Contempt of the World, I ſhould make no ſcruple to tell them very freely, *Gentlemen, You renounce theſe things, not becauſe They are Advantageous, and You are got above them, but becauſe You know not how to make a right uſe of them, and are afraid of the Trouble and Hazard, which thoſe who make it their Buſineſs to poſſeſs and manage them as they ought, are of neceſſity expoſed to.* For when all is done, though *Riches* do not deſerve our *Hearts*, and are an Object *too low* for our *Affections*, yet they are as much *too high* for our *Diſdain*. And tho' no Wiſe Man will ſuffer himſelf to be brought into Bondage to them, nor deſire them Immoderately, nor get them Indirectly, nor place his *Happineſs* in them; yet when the Bounty of Providence hath dealt them to us fairly, and made them our *Lot*; in ſuch a Caſe what *Seneca* hath obſerved is undoubtedly true,

true, That *for a Man not to be able to bear a plentiful Fortune, is not an Argument of his Wisdom, but a Symptom of his Weakness and Littleness of Soul.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of Sensuality; and Carnal Love in particular.

THis is a burning Fever, and furious Passion; and the Consequences of it are infinitely dangerous, when a Man suffers himself to be vanquished and overborn by it. Such a one is no longer at his own Disposal; His Body shall endure a Thousand Tortures in pursuit of Pleasure; His Mind a Thousand Reproachings and Self-Condemnations: In short, he feels a perpetual Hell, for the Service and Gratification of his filthy Desire; That *Desire*, if allow'd, and let alone, will turn to *Rage* and *Madness*; and yet a great part of this is unavoidable: For Nature hath given us the Inclination; and That is the Reason why it is common to All, and very strong in the greatest part of Mankind. The Care incumbent upon Us must be, to keep a strait Hand, and a constant Watch over this Passion; To check and divert its first Irregularities, and cool those Fires which we cannot absolutely quench: For, if indulg'd, it levels Men with Brutes, stupifies all our Wisdom, baffles our Resolution, confounds our Prudence and Conduct, breaks in upon our Contemplation, hardens the Conscience, blinds the Eyes of the Mind, and disturbs all the Operations of our most noble Faculties. This convinc'd *Alexander* that he was *Mortal*; and is such another

1. *'Tis strong naturally, and common.*

Argument of our Frailty, as Sleep is; for both of them agree in ſuſpending, ſuppreſſing, and binding up the Powers of the Reaſonable Soul.

2. *The Shame in it, whence.*

Philoſophy takes upon it to treat of all manner of Subjects, and uſes great Freedom of Expreſſion in doing ſo; that ſo the true Cauſes of Things may be diſcover'd, a right Judgment made of them, and proper Rules and Directions given for the governing our ſelves with regard to them. The ſame thing *Divinity* does likewiſe, which is a Science infinitely more ſublime and refin'd, of nicer Honour, and greater Modeſty and Reſerve. And this Liberty may ſometimes be very Convenient, nay very Innocent and Chaſte; for the Sun ſhines upon Dunghils without contracting any of the Pollution, or ill Scents, by his Rays that fall there. "But this is a Caſe that "requires great Tenderneſs and Caution, and u-"ſually Silence is the moſt becoming, and the "moſt profitable: For one had better altogether "conceal and ſuppreſs thoſe things, which, when "intended for Good, are yet liable and likely "to be made an ill uſe of, by moſt of Thoſe, "into whoſe hands they fall. And highly pro-"bable it is, that many Perſons have learnt to "be more exquiſite in their Vices of this kind, "by thoſe very Precepts and particular Inſtructi-"ons, deſign'd to teach them how to prevent or "conquer thoſe Exorbitances". 'Tis true indeed, Nature by ſtrong Impulſes perſuades to theſe Gratifications; but yet it is as true, that ſhe teaches us to bluſh, and be out of Countenance at the very Mention of what ſhe is ſo importunate for. Some indeed pretend, that we ought to be aſhamed of nothing that is Natural; and that this *Affectation* of *Modeſty* ſerves only to ſharpen Men's Appetites the more; That we may as well be aſhamed for the Infirmities of

of our Bodies, the ſpontaneous Motions of our Lungs, and Heart, and Veins, and Arteries; our Eating, and Drinking, and Wearineſs, and Pain, and Sickneſs, and Dying; all which, like This before us, have their Motions and Intervals, without our Conſent or Knowledge; return by certain neceſſary Cauſes, and act upon us by unſeen Springs; and All, like This too, betray the great Weakneſs, and Indigent State of Humane Nature. Our Brain diſcharges it ſelf by Defluxions, our Eyes by Tears, our Body by proper Evacuations; our Faces grow red or pale; our Bodies fat and lean; our Hair black, or white, or grey; and we are not concerned in, or for theſe things; which yet are no more Natural than This; yet They, or any Diſcourſe of Them, is by no means ignominious or unbecoming, and in the preſent Caſe it is. To all which Objections it were ſufficient to oppoſe the general Senſe and Practice of all civiliz'd Perſons and Countries, who, in proportion to their being poliſh'd and refin'd above others, have ever expreſt a greater Reſerve in educating their Children, in their own Behaviour and Converſation, and in looking upon all ſuch as Impudent and Profligate, who indulge looſe and wanton Diſcourſe; and even They, who are but too much Friends and Slaves to this Paſſion, chooſe rather to provoke it by diſtant Myſterious Expreſſions, and nauſeate the Roughneſs and Rudeneſs of blunt uncomely Language. But ſtill you will ask, whence this *Shame* proceeds, and how that Cuſtom became ſo general. The Gratification of theſe Appetites, I grant you, is not ſhameful in it ſelf in the leaſt: It is truly and properly Natural, and no Shame is due to it ſimply conſider'd; for Beaſts 'tis plain have no Senſe of any. But why do I ſpeak of Beaſts? The Sacred Oracles of God themſelves, have told us expreſly

preſly, that This is no Appendage of our Nature; that while Man preſerved his primitive Purity, and was in that Condition which was Originally and truly Humane, he had no Senſe of
Gen.ii.25. *Shame*, nor ever bluſh'd at his own *Nakedneſs*. Every Work of God is Sacred and Good, and nothing but the Abuſe can caſt a Blemiſh upon it. So that in truth, Shame is only the Effect of Weakneſs, and that Weakneſs the Effect of Sin. *Shame* came into the World afterwards, and by Accident; it was no part of the Creation, hath no Being in Nature, but is the *Creature* of our own *Wickedneſs*, and what we have brought upon our own ſelves, by making the *Workmanſhip* of God, *Inſtruments* of Vice and Pollution.

3. *How it is Vicious.*

The true Reaſon then, which makes this Paſſion ſo violently condemn'd and run down, is not from any real Vice, or Shame in it, when conſider'd abſtractedly, and in its own Nature; but from the general Corruption and Inordinacy Men are betray'd into by it. For how very few are there, that have any regard to Moderation, or Diſcretion, or Decency? What infinite indirect Methods do they uſe for the gratifying of theſe Appetites? What Quarrels and Diſturbances, what Wars and publick Confuſions, what Deſolation and Ruine have been owing to this accurſed Cauſe, this common, but moſt fatal Incendiary of Mankind? Inſomuch that the Wickedneſs of the Means that introduce theſe Pleaſures, and the long black Train of Conſequences they draw after them, are worſe a Thouſand times than the Thing it ſelf: The Expence and Damages are infinitely more than the Purchaſe is worth. And all theſe ill Effects are peculiar to Mankind, for other Creatures know nothing of all this Clutter. But Men have uſed great Induſtry to Trapan themſelves: On one ſide they make Laws to keep them off, urge *Religion*, and

and *Modeſty*, and *Decency*, to reſtrain their Deſires; and yet, on the other hand, they ſharpen and inflame them, ſet all their Wits at work to contrive, to confound, to get over every thing for the compaſſing their Deſires: Witneſs *Comedy* and *Poetry* particularly, whoſe pretended Beauties, even when moſt Chaſte, were chiefly ſeen in amorous Subjects; but now they have perfectly proſtituted themſelves to Lewdneſs, and ſeem to deſign nothing ſo much, as the laughing Virtue and Reſerve out of Doors, as if Theſe were the things we ought moſt to be aſham'd of. But of all others, the moſt miſchievous Corruption of Nature ſeems to be the ſetting an extravagant value upon ſtollen and unlawful Pleaſures; repreſenting Injuries of this kind as a piece of Gallantry and Accompliſhment; and ſuffering thoſe Methods to be deſpiſed and ridiculed, which both Divine and Humane Conſtitutions have aſſigned for ſatisfying Men's Natural Deſires, by *Honeſt* and *Honourable Marriage.*

For Directions and Remedies againſt this Vice, conſult Book III. Chap. 41.

CHAP. XXIII.

Deſires.

1. *Deſires infinite.*

THE Sea it ſelf hath not more Waves and Billows, more inconſtant nor more furious in their Toſſings and Rollings, than the Heart of Man hath *Deſires.* This is a vaſt and boundleſs Ocean too, govern'd by Winds and Tides, various and uncertain; it is confus'd and irreſolute; ſometimes

times wicked and deteſtable, but very frequently vain and ridiculous in its Deſires.

2. *Their Diſtinctions.* But the firſt and moſt neceſſary part of this Conſideration, ought to be a due Care to diſtinguiſh them rightly; for this is what they are very capable of. And here you may obſerve, That Some of theſe are Natural; and they that be ſo, are juſt and lawful, and common to Us with Beaſts: They are likewiſe ſhort, and bounded in a narrow Compaſs; a Man may eaſily ſee to the End of them. For Theſe there is abundant Proviſion, and no Man is poor in this reſpect. An Occaſion of enlarging upon theſe will preſent it ſelf more conveniently hereafter; for in truth they do not properly belong to the Subject we are now upon, ſince, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they are not Paſſions.

The Others are either beſide, or beyond Nature; they have no Foundation in our Frame and Temper, but exiſt only in our Opinions, and are the Off-ſpring of Fancy and Imagination; theſe are Artificially form'd by Induſtry and ſtrong Impreſſion; they are ſuperfluous too; ſerve only to gratifie our Humours, not to ſupply any real Neceſſities. And if you wou'd have them diſtinguiſh'd from the former by a different Name, call them if you pleaſe, the *Covetings of the Soul.* Theſe are entirely our own; The Portion or the Scandal of our Species. Beaſts are altogether unacquainted with them; Man is the only Creature irregular in his Appetites. Theſe have no certain Mark to aim at, no End where to ſtop; but are eternally in Motion, run wild and at random, and know not what they would have. * *The Deſires which Na-*

* Deſideria naturalia finita ſunt. Ex falsâ opinione naſcentia ubi deſinant non habent Nullus enim Terminus falſo eſt. Viâ eunti aliquid extremum eſt, Error immenſus eſt. *Senec.*

ture

ture ſuggeſts, are determined and finite; but thoſe which ariſe from Opinion and Whimſie, are infinite; For Error knows no Bounds. A Man that goes in the Road muſt come to his Journey's End at laſt; but he that wanders out of the Way, may wander for ever. With regard to Theſe, no Man ever was, none ever can be Rich or Contented. Somewhat conſtantly falls ſhort, or ſome freſh thing is wanting. Of theſe it is that the Poet ſpeaks,

Their Stores increaſe, and yet I know not what,
Still they do ſomething want,
Which neither Pains can get, nor Heaven can grant,
To ſwell their narrow, to a full Eſtate.

Creech, Horat. Od. XXIV Lib. III.

To ſuch wanton Longings of the Soul, the Characters ſet down at the beginning of this Chapter agree; and They are what we mean, and are now treating of under this Head of *Paſſions*. Theſe are the things we ſweat and toil ſo vehemently for, the gaining what we might very well be without, and the ſatisfying Deſires which we ought not to entertain. 'Tis upon the Account, and for the Sake of Theſe, That we compaſs Sea and Land; that we take up Arms, and kill one another; nay, that Men kill and drown themſelves, betray and ruine themſelves; which gave juſt grounds for ſaying, that *Covetouſneſs is the Root of all Evil.* The Matter indeed is ſometimes ſo order'd by *Providence*, that this inordinate Paſſion of the Mind ſhould be made its own Puniſhment; and while Men are greedy to gratifie their *fantaſtical Wants*, and glut themſelves with the Riches and Pleaſures of Fortune, they loſe a *real Good*, and cut them-

Scilicet improbæ
Creſcunt Divitiæ; tamen
Curtæ neſcio quid ſemper abeſt rei.

ſelves

ſelves off from the Advantages of Nature. Which are ſo much more valuable than the other, that *Diogenes*, who refus'd the large Preſent of Money offer'd by *Alexander*, deſir'd as a greater Favour, that he wou'd pleaſe to ſtand aſide, and not hinder him from the Comfort and Brightneſs of the warm Sun-ſhine.

CHAP. XXIV.

Hope and Deſpair.

THOSE Deſires which are Natural, and theſe Covetings laſt mention'd, which are Accidental, and Diſeaſes to the Soul, are cheriſh'd by *Hope*. This inſpires them with Warmth and Strength; this blows up our extravagant Imaginations with a gentle and pleaſing Breath; kindles a Fire in our Minds, but raiſes ſo thick a Smoak withal, that it quite blinds the Underſtanding; our Thoughts are loſt and bewilder'd, and violently carry'd away with it; it keeps us in perpetual Suſpenſe, and makes us dream with our Eyes waking. As long as ever our Hopes laſt, we never let go our Deſires. But on the other hand, when once *Deſpair* takes poſſeſſion of us, the Soul is perfectly put upon the Rack; and the Thought that we ſhall never be able to obtain what we aim at, is ſo torturing and violent, that it bears down all before it; and we loſe what we ſtand actually poſſeſt of, for the ſake of ſomewhat which we apprehend impoſſible to be poſſeſt. This Paſſion is like froward Children, who, when you take away one of their Play-things, throw the reſt into the Fire for Madneſs.

It

It grows angry with it ſelf, turns its own Executioner, and revenges its Misfortunes upon its own Head. It refuſes to live under Diſappointments and Croſſes, and chooſes rather not to be at all, than to be without the Thing which it hath once imagin'd neceſſary to its Happineſs. And thus you have had a ſhort account of thoſe *Paſſions*, which have ſome *apparent Good* for their Object; we will proceed in the next place to conſider thoſe others, which ariſe from the Apprehenſion of *Evil*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Anger.

ANger is a fooliſh and a frantick Paſſion, which puts us quite beſides our ſelves; and by ſeeking ſome means of beating back the Evil, that either approaches and threatens, or hath already reached and fallen upon us, makes the Blood boil in our Hearts, and raiſes wild and furious Vapours in our Mind; ſuch as blind and pervert our Reaſon, and thruſt us headlong upon any, tho' never ſo deſperate Attempts, that may contribute to the ſatisfying thoſe Deſires we have of taking Revenge, and doing Miſchief upon the Perſon that gave the Provocation. It is a ſhort Madneſs, and dangerous, not only for the time it continues, but as it prepares and opens the way for a laſting Phrenſie and Diſtraction. The Motions of it are ſo ſudden, the Violence ſo ſtrong, that it overpowers all our other Paſſions, ſwallows them up quite, or carries them along with it by the force of its own Torrent. 1. *Deſcription*

The

2. The *Cauſes* from whence it ariſes are various.
Its Cauſes. I. *Weakneſs of Judgment*, which is moſt remarkable in Women and Children, Aged and Sick People; whom Experience ſhews to be of all others moſt fretful and peeviſh, and eaſie to be provoked. * *Every thing that is infirm, is naturally diſpoſed to be querulous and froward.* It is a Miſtake as great as it is common, to imagine that Fierceneſs and Rage is an Argument of Courage: For all violent Motions are like the Efforts of Old Men and Children, who run when they would walk, and go faſter, becauſe they have not Strength enough to go ſlow. There is not in the World any thing ſo feeble as an irregular and unſteady Motion; and therefore *Anger*, which is ſuch in the Mind, is rather a Mark of Infirmity and Cowardiſe. It is a Diſtemper in the Soul, which makes it tender and ſore, not able to endure Offences; as Hurts and Wounds in the Body render the Smart of every little Blow intolerable. Were it in a State of perfect Health and Soundneſs, every Triſle cou'd not create ſo great a Diſorder. † *But when all is full of Aches and Diſeaſes, the gentleſt Touch is troubleſome*, and *it is always complaining, becauſe always ailing.* A Miſer will fume and ſtorm for the loſs of a Penny, for the miſſing of ſome Advantage which he might have gain'd; A jealous Husband will fall into a Rage for the moſt innocent Smile of his Wife, or the leaſt
II. Glance of her Eye. *Luxury* and *Niceneſs*, or any particular Fancy, that renders a Man Singular and Humorſom, and Uneaſie, is apt upon the leaſt Accident which croſſes that Humour, to put him into *Paſſion*; and ‖ *No one thing* (ſays a great

* Invalidum omne naturâ querulum eſt.
† Nuſquam ſine querelâ ægra tanguntur.
‖ Nulla res magis Iracundiam alit, quam Luxuria.

Phi-

Philoſopher) *cheriſhes Anger more than this vain Temper.* So again does the being fond of any little trifling things, not worth our Affection and Concern: A Glaſs, a Dog, a Bird; This is a Folly that gives us a great deal of Trouble, and often expoſes us to moſt unreaſonable Paſſions; the leaſt of which is more than they can poſſibly deſerve. Another Cauſe is *Curioſity*, and a buſie inquiſitive Temper. * *He that asks too many Queſtions, is ſollicitous to diſquiet himſelf:* This is ſo far from avoiding, and conniving at, that it is ſeeking Occaſions, hunting about, and following the Scent, and with great Eagerneſs and Pleaſure running abroad after Provocations, without having the Patience to ſtay till They come home to Us. *Sometimes indeed* (ſays *Seneca*) *Anger comes to Us, but not near ſo often as We go to It.* Another is *Credulity* and *Eaſineſs*, the ſuffering our ſelves to be poſſeſt with the firſt Account, and the firſt Chance-comer, and not reſerving an Ear free for the other ſide of the Cauſe, nor ſuſpending our Belief, till more perfect Information. But the Principal, and indeed the very formal Cauſe of *Anger*, is *an Opinion that we have been undervalu'd, and ill us'd*; That ſome Word, ſome Look, (for any thing will ſerve) carried an Air of Contempt, and was leſs reſpectful than it ought to have been. This is always the Argument angry Men lay hold of in their own Juſtification. " And " no wonder then, that Proud Men are moſt " Cholerick, and fuller of Reſentment than any " others, ſince no other Diſpoſition makes Men " think ſo much their Due, and conſequently in- " clines them to be ſo jealous of Affronts, and " Omiſſions in point of Reſpect. For which

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

* Qui nimis inquirit, ſeipſum inquietat.

" Reaſon

Prov. xiii. 10. xxi. 24. "Reason the Scripture tells us, that *Only by Pride* "*cometh Contention*, in one Place, and Stiles it most "Emphatically *Proud Wrath* in another.

3. *Signs of it.* The Signs and Symptoms of this Passion are many, and manifest, more and more visible than those of any other; and so Strange and Strong, that they make a mighty Difference in the Person, alter the whole Temper and Frame both of Body and Mind, transform and turn him into quite another Man. Insomuch, that * *it is not easy to say, whether this Vice be more detestable, or more deformed and disfiguring*; Some of these Changes and Symptoms, are outward and apparent: Redness and Distortions of the Face, Fieryness of the Eyes, a wild and enraged Look, Deafness and Insensibility in the Ears, Foaming at the Mouth, Palpitation of the Heart; Quickness and Unevenness of the Pulse, Swelling and Bursting Fullness of the Veins, Stammering in the Tongue, Gnashing and Setting of the Teeth, Loudness and Hoarseness in the Voice, The Speech thick and indistinct; and in short, The whole Body is set on Fire, and in a perfect Fever. Some have been transported to such a Degree, upon these Occasions, that their very Veins have broke, their Urine stopt, and they have dropt down Dead, being stifled and strangled with excess of Passion. And what Condition can we suppose their Mind must be in in the mean while, when the Disorders of the Body are so Violent and Dismal? *Anger* at the first Brush, quite banishes *Reason* and confounds the Judgment; clears all before it, and takes possession for it self alone; and when it hath got it, then it fills all with Fire and Smoke, with Darkness and Confusion, with Noise and Clamour; It is like a Robber, or an Enemy, that first drives the Master out of Doors, and then sets

* Ut sit difficile, utrum magis detestabile vitium, aut deforme.

Fire

Fire to his Houſe, and that, with ſuch Fury and Madneſs, as to deſtroy and burn it ſelf alive in her Flames. It is like a Ship that hath neither Rudder, nor Pilot; neither Sails, nor Oars, nor Ballaſt; but floats about at Random, and commits it ſelf to the Mercy of Winds, and Waves, and that, when the Sea rides Higheſt, and the Storms are Loudeſt and moſt Raging. And what can be expected in ſuch a Caſe, but Strandings and Shipwracks, when there are ſo many Rocks on every Side, to break her to Pieces, ſo many Quick-Sands to ſwallow her up, when ſhe thus lets her ſelf drive upon them?

This leads us to conſider its *Effects*; which are indeed, very great, and for the moſt Part, exceedingly Wretched, and Deplorable. 4. *Its Effects.*

I. For Firſt; *Anger* urges and expoſes us to *Injuſtice*; it takes Fire afreſh, and is rendred more Violent and Fierce, by any Oppoſition, though never ſo Reaſonable and Fair; and that too, not only by Diſpute from others, but even from a Man's own Senſes and Reflection, and the being Conſcious to himſelf, that he is Angry, either without any juſt Cauſe, or to a greater Degree than the Provocation deſerved. When a Man hath thus ſuffer'd his *Reaſon* to be ſhaken and diſturbed, let one with all the Calmneſs imaginable, offer the cleareſt Vindication, the juſteſt Excuſe, any thing to remove or mitigate this Paſſion, all is to no Purpoſe, or to worſe than none; for Truth and Innocence are ſtill but more enraging, as *Seneca* obſerves: In ſuch Caſes * *the Unreaſonableneſs of our Paſſion makes us ſo much more obſtinate and unperſuadable, as if the being very Angry, and Implacable, were the beſt Argument that the Ground of our Anger is Juſt.* The Example of *Piſo* upon this Occaſion is well

* Pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas iræ, quaſi argumentum ſit juſtè iraſcendi, graviter iraſci.

worth our Obſervation, and the Story is generally known. He, who was in other Reſpects Eminent for Virtue and Goodneſs, yet once in Heat of Paſſion put Three Perſons to Death Unjuſtly; and ſtrain'd the Law to bring them in Guilty, only becauſe there had been one proved not Guilty, whom he by a former Sentence had adjudged Guilty. *Anger* is likewiſe exaſperated by *Silence* and *Coldneſs*, becauſe ſuch Indifference ſpeaks Scorn and Neglect; and when Men ſee their Reſentments make no Impreſſion, they look upon themſelves to be ſlighted and affronted. This is very uſual with Women, who oftentimes put themſelves into a Paſſion, purely for the Sake of putting other People into one too; And when they ſee, that a Man does not condeſcend to be Angry, and refuſe to heap on more Fewel, they take all imaginable Pains to cheriſh and blow up their own Fire, and grow perfectly Outragious. So Wild and Savage a Beaſt is *Anger*, ſo Fierce and Intractable, that neither Vindications nor Submiſſions; neither Excuſing nor Acknowledging; neither Speaking nor holding one's Peace, can do any Goood upon it. No foul Means can tame, no fair ones win it over, or make it Gentle. The Injuſtice of this Paſſion is farther Evident, in that it always takes upon it ſelf to be both Party and Judge in the ſame Cauſe; in that it expects all manner of People that hear or know any thing of the Matter, ſhould take its Part, and juſtify its Proceedings; and takes it mortally Ill, nay, flies in the very Faces of all that either ſtand Neuter, or in any Degree ſeem to think it in the Wrong.

II. A Second Effect of this Paſſion is *Headineſs* and *Obſtinacy*, Raſhneſs and Inconſideration. It drives us forward, and thruſts us down Head-long, into unſpeakable Miſchiefs; and very often draws upon our own Heads the very Calamities we are en-

endeavouring to avoid by being Angry; the very ſame Sufferings, or many times worſe than thoſe, which We in the bitterneſs of our Malice and Revenge, are ſo eager to inflict upon others; and thus, while it puniſhes an Enemy, it tortures and executes it ſelf. This *Paſſion* is no ill Reſemblance of *Great Ruins*, which cruſh indeed, and batter what ever they fall upon, but in the ſame Fall, break themſelves to Pieces. *Anger* is ſo eagerly bent upon the Hurt and Deſtruction of others, that it fights out of all Guard, and takes no manner of Care to avoid or ward off its own Death. It draws us in, and hampers us in a Thouſand Inconveniences; puts us upon ſpeaking and doing many things, that are Baſe and Unworthy, ſuch as by no means become us, and what we cannot but be, at leaſt we ought to be, moſt heartily Aſhamed of. To be ſhort; it tranſports Men to thoſe Exceſſes of Extravagance and Rage, that they know not what they do; enſnares them in the moſt Injurious, the moſt Scandalous Actions; hurries them into Miſchief incapable of any Reparation, Murders and Bloodſhed; Treachery and Villany, Poiſonings, and ſecret Aſſaſſinations. Things that leave long and laſting Remorſe behind, and ſuch as they cannot but have very afflicting Remembrance of ever after. *Alexander the Great* was a remarkable Inſtance of this Kind; and *Pythagoras* uſed to ſay, that *where Anger ended, there Repentance always began.*

This *Paſſion* is never to be convinced of *Folly*; it is Big, and always well Satisfied with its own Diſcretion and Juſtice; flatters and pleaſes it ſelf with a Notion, that the Man does well, and wiſely, to be Angry; clears it ſelf from all manner of Blame, and lays the whole Fault upon ſome ill or indiſcreet Thing done, that gave the Provocation. But, ſuppoſing another guilty of Injuſtice, it will

not therefore follow, that my Anger is guilty of none. Suppoſe I receive Injury from another Hand, will my paying back the ſame, or a greater Wrong, take off what I ſuffer? Will it make me any real Amends, or bring any true Profit to me, that another Suffers as well as I? The Truth is, *Anger* hath too much of Obſtinacy, and Hair-brain'd Giddineſs, ever to do any Good. It pretends to cure one Evil, with another; and when we turn over an Offence to be corrected by this Paſſion, it is no better than ſetting Vice to chaſtiſe and puniſh it ſelf. *Reaſon*, which ought always to bear the Sword, and exerciſe the Supreme Authority in our Breaſts, does not deſire any ſuch Hot-Headed Officers to Execute her Commands, as do things upon their own Head, without waiting for Orders. *Reaſon*, like Nature, works eaſily and gradually, is ſedate and ſlow; and whatever is Violent, is equally Foreign, and contrary to both.

But you will ſay, What? muſt Virtue then be ſo Tame and ſoft, as to ſee the Inſolencies of Vice Triumphant, without any Degree of Indignation and Concern? Muſt ſhe be ſo bound up, as not to take the Liberty of being Angry, nor dare to make any Oppoſition againſt unreaſonable and wicked Men? To this I anſwer. *Virtue* hath its Freedoms, but they are ſuch as are Juſt; it takes, it deſires none, that are unfit, or unbecoming. It hath Courage too, but this Courage muſt not be employed againſt it ſelf. Nor muſt another Man's Ill be converted to its Prejudice and Diſturbance. A wiſe Man is as much obliged to bear the Vices of Naughty People without Paſſion, as he is to ſee their Proſperity without Envy. The Indiſcretion of raſh and heady Men, muſt be endured with the ſame Patience and Pity, that a Good Phyſician exerciſes toward his Patients, when they are under the Ravings of a Fever. There is not any

any one Inſtance of *Wiſdom* more Commendable in it ſelf, nor more uſeful to the General Good of the World, than that of being able to bear with the Follies and Extravagances of other People. For if we do not ſo, the Conſequence will be, that we ſhall fall into the ſame Extravagances; and by not ſupporting Their Follies, we make them our Own.

What hath been ſpoken here at large, of *Anger* in particular, is in great Meaſure Applicable to the *Paſſions* that follow; ſuch as *Hatred*, and *Envy*, and *Revenge*; for theſe are the ſame in Subſtance, and at the Bottom; They are Anger too, but they are ſomewhat otherwiſe modified, appearing in different Forms, and cloath'd with different Circumſtances.

Proper Advice, *and* Remedies, *againſt this* Paſſion, *will be treated of*, Book III. Chap. 31.

CHAP. XXVI.

Hatred.

Hatred is a very odd Paſſion. It gives us a great deal of unaccountable Vexation, contrary to all the Reaſon in the World. And yet, What is there more Torturing and Inſupportable, than this Reſentment? By It we put our ſelves perfectly under the Dominion of the Thing we hate; and give it a Power to afflict and torment us. The Sight of it diſturbs our Senſes, ruffles our Spirits, and makes the whole Body Sick, and Diſordered: The Remembrance of it raiſes a Storm in our Minds; and ſleeping or waking, fills us with Diſ-

quiet and Impatience. The Ideas of ſuch Objects, are always hideous and ſhocking; and we never entertain them without Indignation and Horror, Spight or Grief; ſome Reſentment not eaſy to be expreſt, which puts us beſide our ſelves, and rends our very Heart aſunder. Thus we feel in our own Perſons, all that Torment we wiſh another, and undergo the Puniſhment we think due to Him. He that hateth, is at this Rate the *Patient*, and he that is hated, the *Agent*. Thus it certainly is to all Intents and Purpoſes; excepting only, that we think fit to expreſs it otherwiſe, and deceive our ſelves with Words, and Names of Things; For it is evident to common Senſe, that the *Hater* is in Pain, and the *Perſon hated*, in perfect Eaſe; perhaps too, in perfect Ignorance of the Matter. But after all, let us conſider, and examine this Point a little. What is it that we hate? Men? or Things? Be it the one, or the other, 'tis plain we do not pitch upon the right Object. For if any thing in the World deſerves to be Hated heartily, it is *Hatred it ſelf*, and ſuch other Paſſions, which, like this, breed Diſcords, and raiſe Tumults in our Minds, and rebel againſt that Power, which of Right ought to Command, and bear an abſolute Sway in us. For when our Enemies have done all they can, ſtill neither They, nor any Thing elſe, but ſuch exorbitant Paſſions as theſe, can do us any real, and effectual Injury.

For Particular Directions *againſt this* Evil. *See* Book III. Chap. 32.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Envy.

Envy is own Siſter to *Hatred*; as like as Two Twins, in their Fierceneſs and Miſerable Effects. This is a wild outragious Beaſt indeed, more exquiſite in Torture, than Ten Thouſand Racks; and of All, that wretched Mankind feels, beſt deſerves the Title of a Hell upon Earth. This lies perpetually corroding, and tearing the Heart-ſtrings, and converts other Mens Happineſs into an occaſion of Our Miſery. And how Dreadful, how Inceſſant muſt that Vexation be, which both Good and Evil conſpire to aggravate? Of the many ill Effects this Paſſion hath, That is a very conſiderable one; That, while Envious Men look awry upon the Proſperity of others, and grudge them Their Comforts; they unavoidably ſuffer their Own to periſh, and ſlip through their Fingers; and have no Pleaſure or true Enjoyment in all that the moſt bountiful Providence does, or can beſtow upon Themſelves.

Directions *and* Remedies, *Proper for this* Evil, *will be preſcrib'd in* Book III. Chap. 33.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Jealouſie.

1. THE Nature and the Effects of *Jealouſie* have a mighty reſemblance to that Paſſion of *Envy* laſt deſcrib'd, excepting only that they differ in this One Circumſtance: The *Good* of other Men is the Object of our *Envy*; but our *own Happineſs* is the Object of *Jealouſie*. Some Good, which we are deſirous to ingroſs to our ſelves, and which we apprehend belongs to Us alone; for which Reaſon we dread and deteſt the Communication to any Perſon beſide.

2. *Jealouſie* is a Diſeaſe of the Soul; an Argument of great Weakneſs; an evil and a fooliſh Diſeaſe, but withal a furious and terrible one: It rages and tyrannizes over the Mind; inſinuates it ſelf under the pretence of extraordinary Friendſhip and Tenderneſs: But when it hath gotten Head, and taken Poſſeſſion, it builds a mortal Hatred upon the Foundation of Kindneſs. Vertue, and Health, and Beauty, and Deſert, and Reputation, which are the Attractives of our Love and Affection, are likewiſe the Motives and Incendiaries of this Paſſion; they kindle and miniſter freſh Fewel to both theſe Fires.

3. This is *Wormwood* and *Gall* to us: It depraves and embitters all the Sweets of Life; and commonly mingles it ſelf with our moſt delightful Enjoyments; and theſe it renders ſo ſower and unpleaſant, that nothing can be more uneaſie to us. It turns Love into Hatred, Reſpect into Diſdain, Aſſurance into Diſtruſt: It breeds a moſt unhappy Curioſity,

Curioſity; makes us buſie and inquiſitive to our own Ruin; deſirous and impatient to know what nothing but the Ignorance of, can keep us tolerably eaſie under; and what, when we do know, there is no Cure for, but ſuch as makes the Misfortune worſe, and more painful. For Whither does all this Information tend, but only to bring the Matter out of Darkneſs and Doubt, into clear and open Day; To have Demonſtration of our own Unhappineſs, and to proclaim it to all the World; To make our ſelves a publick Jeſt, and to entail Shame and Diſhonour upon our Families?

Advice and Remedies againſt this Paſſion are to be met with in Book III. Chap. 35.

CHAP. XXIX.

Revenge.

1. THE Deſire of *Revenge* is, in the firſt place, a *cowardly* and *effeminate Paſſion*; an Argument of a weak and ſordid, a narrow and abject Soul; and accordingly Experience teaches us, that Women and Children, and ſuch others as have manifeſtly the feebleſt Minds, are ever the moſt malicious, and diſpos'd to Revenge. *Brave* and *Generous Minds* feel little of theſe Reſentments: They deſpiſe and ſcorn it; either becauſe an Injury, when done to them, does not make any great Impreſſion; or that the Perſon who does it, is not thought conſiderable enough to give them any Diſturbance; but ſo it is, that they feel themſelves above any Commotions of this kind, as the Poet ſays,

* *A Wretch beneath the mighty* Cæſar*'s notice.*

Hail, and Thunder, Hurricanes and Tempeſts, and Earthquakes, all theſe diſorderly Agitations, and loud Ratlings, which we ſee, and feel, and hear, are form'd in theſe lower Regions of the Air; They never diſcompoſe, or in any Degree affect the Heavenly Bodies and higher Orbs; All there is quiet, and conſtant, and ſerene; Theſe frail, and corruptible, and groſſer Bodies only are they that ſuffer by them. And thus it is with the Rage and Folly, the Noiſe and Brawlings, the Impudence and Impotent Malice of Fools: They never ſhake great Souls, nor carry ſo far as lofty and generous Minds: An *Alexander* or a *Cæſar*, an *Epaminondas* or a *Scipio*, cannot be mov'd by all that ſuch mean Wretches could do or ſay: For all truly Brave Men, and theſe in particular, have been ſo far from meditating *Revenge*, that, on the contrary, they were remarkable *for doing good to their Enemies.*

2. Secondly, This is a very troubleſome and *reſtleſs Paſſion*, full of Heat, full of Smart and Sting; it boyls and bubbles in the Breaſt, and gnaws the Heart like a Viper; diſtracts the Men infected, diſturbs their Enjoyments, takes off the Peace and Comfort of their Days, and breaks the Sleep of their Nights.

3. It is alſo a *Paſſion full of Injuſtice*; for it tortures an innocent Perſon, and adds Grief and Pain to Him, that was wounded and afflicted before. It is properly the Party's Buſineſs who committed the Offence, to labour under the Remorſe and the Puniſhment; and all thoſe other ill Con-

* Indignus Cæſaris Iræ.

ſequences

ſequences, which the Deſire of Revenge unavoidably draws after it. And yet by this, theSuffering and Guiltleſs Party makes it his Care to load himſelf with theſe heavy Burdens, as if the receiving of the Injury were not of it ſelf Affliction ſufficient, without ſuch voluntary and ſtudied Aggravations. Thus it happens frequently, (generally indeed) that, while the Innocent and Injur'd is racking himſelf with the impatient Deſires, and the Contrivance of proper Methods for Revenge, the guilty Aggreſſour enjoys himſelf in Eaſe and Pleaſure, and perhaps makes the Other's Uneaſineſs a Jeſt and a Diverſion. But This is only the Beginning of Miſchiefs and Injuſtice; for the Means of putting ſuch Deſires in execution are yet infinitely more ſo; which indeed are of all, of any kinds; Baſeneſs and Treachery, Perjury and Subornation, a ſecret Stab, or an Ambuſcade of Ruffians; in ſhort, the fouleſt, blackeſt, and moſt Villanous Deſigns: For one peculiar ill Effect of this Vice is, that it extinguiſhes all Natural Juſtice, breaks through all the Reſtraints of Honour and Duty, and ſticks at no Practice, tho' never ſo foul and deteſtable, to accompliſh its Bloody Intentions.

Laſtly. The very Execution of theſe Deſigns, is not only painful and difficult; but extremely dangerous: For Experience ſhews us daily, that he who endeavours to revenge himſelf, does not effect his whole Wiſh, nor is in every Point ſucceſful: Either he meets with a Defeat, and cannot do the Miſchief he wou'd; or at leaſt he is diſappointed as to his own Security and Satisfaction, and ſuffers the Miſchief he wou'd not. He attempts to put out One of his Enemy's Eyes, and at the ſame time puts out Both his own. He renders himſelf obnoxious to Juſtice, and brings Trouble and Danger to all his Friends; is loſt to the 4.

the World, and to his own Quiet; forc'd to hide and flee from Place to Place, and is every where dogg'd cloſe at the Heels by his own guilty Fears.

5. And after all; the Killing an Enemy, and diſpatching him out of the way, may be *Cruelty*; but it is not properly *Revenge*: For a Man does then only take Satisfaction and Revenge, when he Humbles his Enemy, and forces him to Suffering and Submiſſion; not when he puts him paſt all Suffering, and out of the reach of his Anger; the rendring of which Senſible and Painful, is the only End Revenge can propoſe to it ſelf. Accordingly we ſee, no Man is ſo vain and abſurd, to fall foul upon a Stone, or a Brute; becauſe he knows theſe cannot feel, or cannot conſider the Effects of his Rage. In all true Revenge, it is neceſſary, that the Perſon who executes it, ſhou'd receive ſome Satisfaction in the Pains he inflicts; and that the Perſon, on whom it is inflicted, ſhould feel the Smart, and be humbled by the Sorrow, and pay ſo dear for the Injury he hath done, that he may be made to repent it. But a Man that is killed, is out of any condition of Grief or Repentance; he is indeed from thenceforth effectually ſecur'd from all manner of Suffering: Whereas, on the contrary, the Revenger himſelf continues in a Capacity of both, and oftentimes feels the Weight of his own Diſpleaſure, by a State of fix'd Sorrow and Fear ever after. *Killing* then is only a Betraying of our Cowardiſe. It is the Conſequence of our being afraid, that the Perſon we intend to puniſh, ſhou'd Reſent to our Prejudice, and take an opportunity of paying us again in our own Coin. We are willing from theſe Apprehenſions to make an End of him at once, and rid our ſelves from any future Hazard; which is indeed to quit our Point, to loſe the End of Revenge

Revenge, and caſt a Blemiſh upon our own Reputation. It is an Artifice, and an act of Caution, rather than of Courage; It is an Intention to make ſure Work, and conſults our *Safety* much more than our * *Honour*.

* Qui occidit longè, non ulciſcitur, nec gloriam aſſequitur.

CHAP. XXX.

Cruelty.

Cruelty is a moſt horrid and deteſtable Vice, a Quality peculiar to Villains and Brutes; ſo contrary to Nature, that it is diſtinguiſh'd by that ſcandalous Name of *Inhumanity*.

It proceeds from, and indeed is the natural Effect of Baſeneſs and Cowardiſe: For *Valour* and *Generoſity* never exert their Power, except where they meet with Oppoſition. They have done their Buſineſs, and hold their hand, as ſoon as they find an Enemy ſubdu'd, and at their Mercy. This was the true Courage of brave old *Romans*, † *to humble the Obſtinate, and ſpare the Vanquiſh'd.*

But *Cowardiſe*, which affects a falſe Greatneſs, and pretends to Triumphs, which belong not to it, gluts it ſelf with Blood and Maſſacres, inſtead of Generous Conquering: And accordingly, we always find, that Carnage and Slaughter, have only Common Soldiers, and the Plundering part of the Army, for its Executioners. And no ſurer Sign in

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† Romana Virtus---Parcere Subjectis, & debellare Superbos.

the

the World can be given of Men's being timorous Poultrons, than their being fierce and bloody, and void of Pity and Remorſe. This is the very Thing that diſpoſes Tyrants and Uſurpers to Cruelty; They live always in fear, and never think themſelves tolerably ſafe, till thoſe, that are in any condition of giving them Diſturbance, are utterly extirpated; and therefore they lay about them, and fall foul upon every Body, without diſtinction; neither Age nor Sex can move Compaſſion, or ſeem inconſiderable enough to be ſpared.

* *Laviſh of Blood the Coward kills; The Brave*
Holds his relenting hand, and dares to ſave.

Sneaking and timorous Dogs bite and tear to Pieces the Skins and Carkaſſes of wild Beaſts, which they run away from, when alive and in the Fields. And what account can be given, why Civil Wars, and Popular Inſurrections ſhou'd ſpill more Blood than foreign Engagements? What more probable than This, that the great Ringleaders and Actors in Seditions and Domeſtick Differences, are the Mobb and Refuſe of the People; whereas the Other are begun and fought upon Principles of Honour and Juſtice, by fair and generous Enemies? When the Emperour *Mauritius* had receiv'd Information, that one *Phocas*, a Soldier in his Army, deſign'd to Kill him, he enquir'd into the Temper and Character of the Man: And upon his Son-in-Law *Philip*'s acquainting him, that he was a Cowardly Fellow, the Emperour preſently concluded, there was Danger indeed, and that ſuch a one was cut out for Barbarity and Murder. Sometimes, 'tis true, Another Cauſe may be given for this Quali-

* Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet.

ty,

ty, which is an inward Malignity and Spight; a Soul that rejoyces in Miſchief, and Feaſts upon Blood; ſuch as *Caligula* ſeems to have been particularly. But it is to be hoped, few ſuch Inſtances of Depravity are to be found; for indeed they are not Men, but Monſters in Humane Shape.

CHAP. XXXI.

Grief.

GRief is a Sinking and Deſpondency of the Mind, when dejected by an Opinion of ſome very great Evils lying heavy upon us. It is a very dangerous Enemy, deſtructive to our Quiet and Comfort; and, if good Care be not taken of it in time, waſtes and weakens the Soul, deprives us of the Uſe of our Reaſon, diſables us from diſcharging our Duties, and looking after her Buſineſs; and in time ſpreads a Ruſt upon the Soul, adulterates and depoſes the whole Man, binds up his Senſes, and lays his Virtues to ſleep, when there is moſt occaſion for rowzing and arming them againſt the Calamity, that ſubdues and oppreſſes him. In order to beget in us a becoming Averſion to this Paſſion, and employing our utmoſt Strength and Abilities to reſiſt and repel it, we ſhall do well to conſider ſeriouſly the pernicious Effects of it, and diſcover how fooliſh, how unbecoming and deformed it is; how extremely inconſiſtent with the Character of Wiſe Men, as the Philoſophy of the *Stoicks* moſt truly repreſents it. But This, as Matters are commonly order'd, is no ſuch eaſie Undertaking; for it hath learnt to excuſe, and vindicate, and ſet it ſelf off under the

1. *Definition of it.*

the ſpecious Colours of Nature, and Affection, and Tenderneſs, and Goodneſs; nay the Generality of the World are ſo far miſ-led, that they keep it in Countenance, pay it Honour and Reſpect, and think it a Duty and a Virtue; as if Wiſdom and Conſcience never appear'd more beautiful than in a Mourning-Dreſs.

2. *Tis Unnatural.* Now in anſwer to theſe vain Pretences in its Favour, we may obſerve firſt of all, that This is ſo far from being agreeable to Nature, as it wou'd fain be thought, that, on the Contrary, it is rather a Matter of Formality, and directly contrary to Nature: Which it is very eaſie to demonſtrate, if Men will lay aſide the Prejudices of Cuſtom, and conſider it impartially. As for thoſe publick and ſolemn Mournings, (I mean not this to the prejudice of a real, decent, and affectionate Concern) but for the Mournings which are practis'd with ſo much Ceremony and Affectation, and were ſo by the Ancients heretofore, as well as by the Generality of Mankind at this Day; Where, I ſay, can we find a greater Cheat, a groſſer Sham and Banter upon the World? How many induſtrious Impoſtures and Hypocriſies? What artificial Conſtraints in our Behaviour are ſought, and counterfeited, both by the Perſons themſelves, who are intereſted in the Occaſion of them; and of all the reſt that are taken in, and bear a Part in this melancholy Pomp? And, as if all this were not enough, we refine and improve the Deceit, we even Hire Men on purpoſe to put on this Folly, to ſtand as Mutes, or to make dreadful Lamentations; to move and heighten a Paſſion which ought to be ſuppreſt; to give Groans and Sighs for a Price, ſuch as we all know are feign'd and extorted; to ſhed Tears for the Entertainment of the Spectatours, ſuch as fall, only when they are ſeen to do ſo, and are immediately dry'd up, as ſoon as the Com-

Company retires: And, pray, Where does Nature teach us any thing like This? What can there be indeed more abſurd and vain; what does Nature condemn, what does it deteſt more than ſuch Inſincerity? This is nothing but Opinion and Faſhion, the Cauſe and Cheriſher of almoſt all our Paſſions; the Tyranny of Cuſtom, and Vulgar Errour, that inſtructs Men to indulge their Grief in ſuch a formal manner. From hence it is, that, if a Man be not deeply enough affected in his own Perſon, and cannot furniſh a ſufficient proportion of Tears and hanging Looks out of his own Stock, he is thought oblig'd to hire and purchaſe a Supply from others who make a Trade of it. So that for the ſatisfying what the World calls *Decency*, we put our ſelves to vaſt Expence; which Nature, if we wou'd take Her Judgment, is ſo far from preſcribing, that She moſt freely acquits us of, nay condemns us for it. Is not this, in truth, a publick and ſtudy'd Affront upon Reaſon and Common Senſe, a Conſtraint and a Corrupting of Nature, a Proſtituting and Debauching of the Manhood in us, a Mocking the World, and making a Jeſt of our ſelves; and that for no other purpoſe, but merely to comply with the Notions of the abſurd Vulgar, which abound in nothing ſo much as Falſhood and Miſtake, and admire nothing ſo much as Counterfeit and Diſguiſe?

Nor are our Private Sorrows much better: For *Private.* Theſe, whatever they may ſeem, are no more Natural than the former. Did Nature inſpire or dictate them, they wou'd be common to all Mankind; they wou'd affect all Mankind almoſt equally; ſince All partake of the ſame Nature, and differ only in ſome few, ſome ſmall Circumſtances. But here we find very different Reſentments: The ſame Objects, which afflict and grieve ſome, are

Matter of Joy and Satisfaction to others; and what draws Tears and bitter Cries from one Perſon, and one Country, is receiv'd with great Cheerfulneſs by another. What One does, Another diſapproves; and the Friends of Mourners think it their Duty to exhort, to comfort, to chide them, to beg that they wou'd recollect themſelves, call in *Reaſon* and *Religion* to their Aſſiſtance, be Men again, and dry up their Tears. Obſerve the greateſt part of Them who take pains to afflict themſelves; hear what they ſay when you have given them this good Counſel; They will make no difficulty to acknowledge, that it is a Folly and a Weakneſs, to be guilty of exceſſive Paſſions; they will commend and call thoſe happy, who can ſtand the Shock of Adverſity, and have ſo much Government of Temper, and ſuch Preſence of Mind, as to meet an Affliction bravely, and bear it ſteadily, and ſet a gallant and Maſculine Spirit in array againſt it. Thus they *excuſe*, but they dare not *juſtifie* their own Concern; They ſay, they cannot help it, and by that Apology, lament, if not condemn themſelves; for this implies they Wiſh, and think it were better, if they cou'd overcome their Grief. And, in truth, the thing is very plain in theſe private Mournings too, that Men do not ſo much ſute their Sorrows to their Sufferings, as to the receiv'd Notions of thoſe, among whom they dwell and converſe. And if we take a cloſe and nicer View, this will diſcover to us, that *Opinion* is at the bottom of all our immoderate Melancholy; That our Torment and Vexation proceeds from the falſe Repreſentations of Things; and that we grieve, either ſooner than we ought, by Anticipation, and Fear, and ſollicitous Apprehenſions of what will come hereafter; Which, like ſo many falſe Perſpectives, ſet the Object nearer our Sight, or elſe magnifie the Bulk

Bulk of it to our Eye, and ſo make us grieve more than we ought, upon a Suppoſal of the Calamity being much greater, than really it is.

But ſtill all This is contrary to Nature: For *Grief* defarms and defoces all thoſe Excellencies, which are moſt Beautiful and Lovely in us. Theſe all are blunted and melted down by this corroding Paſſion, like the Luſtre of a Pearl, diſſolv'd in Vineger. And really we are then a miſerable Sight, our Head hanging down, our Eyes fixed upon the Ground, our Tongue Speechleſs, our Limbs ſtiff and Motionleſs, our Looks Wild and Confuſed, our Ears Deaf and Inſenſible, our Minds void of all Attention and compoſed Thought. How diſtant is this from the Beauty, the Dignity, the Majeſty of our Original Form and Temper? Are theſe *Men*? You may better call them *walking Statues*, which only ſweat forth Moiſture at their Eyes; like *Niobe*, whom the Poets, to repreſent the Miſeries of Exceſſive Grief, have feigned to be tranſformed into a weeping Marble. 3. *Unnatural.*

But it were well, if this Paſſion, being Unnatural, were the worſt of it; I have a yet much more heinous Accuſation to charge it with; For it flies in the Face of God himſelf, and Arraigns his Juſtice, and Wiſdom, and Providence. What better Conſtruction can any Man in Reaſon put upon our Raſh Complaints, and Outragious Paſſions, than a Mind diſcontented with the Great Governour of the Univerſe, and his Diſpoſals of Us, and our Affairs? To murmur and repine at what is done by Him, is to find Fault with him who does it; and in an oblique, and little more reſpectful Way, to charge him with Folly or Hard-dealing. The Law and Condition, which he hath fixed to himſelf for the Government of the World, is, that all things in theſe Sublunary Regions ſhall be Changeable and Inconſtant, ever in Motion, and 4. *Impious and Unjuſt.*

ſubject to Decays and Death. If then we know this to be their Condition, why do we afflict our ſelves for that, which is the common Fate of all here below; for that which could not be New, and ſhould not be a Surpriſe to us; what if we did not, yet we might, and ought to have expected? And if we did not know this, the trueſt and only reaſonable Matter for grieving, is our own moſt wretched Ignorance, Of a Truth, ſo Evident, ſo Uſeful, ſo Neceſſary to be known; a Truth, that Nature hath Graven every where, in Characters ſo Large and Legible, that it is impoſſible for us to go abroad and not meet it, or to turn our Eyes any way at home, and not read it. Others, our Selves, and Every Thing carry this Inſcription. Alas! we miſtake our Poſt, and Quality. Man's Buſineſs here is not to give Laws, but to receive and ſubmit to them. The Adminiſtration of Affairs, is lodged in higher and better Hands. The Order of the Univerſe is eſtabliſhed; and We, who are but a very ſmall Part of this vaſt Body, muſt follow the Motions of the Whole, and take contentedly what falls to our Share. To fret and vex our ſelves, is to be concern'd, that Eternal Ordinances, are not reverſed and diſſetled for our Sakes; that We are not made an Exception to all Created Nature; which, beſides the Intolerable Arrogance, and Impiety it is guilty of againſt God, is no leſs inſupportable Folly with Reſpect to our ſelves; for it mends not the Matter one whit, but adds Weight to what Providence hath laid upon us already, and makes all our Sufferings double.

5. *Deſtructive.* For we muſt add too, that it is exceeding *deſtructive*, and of extreme ill Conſequence to Men; The Danger whereof is but the more increaſed, by its hurting us, under a Pretence of doing us Good. It flatters with falſe Hopes, and a fair ſhew

ſhew of Relief; but in Reality aggravates the Misfortune; and while it profeſſes to draw the Weapon out of our Side, makes the Wound wider and deeper, and thruſts a Dagger into our Hearts. Beſides, theſe Thruſts are infinitely the more Difficult to defend our ſelves againſt; becauſe it is a Domeſtick Enemy that gives them; One that we cannot run away from, One that is fed and cheriſhed within our own Boſoms, and which we our ſelves have bred up and given Birth to, merely to be a Vexation and a Puniſhment to us

6. *Outwardly.*

The Effects, indeed, of *Grief*, are Univerſally Miſchievous; they ſpread themſelves quite over the whole Man; and while they infect, do very much impair every Part of him. As to the external Appearance: It Diſhonours, and is a Reproach to the Man, by that Deformity, and Change of Countenance, brought upon him by this Means. Do but obſerve, when once *Grief* enters, how it fills Men with Shame and Confuſion, ſo that they dare no more ſhew themſelves in Publick, nay, ſo as to ſhun the Sight and Converſation even of their moſt intimate Friends, and particular Acquaintance. When once we are under the Dominion of this Paſſion, the Light it ſelf is offenſive, and our Great Care is, to ſeek out ſome dark Corner, ſome cloſe Retreat, to crouch, and hide our ſelves in, far from the Eyes and Obſervation of every Body. Now what can be the Meaning of all This, but a plain unnatural Confeſſion of its own Indecency, and how much Men ought to be aſham'd of what they do at that time? Is not this evidently to condemn it ſelf? and would you not be apt to think, This was ſome Woman caught in Adultery, that runs away, and hides her Face, and takes ſuch Pains not to be ſeen or known?

Next to the Perſon; obſerve the *Habit*, what ſtrange, uncouth, effeminate Things, the Mourning Weeds are, as if our very Clothes were intended to publiſh to the World, that Grief utterly deſtroys, and takes away all that is Manly and Brave about us; and in its Room, gives us all the Softneſſes, and Infirmities of Women. Accordingly the *Thracians* always dreſt Men, when they were in Mourning, in direct Womens Habit; and a certain Author obſerves, that Grief enervates Men, and waſts their Strength. The old *Roman* Laws, which were the moſt Noble and Maſculine (like the Spirits of thoſe that made and lived under them) ſtrictly prohibited all ſuch Effeminate Lamentations, and long indulged Sorrow. They thought very truly, that it was a horrible Abſurdity for Men to act in Contradiction to Nature and Reaſon, and thus Unman themſelves. And all the Allowance they were content to make, was only for the Firſt Guſh of Paſſion, while it was freſh, and tender, or ſurpriſing; For there are Tears, that may be permitted to fall from the Eyes of Philoſophers themſelves. A Man may keep up the *Dignity* of his Nature, and yet not abandon the *Humanity* of it: This we are bound to preſerve, as well as not to debaſe the other; and therefore all, that thoſe *Roman* Laws, and theſe Reflections aim at, is, ſo to Temper and get the Maſtery over our Paſſion, that while the Tears fall from our Eyes, Virtue and Wiſdom may not fall from our Hearts, at the ſame time.

7. *Inwardly.* But the outward Fadings of the Beauty, disfiguring the whole Man, and changing his Mein and Air, and Behaviour, ſo infinitely to Diſadvantage; no, nor yet that corroding Venom, which eats into our very Joints, and Marrow, and as the Wiſe Man expreſſes it, *drieth up the Bones*; theſe miſerable Effects, I ſay, upon the Body, are not All;

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It goes deeper yet; decays the Soul, breaks all its Reſt, confounds and diſturbs its Operations, diſables and draws off the Man from any Virtuous or Honourable Deſigns; palls, and flats his Reliſh of Goodneſs, extinguiſhes the Deſire of Reputation, and takes away the Diſpoſition of doing Worthily, either for himſelf, or for any body elſe: Nay, it does not only unqualify him for the doing, but for the receiving Good from any other Hand. For even the moſt Proſperous Occurrences, are grown inſipid, or unpleaſant to him; and every Thing turns Sour upon his Mind, as all kinds of Meat do upon diſtempered Stomachs. In ſhort, Grief embitters a Man's whole Life, and poyſons all his Actions.

8. *Diſtinguiſhed.*

It may be conſidered with reſpect to the Degrees of it; and a Difference ought to be made between the Greatneſs, and the Extremity of it; as there ſhould alſo, between That, which runs into Exceſs, and grows ungovernable altogether from it ſelf; and That which is puſhed on, and aggravated by the Suddenneſs of an Accident. In ſuch a Caſe, Surpriſe and Conſternation alarms, ſeiſes, tranſports the Man; takes away all Motion and Senſe, ſtupifies and turns him into a Stone, like that wretched Mother *Niobe*,

* *Her curdled Blood, ran backward at the Sight,*
And pale numb'd Limbs, a ſhivering Horror took;
She ſtiffens into Statue with the Fright,
At laſt her faltering Tongue, long Silence broke.

And in theſe Caſes, great Allowance is to be made for Natural Affection; upon which account that Painter is admitted to have underſtood his Buſi-

* Diriguit viſu in medio, calor oſſa reliquit,
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.

neſs well, who when he was to draw *Iphigenia* going to be Sacrificed, repreſented the ſeveral Poſtures and Countenances of her Mourning Friends, and more diſtant Relations, with great Curioſity, and Artifice; but when he came at laſt to her Father, he caſt a Veil over His Face. Thus wiſely covering that Sorrow, which no Pencil could ſufficiently expreſs. But *Grief*, as it often exceeds the Power of Art and Repreſentation in the Copy, ſo ſometimes it is too ſtrong for the Original; too grievous to be born, and kills the Man outright. This finds no Vent; But that which is Moderate, or indeed, that which is very Great, wears off by Tract of Time, by Diverſion, and Buſineſs, and other Avocations of the Mind; And that which helps This forward, is, that it expreſſes and eaſes it ſelf, by Tears, and Sobs, and Sighs, and ſad Complaints; all which are ſome Mitigation to the ſuffering Party, and much more Comfortable than Inſenſibility and Silence.

* *Slight Sorrows find a Vent, and Words command;*
The Fierce boil inward, Dumb, and Stupid, ſtand.

Directions, *and* Helps, *againſt this* Evil, *are given* Book III. Chap. 29.

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* Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.

CHAP. XXXII.

Compaſſion.

WE mingle Sighs and Tears with thoſe that are in Affliction; we feel, in ſome Degree, their Misfortunes, and take Part in their Pains. Whether it be, from ſome ſecret Sympathies in Nature, whereby the Sentiments of one Man are conveyed to, and produce the like in another; or whether it be from ſad Preſages, by which we are apt to fear, that, whatever our Neighbours ſuffer now, may happen to be our own Caſe another Day.

Now, This (ſo far as it is Vicious) is the Paſſion of a Weak Mind; A Fooliſh Pity, that proceeds from too much Tenderneſs, and from an Indiſpoſition in the Soul, whereby it is apt to be vehemently diſordered, and fall into great Troubles upon ſlight Occaſions. Hence Women and Children are moſt affected with it; and ſo are the Cruel and Spightful too (who, as was ſaid before, are always Cowardly and fearful:) For theſe, tho' they know nothing of that Noble and Generous Compaſſion, which is a Virtue; yet of this Vicious One, they have their Share. Such (for Inſtance) as expreſs mighty Concern for Villains and Malefactors, when they endure the Puniſhment of the Law, and ſmart for their Faults. Now, the Effects of ſuch a Pity are very Unjuſt, and ſo are the Cauſes of it too; for, to ſpare the Guilty, is to injure, and endanger the Innocent; and all that Tenderneſs, proceeds only from ſuperficial Appearances, and want of Thought, which looks

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no farther than juſt the preſent Circumſtances of the Suffering Party, without any Regard at all had to the Merits of the Cauſe, and how Reaſonable it is, that ſuch Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon him.

Concerning This, See more Book III. Chap. 30. *Where you have likewiſe the juſt Diſtinction, between the Virtuous, and Vicious Compaſſion; omitted here, to avoid Repetitions.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Fear.

I. *Deſcription of it.*

FEAR is the Apprehenſion of ſome Evil to come, which ſtands over us, and keeps us perpetually in Awe; it fills us full of Anxious Thought, and very Officiouſly runs before, to give Notice of the Calamities, which Fortune threatens us with.

We are not ſpeaking at preſent, concerning that *Fear of God*, ſo highly recommended in Holy Scripture; ſo exceeding Uſeful and Neceſſary a Check upon Men's Minds, in Order to a Good Life: Nor is this Chapter to be underſtood, as if it related at all to that anxious and tender Concern, which proceeds from Affection and Duty; or ſuch as makes a Part of that Obedience and Reſpect, due from Inferiours, of all Sorts, to their Superiours; But only of that troubleſome, and tormenting Paſſion, which is the Spawn of Sin, and Shame, and a diſordered Mind. For theſe Terrours, entred the World, at the ſame Inſtant with Guilt, and Reproach; and are the wretched Off-Spring, of the Corruption of our Souls, and a ſecret Familiarity with the Devil. It was upon yielding to his wicked Sug-

Suggeſtions, that our General Anceſtor firſt diſcovered theſe miſgiving Horrours upon his Conſcience. *I was afraid, becauſe I was naked, and I hid my ſelf.* Gen. iii. 10.

2. *The Malice and Tyranny of it.*

It is a Paſſion full of Fraud and Malice; and, indeed, can never hurt, or gain Advantage over us, except when we are cheated, and ſeduced by it. It makes uſe of the Time to come, which we can have no manner of Inſight into; ſo throwing us into a Place of Darkneſs; and making the ſame Uſe of Futurity, which Thieves do of the Night; (which is, to compaſs their Deſigns undiſcover'd, and to ſcare and terrify us much more, than the Occaſion requires.) When it hath got us there, it puts on a Thouſand ſeveral Vizors, and repreſents our Misfortunes under the moſt frightful and gaſtly Forms imaginable: Thus we are cheated again, as Children are with Fancies, and Bugbears; and dread thoſe Evils in variety of Shapes, which can have in reality but one Face; Evils which have nothing in their own Nature, capable of doing us any Hurt; and ſuch as would not be Evils to us, if we did not call and believe them ſo. It is nothing elſe, but merely the Apprehenſion we have of things, which renders thoſe Accidents Evils, that in themſelves are no ſuch Matter. And This is ſo Powerful, and ſo Pernicious, that it turns our very Good into Evil, and from our Proſperity takes Occaſion to afflict, and make us Miſerable. How many Wretches, do we ſee every Day; Wretches of their own making? who actually become Unhappy for the very Dread of being ſo, and have improv'd their Empty Fears, into Solid and Subſtantial Miſeries? How many People have loſt their Friends, merely through Diſtruſt, and not daring to make Uſe of them? and how many have made themſelves ſick, with the very Terrors and Apprehenſions of Sickneſs? Here is a jealous

lous Coxcomb, that fancies his Wife hath played him Foul, and teazes himſelf into a Conſumption, 'till he pines and droops into his Grave, with this tormenting Suſpicion. Another anxious Fool is afraid of falling into Poverty, and he racks himſelf into a Diſeaſe; and dies, for Fear of not having enough to live upon. Nay, there are ſeveral, who have been kill'd with the very Fear of Death; and that you may not think this ſo very odd, let me obſerve to you, that ſomething like it happens every Day in moſt, if not in all the Objects of this Paſſion. Our *Fear*, generally ſerving to very little Purpoſe, otherwiſe than the drawing down upon our Heads, the very thing we Pretend to run away from. Undoubtedly no Calamity whatſoever, is near ſo great, or grievous to be born, as the Fear of it. For Other Evils can hurt us only while they have a Real Exiſtence, and are actually upon us; when the *Cauſe* is removed, the *Effect* and the Pain immediately ceaſe. But *Fear* is not ſo confin'd; It extends to Things that have no Being, as well as to ſuch as have; nay, to things which neither are, nor perhaps ever will be; and, that we may be aſſur'd, there is no End of its Extravagances, it fixes ſometimes upon things which we may be very confident never can be. So very ingenious is this Paſſion to torment us, ſo malicious and ſpightful, ſo mercileſs a Tyrant; It extracts real and cutting Pains out of Shadows; and refines upon Imaginary Evils, till it conſolidates, and makes them weighty ones: And for thoſe which miniſter ſome Ground for Fear, it is wonderful buſie, and troubleſomely officious; it takes Poſt, and brings us News, which it were better not to hear; for it creates imaginary, and anticipates all our actual Sufferings, by Opinion and Expectation.

Fear

Fear does not only fill us with dreadful Impreſſions, and oftentimes diſturb our Repoſe with falſe Alarms; but, which is worſe, it taints and deſtroys all our Happineſs, breaks in upon our Quiet, and checks all our Delights. No Man can be eaſie, or take pleaſure in the Enjoyment of a Bleſſing, which he is in perpetual fear of Loſing. Life it ſelf cannot be a Satisfaction to a Man that lives in dread of Dying: And One of the Ancients hath obſerv'd very truly, That no Advantage can miniſter true Joy to us, which we have not ſuch a Maſtery of, as to be prepared to part with it, whenever Providence ſhall demand it back again. 3.

It is wonderful to obſerve the Folly and Imprudence of this Paſſion; for indeed it excels all others in Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion. It ariſes ſometimes from want of Courage, it is provoked by a Proſpect of Dangers; and yet it frequently doubles our Difficulties, and expoſes us to greater Dangers: For it makes us eager and impatient to deliver our ſelves from them; and thus it caſts us into Confuſions and Amazements, perplexes our Judgment, blinds our Underſtanding, and hinders us from diſcerning and taking the proper Methods of getting out of the Labyrinths we are in. It diſtracts us with Terrours, and drives the Mind back again into it ſelf, where the Violence of its Paſſion interrupts the Debates, and overlooks thoſe very Opportunities of eſcaping, that offer themſelves. Add to this, the great Dejection and Diſcouragements, which will not let us dare to do what we ought, for our Safety; we loſe our Reaſon, and the Reſolution to uſe it; we flee when no Man purſues, ſtart and tremble at our own Shadow; nay, flee from that which is our beſt and only Sanctuary, run away from our Friends, and 4.

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apprehend Deſtruction from them which advance to our Relief. * *Our very Succours ſtrike new Terrour into us.* Some have been tranſported with this Paſſion, even to the degree of perfect Stupidity; the Senſes are put beſides themſelves, and loſe the power of diſcharging their Duty; our Eyes are broad open, and yet we ſee not; Men diſcourſe to us, and we hear not a Word they ſay; we attempt to run, and make our Eſcape, but ſtand fixt like Statues, and cannot move a Step.

5. This Paſſion, when moderate, adds Wings to our Feet; but when extreme, and in exceſs, it nails and faſtens us down, or entangles and confounds us in our Flight. Thus *Fear* ſupplants our Natural Powers, depraves and diſables the whole Man, enfeebles Body and Mind, baffles our wiſeſt Deſigns, and baniſhes Thought.

‖ *Amazement bore up my erected Hair;*
Nor cou'd my ſtammering Tongue expreſs my Fear.

Sometimes it makes Men deſperate; and ſo, that the giving all for loſt is for their great Advantage; for it inſpires them with Reſolutions of ſelling their Lives as dear as they can, and puts them upon doing Wonders. An Inſtance whereof we have in that *Roman* Legion commanded by *Sempronius*, in their Engagement againſt *Hannibal*.

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* Adeo etiam auxilia pavor formidat.
‖ Obſtupui, ſteteruntq; comæ, vox faucibus hæſit.

† *Deſpair*

† *Deſpair and Rage broke thro' th' extreme Diſtreſs;*
Cou'd they have hop'd, their Safety had been leſs.

There are alſo ſome Fears and Terrours, with which Men have been ſtrangely poſſeſſed without any viſible ground; as if they were Thunder-ſtruck from above; or God by a particular Providence had determin'd to infatuate and diſpirit them, in order to their Deſtruction. Theſe ſudden Amazements are what we commonly call *Panick Fears*; and we read, that the City of *Carthage* was once thus ſeiz'd with Confuſion; for ſuch are not always confin'd to ſingle Perſons, or ſmall Numbers; but whole Nations and vaſt Armies have been univerſally ſeiz'd, and unaccountably ſtruck with them. And our Bleſſed Saviour inſtances in This, as one of the Judgments ſent from Heaven upon the wicked *Jews*. *Men's Hearts failing them for Fear.* Luke xxi.

Particular Directions *and* Remedies *againſt this* Paſſion, *will be given in* Book III. Chap. 28.

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† Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem. *Virg. En.* 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Second Way of conſidering Man; which is, by ſtating the Compariſon between Him, and other Animals.

1. *A uſeful but difficult Compariſon, ſuch as Man is partial in.*

HItherto we have conſider'd *Man* entire, and with regard to *Himſelf* alone: The next Step, by which we propoſe to advance in the Knowledge of him, is by ſtating a Compariſon between Him and other Animals; and This is a very excellent help toward making a right Judgment in the Caſe. Now this Compariſon is of large extent; it conſiſts of many Branches, requires great Skill, and wou'd prove of mighty Benefit and Conſequence, if well and truly made: But the Queſtion is, Who muſt make it? Shall Man? He is a Party in the Cauſe, and liable to very juſt Exception; for it is much to be fear'd, when the *Iſſue* is his own Concern, the *Verdict* will not be honeſt. And accordingly we ſee, how partial and unfair he is in all he ſays of Himſelf; for he knows no Mean, he proceeds with no Moderation, but is eternally in Extremes. Sometimes he is big, and pleas'd with Himſelf; looks down upon the lower World with Diſdain; and calls himſelf the *Lord of all the Creatures*; divides their Morſels among them, and cuts out for each Species, ſuch a Proportion of Faculties, and natural Power, as His Lordſhip, vouchſafes to allow them: At Other times, inſtead of all this Gayety and Pride, you find him full of black Diſcontent, and then he debaſes himſelf as much, murmurs and frets, grumbles

bles and complains, gives Providence hard Words, and calls Nature a cruel Step-mother, that hath made him the Refuse of the World, the most wretched of all her Productions; and dealt to Him the least and lowest Portion of all her Children. Now in truth, both the One and the Other of these Opinions are equally false, unreasonable, and extravagant. But what can we expect better from him? or how is it to be thought, he shou'd carry himself evenly and fairly, and act justly with other Creatures, when he is, as we shall shortly see, so infinitely out of all measure, in his Notions towards God, his Superiour; and Man, who is his Equal? But, besides this Byas upon his *Judgment*, there is another Difficulty upon his *Understanding*: For which way shall he get a competent Knowledge of the inward Powers, and unseen Motions of other Animals? So that if he were inclin'd to be Just, and to hear the Evidence impartially, yet he must needs be an improper Judge, to whom the most material part upon which the Sentence ought to be grounded, cannot be given in Evidence. And such are those inward Operations of Brutes, which we can have no certain or competent perception of. However, we will try at present to state this Comparison, as evenly, and calmly, as we can possibly.

Now first, we are to consider, that the Order and Constitution of the Universe is not vastly unequal; There are no great Irregularities, nor large void Spaces in it; nor such Unlikeness and wide Disproportion between the several Parts that go into this Composition, as some People may imagine. The Excellencies of the several Species rise and fall gradually; And those, whom Nature hath placed near, or close to one another, have all of them a mutual Resemblance; tho' 2.

ſome have more, and ſome have leſs of it. And thus we may obſerve a near Neighbourhood, and cloſe Affinity between Mankind and other Animals. They are a-kin in many things, and ſeveral Properties are alike, and common to both. Several things indeed there are, wherein they differ; but theſe are not ſo vaſtly diſproportionate and diſtant, but that they ſtill are next adjoyning Links, twiſted within one another, in the great Chain of the Univerſe. So that Man is neither in all reſpects ſuperiour, nor inferiour in all. *For that which befalleth the Sons of Men, befalleth Beaſts; even one thing befalleth them both*; ſays the *Wiſdom* of God himſelf. (*Eccleſ.* iii. 19.)

3. We will begin with thoſe things which are common to both, and very near the Matter of being alike in both; ſuch as, *Generation, Nutrition, Motion, Action, Life* and *Death*. For (ſays the ſame Divine *Wiſdom*) *As the one dieth, ſo doth the other*; *ſo that a Man* (in this reſpect) *hath no Pre-eminence above a Beaſt*. And This is a Confutation of thoſe fooliſh repining People, and all their melancholy Complaints, that repreſent Man, as the only Creature, whom Nature hath diſcountenanc'd and diſgrac'd, abandon'd and forſaken; turn'd naked into the wide World, and caſt upon the bare Ground; without any Covering, without any Natural Weapons to ſhelter or defend him; bound up, and ſwaddel'd; and utterly ignorant and unfurniſh'd of what is fit for him: Whereas to all Others ſhe hath been much more bountiful; Clothed them with Shells, or Hair, or Wool, or Shag, or Feathers, or Scales; Armed them with Tusks, or Horns, with Bills, or Claws, or Talons, to act offenſively or defenſively, as occaſion requires; qualify'd them, without any help of Art or Induſtry, for Swimming, Running, Flying, Singing, Looking out for Food, and Suſtaining themſelves. But *Man*, poor neglected

neglected Man, (they tell you) is Taught to Go, Taught to Speak; nay, requires Help and Teaching for the very Feeding and Supporting himſelf, and attains to nothing without Time and Trouble, and ſerving an Apprenticeſhip. In ſhort; He is perfect in no other Inſtance of Nature's teaching, except that of Crying: This is all we bring into the World along with us; and a very fit Emblem it is of our Fortune and Condition. Now all theſe melancholy Complaints, which make diſadvantageous Reflections upon the Original Compoſition of Mankind, and that which is truly the State of Nature; are altogether unjuſt and falſe. For firſt, Our Skin is ſufficiently fortify'd againſt all the Injuries of Weather; and ſo *Nakedneſs* is no Argument of our being leſs Nature's Care, than any other Creature. Several Nations, (as I have obſerv'd heretofore) never yet ſo much as knew what Clothes are; and even We that do, can go bare in any Parts, even the tendereſt and moſt ſenſible; when Inclination, or Cuſtom, or ſome particular Faſhion, diſpoſe us to it. For where of all our Body is the Senſe quicker, than in the Face, the Hands, the Stomach? And yet what Lady, even the niceſt and tendereſt of her Sex, ſcruples to expoſe her Neck and Breaſts, (when the Mode requires that Dreſs) even in the Extremity of Winter? Swathes and Rollers may be convenient, but tis plain they are not neceſſary in Children; for the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore made no uſe of them; nor do the *Swiſſes* and *Germans* that dwell in cold Countries; nor *Biſcans*, nor thoſe Vagabonds and Common Cheats, that go by the Name of *Gypſies*, uſe them at this Day. *Weeping* is by no means peculiar to Mankind; Beaſts have likewiſe their Share in it: Some of them ſhed Tears; and much the greateſt part of them Cry, and Complain, and Bemoan

1. *Nakedneſs.* Chap. XIV

2. *Swadling Clothes.*

3. *Weeping.*

themſelves continually, for ſome time after their
4. *Weapons.* coming into the World. As for *Weapons*, Nature hath not been wanting in her Proviſion for Us too; and ſhe hath given us beſides, greater Opportunities of uſing them; For the Muſcles and Motions of our Limbs are more in Number, and of a more uſeful Variety; and Theſe too we are capable of receiving greater Service from, without any Inſtruction at all, than any other Animal whatſoever: Or if ſome few are better provided in this reſpect, we have the Advantage of many others. Nor do we need any Teaching in
5. *Eating.* point of *Eating*; We and They are equally fitted, equally dextrous and ready at it by Nature: Who makes any Queſtion, but a Child wou'd look out ſharp for Meat, aſſoon as he is ſtrong enough to feed himſelf? And Meat the Earth produces for our purpoſe; there wants neither Quantity, nor Variety, to ſupply our Neceſſities, whether we improve it by Art and Labour, or not: Of which ſeveral Nations are a Proof, who live in great Plenty, without contributing any Tillage, or Care, or Induſtry of their own,
6. *Speech.* toward their Subſiſtence. As for *Speaking*, allowing That to be the effect of Art, and not of Nature; yet it is certain too, that if it be not Natural, it is not neceſſary neither. But yet This may be reckon'd among thoſe things that are given in common to Men and Beaſts both: For what other Name but *Speaking* can we give to that Faculty of expreſſing themſelves, which we ſee they have upon all occaſions; thoſe Significations of Pain, and Grief, and Joy; the Methods of Summoning one another together, and asking mutual Succours; their Arts of Courtſhip and Flattery, and making Love? And as We ſometimes ſpeak by ſome particular Geſtures, the Motions of our Eyes, or Head, or Hands, or Shoulders; (Arts in

in which Dumb People are exquiſitely perfect, and practiſe even to Aſtoniſhment) ſo do Beaſts likewiſe converſe with one another; And even Thoſe of them that have no Voice at all, maintain an intercourſe of Good Offices, and ask and return them, as occaſion ſerves. As Beaſts underſtand Us in ſome degree, ſo do We in part underſtand Them: They flatter and ſooth us; they threaten and give us warning; they call, intreat, and expreſs their want of our Help: We ſpeak to Them, and They to Us after Their manner; and if we underſtand but imperfectly, whoſe fault is it? Theirs or Ours? This is what none of us can certainly tell, and ſomewhat may be ſaid for either Side. They, for ought we know, may think as meanly of Us upon this Account, as We commonly do of them. * But in This however they are a Reproach to us, that in the preſent Condition of Humane Nature, we do not underſtand one another. Our almoſt next Neighbours, remoter Provinces in the very ſame Country, have Dialects ſo different, that they do not comprehend each other at all; Whereas They are all perfectly well acquainted with the Idioms, Note.

Note. * "*Here we have juſt Occaſion to make a Diſtinction which I* "*ſhall ſhew to be neceſſary*, Chap. XXXVII. *between Defects* "*Natural and Accidental: For of the Latter ſort is That of Men's* "*being unintelligible to each other; This Confuſion of Languages* "*having been no part of our Original Condition: For we have* "*infallible Aſſurance, that the whole Earth was once of* "*one Speech. So that what was inflicted as a Puniſhment* "*for a Crime, (as This is expreſly affirmed to be,* Gen. XI.) "*cannot in any fair Reaſoning, make a Branch of the Com-* "*pariſon, between the Nature of Man, and That of Brutes.* "*Nor indeed even in this Condition, (thus debaſed and pu-* "*niſhed as we ſtand) will the exquiſite Eaſineſs of expreſſing* "*Our Thoughts, and the wonderful Powers of Humane Voice,* "*endure to be compared with the wild and inarticulate Sounds* "*of any Brutes whatſoever, tho' moſt excellent in their kind.* See Chapter of Weakneſs.

not only of their own Kind all the World over; but (which is a great deal more) with thoſe of Kinds different from their own. The Horſe knows how to diſtinguiſh the Barkings of a Dog; That One ſort of Tone imports Miſchief, and Danger, and a malicious Deſign; and that Another is innocent, and ſafe, and intends him no hurt at all. Nay, I add, that they do not only maintain a Correſpondence among Themſelves, but with Us alſo. In Wars and Engagements, Elephants, Dogs, Horſes, underſtand, as well as We: They conform all their Motions to the Word of Command; They Run, or they Stand ſtill; they March, or they Halt; they Purſue, or they Flee; they Charge, or they Retreat, as we wou'd have them; They receive Pay and Subſiſtence; they have a part in the Victory, and a Share in the Booty; as we ſee particularly they had in the late Conqueſts of the *Indies*. And thus much may ſuffice to be obſerv'd concerning thoſe things which Nature hath diſtributed both to Men and Beaſts in common; and that with ſo even a Hand, that there is no Great Diſparity on either ſide.

7. Mutual Correſpondence.

4. *Differences and Advantages.* The Particulars, wherein theſe two differ, and have the Advantage of one another, come next under our Obſervation. Now Some there are, in which Man does manifeſtly excel, and no Animals whatſoever can pretend to equal, or to be like them; and Others again there are, in which Beaſts have the upper hand of Us. The Divine Wiſdom ſo ordering the Matter, that the ſeveral Parts of the Creation ſhou'd be ſo nicely interwoven, ſo cloſely connected, that Each ſhould have ſome Pre-eminence peculiar to it ſelf; and from All together, ſhou'd reſult the perfect Harmony, and uninterrupted Order, of One moſt compact and beautiful Whole. The plain and indiſputable Privileges of Man, are the noble Faculties of his Soul;

On Man's ſide.

Soul; The Penetration, Sprightlineſs, and Comprehenſion of his Mind, exerted in the Fruitfulneſs of his Invention; the Subtilty and Solidity of his Judgment; the Deliberate Determination of his Choice; Speech to communicate his Thoughts freely, to make known his Wants, to ask and to offer Aſſiſtance; The Hand, a ready Inſtrument to execute whatever his own Invention ſhall ſuggeſt, or the Inſtructions of others ſhall dictate, or their Performances preſcribe for his Imitation; The Majeſtick Form of his Body; the great Variety of Movements he is qualify'd for; from whence it comes to paſs, that his Body, and the ſeveral Parts of it, are much more ſerviceable to Him, than thoſe of any Creatures elſe can be to Them.

5. *Advantages of Beaſts. General.*

But ſtill Beaſts have Their Advantages too, as evident and unqueſtionable as Ours; and of Thoſe ſome are General, and others Particular: The General are theſe; Health, which in Them is much more confirm'd, and leſs interrupted, than it ever is in Men; their Conſtitutions more robuſt; their Natural Defects and Imperfections very rarely to be obſerv'd. Whereas Men are weak and tender, eaſily diſeaſed; Blind, and Lame, and Deaf oftentimes from the Birth. The Open Air never does Them injury; They are ſubject to no Rheums, or dangerous Colds, with which moſt of our acuteſt Diſtempers begin, and many of them have no other Cauſe: Moderation in their Deſires and Actions, which are bounded by Convenience, Innocence, and Security; perfect Eaſe and Tranquillity; for this muſt needs attend a Life void of all Fear and Guilt; Full Liberty and Confidence in Matters that are Natural and Lawful, without any Reſtraints of Shame, or Fear of Diſcovery; A total Exemption from infinite Vices and Exorbitances; no Superſtition to enſlave them; no

Ambition, or Avarice, or Envy, to diſturb, to torment them; no uneaſie Fancies, and affrighting Dreams to afflict and confound them: Theſe are the Portion of all Animals in common.

Particular. Of Thoſe that are Particular to ſome ſorts only,

I. we may reckon the pure, clear, wholſome, lofty, delightful Dwelling, which the Birds enjoy, by having the Regions of the Air aſſign'd them.

II. The wonderful Perfection they attain to in ſome Arts: For what Art or Labour, even of the moſt celebrated and accompliſh'd Maſters, cou'd ever pretend to compare with the *Swallows*, and ſome other Birds, in Building; or with the *Spider* in Spinning and Weaving; or with the *Nightingale* in Muſick; or with ſome other Creatures in

III. Knowledge of Plants and Phyſick? Some aſtoniſhing Effects, and peculiar Properties, that are inimitable, unaccountable, nay incredible: Such as That of the Fiſh call'd *Remora*, becauſe, tho' ſmall it ſelf in Compariſon, yet it ſtops the largeſt Ships in their Courſe: Inſtances of which Hiſtory gives us, in the Veſſel that rode Admiral of *Mark Anthony*'s and *Caligula*'s Fleet: That of the *Cramp-Fiſh*, which benumbs People's Limbs at ſome diſtance, and tho' they never touch him: That of the *Hedg-Hog*, which hath a Fore-knowledge of the Winds: And That of the *Cameleon* and *Polypus*, in changing Colours, and taking a freſh Tincture, according to the Things they reſt upon.

IV. Their ſtrange Prognoſtications; of Birds, for Inſtance, in their leaving one Country, and going into another, according as the Weather, and Seaſons of the Year change: That of all Beaſts that are Dams, in knowing which of all their Young will prove the beſt; for when they are driven to Straits, and put upon preſerving them from Danger, they conſtantly ſave the Beſt firſt. In all theſe Reſpects Man is much inferiour to Beaſts;

and

and in ſome he is ſo far from being Equal, or near, that he is in no Degree like them. To all which might be added, That other Advantage, which conſiſts in the Length of their Lives; The Term of ſome Animals, in the ordinary Courſe of Nature, extending to a Number of Years, Seven or Eight Times as much as that of Man.

6. *Advantages that may be diſputed.*

The Advantages, which Man lays claim to above Brutes, but which will admit of ſome Diſpute, and perhaps, upon a ſtricter Examination, would tempt an Impartial Judge, to give it on the other ſide, are ſeveral. First, The *Reaſonable* and *Intellectual Faculties* of his Mind; the Power of comparing, conſidering, arguing, collecting; Learning, and Improvement; Judgment and Conduct. Now Two Objections may be offered in Bar to this Claim; the One Relating to the Thing it ſelf; the Other to the real Worth, and Benefits of it. First, It is not out of all Diſpute, whether the Matter of Fact, ſet forth in this Claim, be True; that is, whether Men have theſe Excellencies peculiar to themſelves. It hath ever been, and ever will be, a Point in Controverſy, whether Brutes have none of theſe Spiritual Powers; and that Opinion, which holds the Affirmative, and maintains they have, is ſupported with greateſt Authorities, and ſeems to carry a greater Appearance of Truth. The moſt Celebrated and Learned Philoſophers have declared for it; No leſs than *Ariſtotle*, and *Galen*, and *Porphyry*, and *Plutarch*, *Democritus* and *Anaxagoras*. The Reaſon, upon which they ground that Aſſertion, is this; That, the *Brain* is the Particular Organ, the part of the Body, employed by the Soul, in the Acts of Ratiocination; and that The Compoſition of the Brain, is exactly the ſame in Brutes, as it is in Men; and from hence they conclude, that the Inſtrument of Reaſon, is as apt and capable in one of theſe Creatures, as it is in the other. The Difficulty

I. *Reaſoning. Qu. Whether Brutes partake of it.*

ficulty then will be, whether the Souls be equally Capable, of uſing this Inſtrument to ſuch Purpoſes; and for This, they offer Experience; That Brutes conclude *Univerſals* from *Singulars*; as, from the Sight and Form of One Man, to know the ſame Humane Form in All Men; That they are able to compound, and to divide Idea's, by aſſenting and refuſing; and that they exerciſe a Power of Choice, and make very Subtile Diſtinctions between *Good* and *Evil*, in ſuch Caſes as concern the Life, the Liberty, and Preſervation of Themſelves, and their Young. Nay, they pretend, that any Man, who obſerves with Attention, may read and diſcover ſeveral Strokes and Foot-ſteps of *Reaſon*, more Bold, more Judicious, more Nice, more Ingenious and Cunning, than the common Sort of Men are uſed to give us Proof of. Some of the moſt memorable Actions, from whence this Concluſion hath been made, I will briefly recite. The *Fox* deſigning to paſs over a River, when it is frozen, lays his Ear cloſe to the Ice, to hearken if there be any Noiſe, and whether the Water run underneath; that from thence he may form a Judgment, whether it be Safe to proceed, or Neceſſary to retire. And this Expedient the *Thracians* are ſaid to make uſe of, when they have any Frozen Rivers to paſs. The Hound, in Doubt which Way his Maſter, or the Game he is in chaſe of, went, at a Place where Three Paths meet, takes this Courſe of making out his Loſs; He ſcents the ſeveral Paths, one after another, and when he finds that in Two of theſe Ways, no Scent hath lain; he never troubles himſelf to lay his Noſe to the Third; but ſprings forward, and takes That without farther Enquiry. *Thales* the Philoſopher's Mule, when heavy loaden with a Sack of Salt, and being to go over a Brook, ſtoop'd down to diſſolve his Salt, and ſo make his Burthen lighter; becauſe he

he had found once before, that the Salt was lighter, when it fell into the Water by chance: But when loaden with Wooll, he did the direct contrary, and ſtrove to keep it dry; becauſe the like Experiment had taught him, that Wooll grows heavier by being wetted. *Plutarch* ſays, That once on board a Ship, he ſaw a Dog caſting Stones into a Great Jar, that ſo he might make the Oyl in it riſe higher; which before was too low, and out of his reach: And the like is reported of the Crows in *Barbary*, when the Water is too low for them, to drink at. Thus *Elephants*, when one of them is ſet faſt in a Bog, are ſaid to bring great Stones, and pieces of Timber, to help their Fellows out. The *Oxen* in the King's Gardens at *Suza*, which have been long practiſed to turn a Wheel a Hundred Times Round, (the Depth of the Well requiring juſt ſo much, from whence Water is drawn, for the Uſe of the Gardens) cannot be made to exceed that Number of Rounds; and when left to themſelves, never come One turn Short. Now what Way are all theſe things poſſible to be done, without Reaſoning and Diſcourſe; Compoſition and Diviſion, which are the Operations proper to a Rational Soul? Muſt not a Man be thought to want Reaſon himſelf, who thinks it hath nothing to do in ſuch Actions? So again. The Marvellous dexterity of drawing Darts and Spears out of wounded Bodies, with very little Pain to the Patient, for which Elephants are Famous. The Dog mentioned by *Plutarch*, that at a Publick Entertainment, lay upon a Scaffold, and countefeited himſelf dead; fainting away by degrees, breathing ſhort, trembling, ſtretching himſelf out, and letting them drag him about as quite dead; then by Degrees coming to himſelf again, lifting up his Head, as if he had juſt been brought to Life; and in a Word, the many Strange, Apiſh Tricks that

that Jugglers and Strowlers teach their Dogs, and Dancing-Horſes. The many Doubles, and cunning Contrivances, that Beaſts of ſeveral kinds have, to ſecure themſelves from the Attempts we make upon them; The great Forecaſt, and wiſe Management of the *Ants*, in drawing out their Grains of Corn to ſweeten in the Air, and dry by the Sun, which would otherwiſe corrupt, and grow Muſty: The nibbling off the End of every Grain, which would elſe be grown, and run to Seed: The Order of the *Bees*, in their Republick; the Method of their Combs; the vaſt variety of Offices and Duties appropriated to ſuch and ſuch reſpectively; and the conſtant Regularity and Uniformity of all their Proceedings, will not ſuffer us to think, that theſe are no more than animated *Clock-Work*; but ſeem in many Things to equal, and in ſome even to reproach the Conduct of Mankind.

7. *Natural Inſtinct, rejected.* In Order to overthrow all This, ſome have been very Ill-natur'd to theſe Brutes, and take Sanctuary in *Natural Inſtinct*, as a ſufficient Solution, and Cauſe of all theſe wondrous Effects; And This they deſcribe by an Inclination in Nature, which is under as perpetual Neceſſity, Slavery, and Conſtraint; as That by which the Stone falls, or the Flame aſcends. Now Firſt, This is ſo far from Truth, that one would wonder, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head: For the forementioned Acts, plainly infer reckoning and ſumming up Particulars, comparing of Things together, and reaſoning by Compoſition and Diviſion of Ideas, and by Conſequences drawn from thence. But theſe are ſuch Operations as can never be performed by ſuch a Natural Inclination, and Neceſſary Inſtinct, which are only the Refuge of Men, who want ſomething to ſay. But then it muſt be obſerv'd withal, that this Objection returns back again, upon them that make it. For it

it is, without doubt, more Noble, more for the Honour of any Creature, and a nearer Reſemblance to God himſelf, to do Well by a Happy and Unalterable Determination of one's Nature; than to do ſo by Art and Induſtry, long Time, and much Learning; To be led by the Unerring Hand of God, than left to our own imprudent Conduct; and to act Regularly, by an Habitual, and Conſtant, and Neceſſary Impulſe; than by ſuch a Choice and Liberty, as is Subject to Hazard and Raſhneſs. Beſides, by this Notion of Natural Inſtinct, they take away from Brutes all manner of Inſtruction, and Improvement, as well that which they receive from others, as that which they impart to others; but This is abundantly contradicted and confuted by Experience. For it is plain, They learn what they knew not before, and grow more Perfect by Degrees, and Imitation, and Cuſtom; as *Magpyes*, for Inſtance, *Parrots*, *Jack-Daws*, and *Dogs*; and it is as plain, that they teach one another too, from the Examples of *Nightingales* and eſpecially of *Elephants*, who of all Animals are the apteſt to learn, and ſeem to exceed the reſt by far, both in Largeneſs of Capacity, and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion. *See the Advertiſement.*

8. As for that Power of the Reaſoning Soul, which Man Values himſelf ſo very Highly upon; That of conſidering Corporeal Things abſtractedly, repreſenting what is abſent to himſelf, and deveſting things of what Circumſtances he thinks fit, to conceive them after his own Pleaſure; (for according to the Jargon of the Schools, * *the Object underſtood, is in the Subject underſtanding, according to the manner in which the Underſtander repreſents it to himſelf,*) there is ſome Appearance, that Beaſts do

* Intellectum eſt in Intelligente, ad modum Intelligentis.

all

all this too. A *Horſe*, that has been us'd to Charge, when he lies aſleep, in his Litter, ſhall ſhiver, and ſnort, as if he were in an Action; and plainly forms to himſelf, the Sounds of Drums and Trumpets, and the Images of an Army, and a Battle. The *Grey-Hound*, in his Dream, pants and blows, ſets up his Stern, ſhakes his Legs, and conceives a *Spiritual Hare* before him. *Maſtiffs*, and *Houſe-Dogs*, growl in their Sleep, and ſometimes open, and bark out-right, imagining that ſome Stranger is coming in. The faireſt Concluſion of this firſt Point ſeems to me then, to be thus; That the Brutes have Reaſon; That They compare, diſcourſe, and judge, but in a much lower Degree, and nothing comparable, to that Perfection, in which Man does. They have a much leſs Share, but they are not Totally excluded. We excell Them vaſtly, and ſo we do one another; and, indeed, the ſeveral Kinds of Beaſts, excel each other too. Nay, I know not, whether it may not be ſaid, That the difference among Men, is Greateſt; and that ſome Men, excell ſome other Men in Reaſoning, more than ſome Men excel Beaſts.

Ariſtotle, 'tis true, pronounces of ſome Men, that they are ſo extremely Ignorant and Stupid, that they differ in nothing, but Shape, from Brutes. But all this notwithſtanding, to argue, that they have equal Share, and ſtand upon the Level with Mankind; that their Souls are equally Immortal with Ours, or Ours equally Mortal with theirs, are very Malicious and unfair Inferences. For, beſides that Man excells moſt Conſpicuouſly, in the Operations of Reaſon, there are ſeveral other more Noble Faculties and Prerogatives, ſuch as are entirely Spiritual, which juſtify the Character, of his being the Likeneſs and Image of God; and render him capable of *Immortal Bliſs*; all which the Brutes partake not of, in any the leaſt Degree. And theſe are

all

all implyed in the Notion of Intellect, which denotes ſomething more Sublime, than mere Ratiocination.

The Other Argument, upon this Occaſion, concerns the Worth and Benefit of this Pre-eminence. For, Allowing the Matter of Fact alledged, to be True, that Man hath Reaſon, and Brutes have it not, yet, What does he get by it? Are not the Nobleſt Faculties paid very Dear for, and do they not do him more Hurt than Good? Are not Theſe the principal Cauſe and Source of the Miſeries that load him? The Vices, the Paſſions, the Inward Diſtempers, All that Irreſolution, and Trouble, and Deſpair, which embitter and caſt a Blemiſh upon our Lives? And theſe the Beaſts have none of, becauſe they have none of thoſe Powers, which are the Seat and the Source of them. Witneſs the Story of *Pyrrho*'s Hog, that eat contentedly on Shipboard, in a Storm, at a time when the Paſſengers and Seamen, were almoſt dead with Fear. "I confeſs, as we manage the Matter, the "generality of People have but a very indifferent "Bargain of This. And ſome who conſider Things "Superficially, and look at what the World is, "not what it might be, are tempted to think that theſe more exalted and larger Endowments of the Soul, have been wholly deny'd, or at leaſt much diminiſhed, and impaired to Beaſts, for their mighty Eaſe and Benefit; and given to Man in their full Strength, for his mighty Torment: Since it is by the Interpoſition and Aſſiſtance of theſe, that he teazes and perplexes himſelf; reſents and ſadly keeps alive the Paſt; is diſtracted with Anxiety and Amazement for the Future; nay, forms to his own Mind, and then is ſcared out of his Wits with, the gaſtly Images of Evils, that are not yet, nor are ever like to be. Now in other Animals, the Senſe and the Apprehenſion of Evil have both 9.

both the ſame Date; Till it comes, they know nothing of it; and when it hath done, they have done with it; and from the Moment of its Ceſſation, are in perfect Eaſe, and Tranquillity. And thus you ſee, how Man is rendred (rather indeed, how by his Miſmanagement, he renders Himſelf) the worſe for his Advantages; that the Happineſs and Privilege of his Nature, is become the Inſtrument and Occaſion of all his Miſery. And were it not better to have been born naked, than to be provided with * Weapons, and to ſheath them thus, in our own Bowels?

Note.

10. *Dominion and Command.*

Another Advantage over Brutes, which Man makes Pretenſions to, is that of *Dominion*, and Power to Command them, which he imagines to be veſted in him. But, (not to take notice at preſent, that This is but an improper Plea, ſince Men alſo mutually Command, and are Commanded by one another) the Thing in Fact is not true: For where does our Practice and Experience ſhew this univerſal Command in Man, and as univerſal Subjection and Obedience in other Crea-

Note. * " *Did Nature, which furniſhed us with theſe Rich and Heavenly Accompliſhments, bring us under a Neceſſity of converting them to our own Sorrow and Ruine; the Gift, indeed, had been Treacherous, and Providence cruelly kind. But ſince they are not the Appetites, and Paſſions, and Faculties themſelves, but the Exceſſes and Indulgings of the One, and the Neglect or Abuſe of the other, to which theſe Miſeries are owing, Let us not complain of our Condition, nor charge God fooliſhly; but put all that we ſuffer of this kind, to the Account of our own Follies and Vices. For from hence it is, that Brutes can pretend to enter into the Compariſon with us, even in the Eſteem of thoſe, whoſe Wiſh and Intereſt it is, to bring us down to their Level. And were not we by cheriſhing our reſtleſs Paſſions, ſo induſtrious to torment our ſelves, we ſhould not ſee, as now we daily do, that the Dull and Inſenſible live moſt at their Eaſe, and come off Cheaper with the Sufferings of Humane Life, than Men of Wit, and Parts, and more refin'd Underſtanding.*

tures?

tures? 'Tis plain in the preſent State of Things, that this is a mere Fancy; and that Men are much more in fear of Beaſts, than ſtood in fear of by them. It is not to be doubted, but this was once the Caſe; and an ample Commiſſion That was, which the Great Lord of the Univerſe iſſued at the Creation, *Let him have Dominion over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Cattel, and over all the Earth.* And admirably fitted he is to execute this Commiſſion, by reaſon of the Majeſty of his Perſon, an erect and beautiful Form, and the Greatneſs and Wiſdom of his Mind. But alas! the Face of Affairs is changed; the actual Exerciſe of this Prerogative loſt. And all that remains, is only what theſe Advantages of his Body and Mind give him; and it may much more properly be ſaid, That Man is made fit to Command, and Brutes to Obey, than that He does actually Command, and They Obey. Gen 1.26.

II. *Liberty and Servitude.*

Another Advantage bordering upon the former, is perfect *Liberty*. This Man pretends to, and upbraids Brutes with Captivity, Slavery, and Drudgery; but This I think is full as unreaſonable and foreign as the other. Men themſelves lie infinitely more open to Reproaches of that kind: To This let the Inhabitants of *Guinea* ſpeak; elſe what mean the Slaves that are made by Kidnapping and Force, and not only their Perſons enſlav'd, but all their Poſterity too? Nay, what mean thoſe Willing Slaves, who ſell their Liberty for Summs of Money, or who part with it gladly and freely, or that Truck it away for ſome Conveniency? For was not all this done by the Ancient Gladiators? And is it not now done daily, by Women to their Ladies, and Soldiers to their Commanders? But Beaſts know nothing like this; they ſerve not one another; they neither enſlave, nor are enſlaved by one another; but are in all reſpects

more free, and at their own diſpoſal, than Men are.

Man, it is confeſs'd, makes theſe his Diverſion and his Entertainment; they furniſh his Sports and his Table: But if He Hunt, and take, and kill, and eat Them; They do the ſame by Him, as Opportunities offer: And That, in a manner more brave and great than His; not by Toils, and Nets, and Cunning; but by honeſt downright Force. Nay, He is not murder'd and devour'd thus by Beaſts only, but (which is infinitely more) by another Man, his Equal, his Companion, his Brother. No Beaſts ever aſſemble themſelves in Troops, to deſtroy, and ravage, and lead Captive another Troop of the ſame Kind; but Men, to their Eternal Reproach, not only do the thing, but glory in it, and triumph in the deſtruction of their own Species.

4. *Virtue.* The Fourth and great Advantage Men pretend to above Brutes, conſiſts in their *Virtue*; but if by this, Moral Virtue be meant, and if we may be allowed to judge of Virtue by the commendable Actions, and outward Appearances of it; (This Claim will admit of ſome Diſpute too: Tho' Moral Virtue taken formally, and with regard to the Will, Beaſts cannot have:) For Gratitude, and Friendſhip, and Readineſs to be Serviceable, Fidelity, Magnanimity, and ſeveral other good Qualities uſeful in Society and Converſation, have been obſerved to expreſs themſelves after a more lively, more ſurprizing manner, and with more Conſtancy, in Brutes, than is uſually ſeen in the generality of Mankind. *Lyſimachus* had a Dog call'd *Hireanus*, which lay perpetually upon the Bed with his dead Maſter, and wou'd not be got from thence to eat or drink, but continu'd thus watching and faſting, till the Corpſe came to be burnt, and then leaped eagerly into the Fire,

Fire, and burnt himſelf with it. The ſame is related of another Dog, that belonged to one *Pyrrhus*. That of the wiſe *Heſiod* detected the Ruffians that murder'd his Maſter: And another did the like before King *Pyrrhus*, and his whole Army. *Plutarch* tells us of another, that hunted about from City to City, and never reſted till he had brought the Robber of the Temple at *Athens*, to Juſtice for his Sacrilege. The Story of *Androdus* is very well known, who had lived and eat with a Lyon for ſome Years, after curing him of a painful Wound; and afterwards, when condemn'd at *Rome* to the Wild Beaſts, this Lyon wou'd not touch the Slave that had been his Gueſt, and his Surgeon, but approach'd him with all the Demonſtrations of Thankfulneſs and Love; all which, *Appian* declares himſelf to have been an Eye-Witneſs of at *Rome*. An Elephant, that in heat of Paſſion had kill'd his Keeper, would neither eat nor drink, but pined himſelf to Death, by way of Penance. But now on the other hand, Is there in the World any Creature that can compare with Man, for Injuſtice and Ingratitude, Churliſhneſs and Ill-Nature, Treachery and Baſeneſs, Lying and Diſſimulation? Beſides, allowing Virtue to conſiſt in moderating the Appetite, and curbing one's Pleaſures, Beaſts are then a great deal more regular than We, and keep themſelves more duly within the Bounds of Nature and Convenience. As for thoſe Deſires that are ſuperfluous, extravagant, and unnatural, they never have any Inclination of that Kind: And conſequently are exempted from one great and common Species of Humane Vice, which is, The enlarging our Deſires beyond Meaſure, and multiplying, nay inventing freſh Objects to our ſelves; and employing Artifice, and Induſtry to heighten and create new Inclinations. In thoſe which

See Gell. Lib. V. Cap. 14.

Nature prompts them to, as Eating, and Drinking, and other Bodily Satisfactions, they out-do us much, in Temperance and Refervedneſs. But if we would in good earneſt be ſatisfy'd, whether Man or Brutes be the more Vicious or Virtuous; that is indeed, if we would put Man out of Countenance effectually, and ſilence all the Pretenſions to this Excellency quite; Let us put the Iſſue upon that ſingle Virtue, which is therefore call'd *Humanity*, becauſe lookt upon to be the moſt proper and inſeparable Quality of our Nature; as on the Contrary, That of *Cruelty* is eſteem'd the moſt foreign, moſt diſagreeable, and that which we abandon, as fit for wild Beaſts only, by giving it the Denomination of *Ferity*. But alas! in this very Inſtance they reproach, and put us to the Bluſh; particularly upon the following Accounts. They never, or but ſeldom fall foul, or do any great Miſchief upon thoſe of their own Kind. It is a lamentable and ſcandalous Obſervation, but hath too much of Truth in it, That Dens and Deſarts are more peaceful Habitations, than Towns and Cities; and even * *Dragons and Beaſts of Prey, agree better together than Men do.* But Theſe, when they do fall out, quarrel upon juſt, and weighty, and neceſſary Occaſions; Provocations that touch them nearly, and to defend that, which needs and deſerves their utmoſt Endeavours to defend it; Their Life, Their Liberty, their Young. Again; They engage and aſſault each other with ſuch Arms only as Nature hath provided for them; they come to fair and open Combat, uſe no Methods of Hoſtility, but plain Strength and Courage; encounter ſingle, One againſt One: No general Rendez-

I.

II.

III.

IV.

* Major Serpentum Ferarumq; concordia quam Hominum.

vous

vous of vaſt Herds and Troops on each ſide: V.
Nor do they act with Stratagem and Deſign. VI.
Their Engagements are alſo very ſhort, and preſently decided; for as ſoon as one of them is wounded, or gives out, the Fray is over; and, which is yet more conſiderable, aſſoon as the Action is ended, the whole Quarrel, the Hatred, and all the Reſentment is at an end too. VII.

But Man is the very *Reverſe* of all This; He is ſo far from not quarrelling with his own Kind, that he quarrels with none beſides. I.

The Grounds of theſe Quarrels are frequently trifling and frivolous, and of no Conſideration; nay, which is worſe, they are ſometimes unjuſt, they proceed from Falſhood and Miſrepreſentation; and if the Matter be examin'd to the bottom, the Quarrels have no real Ground at all. II.

The Arms he uſes, are the Work of Induſtry; ſuch as are treacherous, and kill without warning, and contriv'd to be as much ſo, as is poſſible. III.

The Method of making War is by Deceit and Cunning, which we colour over with the ſpecious Name of Conduct; and this is ſeen in Stratagem and Surprize, Feints and Ambuſcades. IV.

This again is tranſacted by vaſt Numbers of Men met together by ſolemn Engagement, and particular Appointments, to Stand and Fall by one another. V.

Theſe Wars are vaſtly long too; none lay down their Arms upon the firſt Diſadvantage; but ſtill either Side puſhes on its Fortune; the One to recover their Loſſes, the Other to purſue and perfect their Conqueſts; and the uſual End put to theſe Controverſies, is by the Death of the Principals. VI.

Laſtly, In theſe Quarrels, when Men want the Power, they ſtill retain the Will to do Miſchief; and tho' Acts of Hoſtility may ceaſe, yet the Hatred and Reſentment ſeldom or never ceaſe. VII.

12. *The Concluſion of this Second Conſideration.*

The Sum then of this Compariſon, as you have found it here ſtated, amounts to thus much; That Man hath no ſuch mighty reaſon to magnifie Himſelf in the Advantages of his Nature, above That of Brutes: For, allowing Him ſome Endowments and Accompliſhments, which They have not; as the Sprightlineſs and Force of his Mind, and Intellectual Faculties, and all the other nobler Powers of the Soul; yet the Incumbrances upon theſe is very great and grievous; the Evils he is involv'd in upon their account, infinite and inſupportable: The Inconſtancy and Irreſolution, Superſtition and Sollicitude, ſad Remembrances of the Paſt, and Anxious Concern for the Future; Ambition, and Avarice, and Envy, reſtleſs Curioſity, buſie Detraction, Lying and Deceit, a world of unruly Appetites and Paſſions, Troubles and Diſcontents. Thus this Mind, with the Thoughts and value whereof Man is ſo much exalted, is the Occaſion of infinite Misfortunes; and of moſt of all then, when it exerts it ſelf moſt: For in all vehement Agitations, it does not only hurt and diſturb the Body, and render its Forces and Functions diſordered, and broken, and quite tired down; but it hinders and confounds its own ſelf: For what is it that throws Men into Folly and Madneſs, ſo much as the Acuteneſs, and Activity, and Strength of the Mind it ſelf? The ſubtileſt Follies, and moſt exquiſite Phrenſies proceed from the quickeſt, and fineſt, and moſt vigorous Agitations of the Mind; as we may obſerve, that the bittereſt Averſions, and moſt irreconcileable Enmities grow from the tendereſt Paſſions, and moſt intimate Friendſhips; and the moſt virulent and mortal Diſeaſes, from a ſtrong Complexion, and healthful Body. Melancholy Perſons are obſerv'd by *Plato*, to be beſt diſpoſed for *Learning* and *Wiſdom*; but they are equally diſpo-

ſed

sed for *Folly* too; much more than Persons of a different Temper. And to a Man of nice and just Observation, it will appear, that when the Soul acts freely, and gives her self a *Loose*, there is none of her Altitudes and Sallies without a Mixture of *Folly*; and in good truth, these things dwell very close together;

----Wit to Madness nearly is ally'd,
And thin Partitions do their Bounds divide.

Once more; If we regard the living in agreement with Nature, and in conformity with what she dictates and requires from us, Beasts seem to excel us in this respect, very much; for they lead a Life of more Freedom, more Ease and Security, more Moderation and Contentedness, than Men do. And That Man is deservedly reputed *Wise*, who makes *them* his Pattern, and his Lesson, and reaps Profit by *their* Example; by reforming and reducing himself to that Innocence, Simplicity, Liberty, Meekness, and Gentleness of Temper, which Nature had originally implanted both in Us and Them: And, which in Brutes is still very conspicuous, but in Us is decay'd, chang'd, and utterly corrupted by our Industrious Wickedness, and Artificial Depravations; thus debauching and abusing the particular Prerogative we pretend to, and rendring our selves more vile than the Beasts, by means of that very Understanding and Judgment, which sets us so far above them. Hence sure it is, that God intending to shame us into Vertue, sends us to School in Scripture, and bids us grow wiser by the Example of these Creatures. The *Crane*, the *Stork*, and the *Swallow*; the *Serpent*, and the *Dove*, the *Ant*, and the *Ox*, and the *Ass*, and sundry others, are recommended as Teachers to us. And after all, To take down

Jer. viii. 7. Mat. x. 16. Prov vi. 6. Isa. i. 3.

our Vanity upon this Occaſion, we ought to remember, that there is ſome ſort of Correſpondence, ſome mutual Relations and Duties ariſing from thence; if upon no other account, yet by reaſon of their being made by the ſame Hand, belonging to the ſame Maſter, and making a part of the ſame Family, with our ſelves. And this ſingle Reflection ought to prevail with us, to uſe our Advantages over them modeſtly, tenderly. and conſcientiouſly; and not to treat them with Cruelty and Contempt. For as Juſtice is a Debt from us to all Men; ſo Kindneſs, and Beneficence, and Mercy muſt needs be due to all Creatures whatſoever, that are in any Condition of receiving benefit by us.

ADVERTISEMENT.

OUR Author in the midſt of his great Care to ſtate this Compariſon ſo, as might be moſt mortifying to the *Vanity* of Mankind, hath yet found himſelf oblig'd to acknowledge, that the *Reaſon* of Men is ſo much brighter, and more noble in its Operations and Effects, than any thing diſcoverable in the Brute part of the Creation, that I might have let this Chapter paſs without any Cenſure, had it not been for two or three Sentences, which ſeem obnoxious to very ill Conſtruction: Such as a ſort of Men are (in Our Age) but too fond of embracing, who at the ſame time, that they are vain enough to imagine, that neither the *Nature*, nor the *Revelations* of God himſelf can have any thing in them above their *Reaſon*; are yet ſo ſordid and degenerate, as to be content that Beaſts ſhould be thought endu'd with the ſame Souls, and to be mov'd with the ſame Principles of Reaſon with themſelves. An Opinion, which is the rather entertain'd, for the ſake of a certain Conſequence

ſequence that recommends it, with regard to a Future State; for it ſeems they can be ſatisfy'd with the Portion of Brutes now, provided they may but partake in it hereafter. And what Favour this Notion might find from theſe Paſſages, *That Brutes and Men both have the ſame Reaſon, tho' not in the ſame Degree*; and that *ſome Men excel others much more than ſome Men again excel Beaſts*; I was doubtful, and therefore look'd upon my ſelf concerned, (in purſuance of my Propoſals at the Beginning of this Book,) to offer theſe following Conſiderations to my Reader.

Firſt, That in the Operations of the Reaſonable Soul, a great deal depends upon the Organs, and Diſpoſition of that Body to which it is joyned; and (as hath been already explain'd at large) more eſpecially upon the Brain: Now ſince Anatomiſts have not been able to obſerve any very remarkable Differences between the Contexture of the Humane Brain, and that of Brutes; we are not to think it ſtrange, if there appear ſome ſmall Reſemblances in ſome particular Actions of Men and Beaſts, tho' theſe do not proceed from the ſame Principle of Motion; but owe their Similitude to that of the Body and *Medium* put into thoſe Motions.

Secondly, That the Impreſſions of external Objects have very ſtrong Effects upon the Imagination and Memory; and theſe, aſſiſted by Cuſtom, and Imitation, and Example, will perform many wonderful things, which yet are not the Operations of *Reaſon*, properly ſo called. Of this kind it is eaſie to obſerve great Number of Inſtances, in Them, who either by means of their *Infancy*, have not yet attain'd to the uſe of Reaſon; or Them, who by ſome Natural Defects never have it at all; or Others, who by ſome accidental Diſturbance have loſt it: In all which Caſes, (not during

during the lucid Intervals only, or when the Powers of the Mind ſeem a little to be awakened, but even in the moſt profound Ignorance, or moſt raging Madneſs) Thoſe which are frequently diſtinguiſhed by the Senſitive Faculties of the Soul, put forth ſometimes a marvellous Efficacy and Vigour. And that Theſe are moved entirely by material and ſenſible Objects, and act as neceſſarily as any other Parts of *Matter* whatſoever, hath been the Opinion of many new Philoſophers; ſome of whom imagine, that all the Operations of this kind, are as capable of being reſolved by Principles of Mechaniſm, (thoſe Operations, I mean, of Imagination, and Memory, and Cuſtom) as any other Affections and Motions of common *Matter*. How juſt this Concluſion is, I do not pretend to determine; for They themſelves ſeem to confeſs it inſufficient, when they call in to their Aſſiſtance, another *Principle*, which is,

Thirdly, That of *Inſtinct*; By which is meant, a ſtrong Tendency, and Natural Impulſe (diſcernible in theſe Creatures) to certain neceſſary and uſeful Actions. Something of a Principle implanted in them by their wiſe Creator, to qualifie them for their own Preſervation, and the anſwering the Ends of his good Providence in Making them. And this appears ſo early, as to be plainly antecedent to either Memory or Fancy; and yet is ſo conſtant too, and always the ſame, in the ſame Circumſtances and Occaſions; as neither to depend upon Cauſes ſo mutable as the Impreſſions of outward Objects, nor a Principle ſo capricious as the Choice of ſuch a Mind perfectly free feels in its Deliberations. And, as Inſtruments put together by a skilful Hand, perform many Operations, ſo aſtoniſhing, that a Man unexperienc'd in the Art, cou'd not poſſibly imagine ſuch Materials

terials capable of them; so these Philosophers conceive, that Almighty God, in his infinite Wisdom, hath so disposed the Sensitive Parts of the Soul, that They by their wonderful Structure shall be adapted to most amazing Effects, and possessed with some Original Propensions and Impulses, independent from, and antecedent to the Impressions of Matter, or the power of Institution and Custom; which in the needful and most profitable Actions of Life, serve these Animals for Fundamental Principles, and bear some kind of Affinity to the first common Notions, in the Rational and Intelligent Mind. And upon these Impulses joyn'd to those other Advantages mention'd before, the whole Oeconomy of Brutes, and even those Actions, which seem most exquisite and admirable in any of them, have by the Modern Mechanick Philosophers, been generally thought to depend. Concerning which, tho' almost every System treat in some measure, yet I believe my Reader (whether his Opinion incline to that Account or not) would at least think himself well entertain'd upon this Subject, by the perusal of our Learned and Ingenious Dr. *Willis*, in the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of his Book *De Animâ Brutorum.*

Two things are fit to be added upon this Occasion, with regard to what Monsieur *Charron* hath deliver'd concerning *Instinct*: The first is, That in regard we observe these Animals constantly going on in the same beaten Track, and keeping ever close to one Method; and even in those Instances, which have the greatest Appearance of Comparison and Choice, of Ten Thousand that make the same Experiment, or go about the same thing, not one varying from the common and received Way; This seems to be some *Governing Principle* in Nature, which gives a necessary Determination to them; and very different from that Liberty and Consi-

Consideration, which hath scarce any more convincing, and demonstrative Proof of the Will being absolutely unconstrain'd in Mankind, than that Multiplicity of Opinions, and strange Variety of Proceedings, observable upon Occasions and Junctures, in themselves extremely alike.

The Other Remark, Proper upon this Occasion, is, that what our Author suggests here, is no Consequence at all: as if too much Honour were done to these Creatures, and such a Happy and Unalterable Determination, to what is Profitable and Proper for them, were a Privilege, more than Humane; a nearer Approach to that unerring Wisdom, and unchangeable Goodness of the Divine Nature, than We our selves can boast of. For there is so very wide a Difference, between *Liberty* and *Necessity* of acting; the One is so Glorious, so truly Noble; the Other so Mean, so Slavish a Principle, that no Comparison can be made between them. The most Glorious, most Beautiful, most Useful Parts of the Material Creation, are in this Respect, infinitely beneath the meanest of the Sons of Men; and all their other Advantages put together, cannot deserve to be laid into the Balance against this Single Dignity, of Free and Spontaneous Action. And though the Excellency of the Divine Nature, be indefectible and unalterable Goodness; yet would not even This be an Excellence, if it were not the Effect of perfect Liberty. It is, indeed, Our Misfortune, that our Understandings are imposed upon, our Affections perverted; and so the Choice we have the use of, often determines us to the wrong Side, and entangles us in Errour and Vice. But These Defects and Temptations are so many Clogs and Bars upon our Freedom; and therefore God, who is above any Possibility of such false Determinations, is still so much the more Free.

For

For *Freedom*, does not consist, in a Power of choosing *Evil* as well as *Good* (which is a Power, indeed, that never was, or can be, strictly speaking) but in being Self-moved, and Self-acted; so as to be the Disposer of one's own Will, without any Compulsion or necessary Determination, from a foreign or external Principle; and only acting, as one is acted upon. If then this Instinct in Brutes, be a Matter of *Force*, and Necessary Determination, they are in no Degree, the Better or more Commendable for it; but under a fatal Constraint, which is so far from resembling the Divine Perfection, that it admits of no Virtue, nor ought to be esteemed any Excellence, but the direct Contrary.

Fourthly, Let us observe, what mighty Difference there is, between the *Perceptions* of Brutes, and those of Men; so great, that in them we find no Footsteps of any, but such as are Material, and Single Objects; and what this Author advances, as Collections, and Inferences from thence, are not improbably assign'd by Others, to the Force of Imagination, or the Strength of Memory, or to those Natural Impressions, which commonly go by the Name of *Instinct*. To the latter of These we find very Learned Men, attributing that uniform Process of Birds, and Bees, and Ants, in their Nutrition, Generation, Production, and the like. To the Former, that which *Charron* terms deducing an *Universal* from a *Singular*, and knowing by the having seen one Man, how to Distinguish the Humane Form, in any, or all Individuals of the same Species. But, supposing we should allow, that this proceeds from a distinguishing Faculty, and not meerly from the refreshing and awaking an Image, that lay dormant in the Memory, 'till revived by this fresh Object; yet what Proportion can even thus much bear, to all those Abstracted Idea's by which

which Men diſtinguiſh the Natures and Properties of Things? If a Brute, from the Sight of a Man, could collect ſo much as ſhould ſerve to diſcriminate all other Men from Creatures of a Different Species; yet what is This in Compariſon of that Penetration, which examines into the Abſtruſe Cauſes, and eſſential Differences of Things, and informs it ſelf diſtinctly, wherein that very Character of our Nature, which we call *Humanity*, conſiſts? And what account can there be given of any univerſal or abſtracted Idea's in Beaſts? of any of thoſe, which we properly call *Reaſonable Actions*? For as to theſe ſeeming Demurrs, and little Compariſons, which we find inſtanced in here, and in other Places, it is uſual to obſerve as much, in Children ſo little, and Naturals ſo wretchedly Stupid, as that there are but very Faint, if any Glimpſes at all, of *Underſtanding* in them. I know,
S. 1. indeed, *Monſieur Charron*, hath provided a Reply to this Argument, by ſaying, That we cannot have any competent Knowledge of Their Internal Operations. But though we do not ſee all the hidden Movements of their Souls, nor can diſtinctly ſay, whether they are *feeble Reaſoners* or *Stupendous Machines*; yet we may be very confident, they cannot dive into the Cauſes, and abſtracted Idea's of Things; becauſe there do not appear the leaſt Foot-ſteps, or any of thoſe Noble Effects, of ſuch Knowledge, which Mankind have in all Ages been conſpicuous for. For to theſe abſtracted Notions it is, that all the amazing Inventions and Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but eſpecially the Wonders of *Mechaniſm* and *Motion*, by Numbers and Proportions Duly adjuſted, owe their Birth and daily Growth. And ſince in the Diſtinction and Perception of Concrete Bodies, where Senſation is chiefly concern'd, the Brutes are acknowledged to equal, if not exceed Us, in Accuracy; it is not

to

to be conceived, that They who excel in a Faculty, which is commenſurate to a Senſitive Soul, ſhould be able to give No Marks at all of their being endued with a Capacity of entertaining and feeding upon thoſe Ideas, which are the Peculiar Prerogatives, and Glories, of a Rational one.

Much more might be added upon this Occaſion, with Regard both to the Objects themſelves; and the particular Manner of Conception; and the infinite Diſparities of the Humane Intellect, and that Faculty, which is affected in Brutes. But it is Prejudice ſufficient againſt them, that ſo many very Wiſe and Inquiſitive Perſons have found Cauſe, to do even ſomething more than doubt, whether Brutes be better than a ſort of *Divine Clock-Work*; and have any manner of Senſe or Perception at all. This, at leaſt, was never aſſerted of Man; nor the Powers and Operations of his Reaſoning Soul diſputed, (as to the Reality of them,) except by ſuch as ſet up for *Univerſal Scepticiſm*, and are for reducing all to a State of Confuſion and Uncertainty. And therefore if, becauſe Brutes ſeem to act by a Faculty, which we cannot perfectly account for, we ſhould allow, to theſe Brutes, ſome few dusky Glimmerings of Reaſon (which yet there is no abſolute Neceſſity for, becauſe they have ſomething like it) yet no Impartial Conſiderer, can ever admit, that it will bear a Queſtion, whether They, or We, have the Better of this Point; or that *Some Men, excel others, more than ſome again excel Beaſts*; for there is no Man, how mean and untaught ſoever, if provided with what we call *Common Senſe*, but finds an Ability in himſelf, nay, exerciſes that Ability every Day, (even when he does not know, or think of it) of conſidering, comparing, and determining in ſuch a manner, as no good Arguments have ever yet been offered to ſhew that Beaſts either do, or can do. They are juſtly thought

thought to do ſomewhat very extraordinary, when by long Cuſtom, and ſevere Diſcipline, and daily Example and Inſtruction, brought to imitate ſome very common Actions of Men; But what Divine Heights do Men themſelves aſcend to, when they have proportionable Pains taken with Them? And here in Juſtice the Compariſon ought to lie; between the *Beſt* of each Kind; not the *Beſt* of One, and the *Loweſt* of the Other; the moſt unapt and neglected of Men, and the moſt teachable and improved of Brutes: For the Advantages, or the Want of *Art*, cannot at all affect the Diſpute, where the Gifts of *Nature* are the Matter in Queſtion: And theſe are diſtributed with ſo very uneven a Hand, in the Caſe before us; that He muſt be either very Stupid, or very Perverſe, who does not ſee the mighty Diſproportion.

As to the other Part of this Diſcourſe, whether *Reaſon* be any *Real Benefit*, and we might not have been as well, or better without it; I ſhall only need to add, that the ſeveral Inſtances, produced here, are only ſuch as are Sad and very Reproachful Truths, in Regard of thoſe Abuſes of Reaſon, Men are Guilty of; and the wicked, or the miſchievous Purpoſes they pervert it to: But as to the Thing it ſelf, they are no more a Reflection upon it, than the Surfeits and Beſtiality of Gluttons, and Sots, are upon the common Refreſhments of Life. What is ſaid upon this Occaſion, will do well indeed to be conſidered, by thoſe vicious and indiſcreet Men, who apply That as a *Spur* to their Wickedneſs, and Paſſion, which was intended for a *Curb* to both; And the World ought to be humbled and reformed by a ſerious Reflection, how Acceſſory Men become to their own Miſeries, and how obſtinately fond they are of them, when their very *Remedies* are induſtriouſly turned into the worſt of *Diſeaſes*: But, All this Notwithſtanding, *Monſieur Charron's*

Charron's Argument here, is abundantly refuted by himſelf, in the laſt Words of this whole Treatiſe, where he vindicates the Honour of *Eloquence*, from the miſchievous Effects, which ſome ill-deſigning Men, apply it to, by this Parallel: "For (ſays he) even That *Reaſon* and *Under-*"*ſtanding*, which is the Peculiar *Prerogative of Hu-*"*mane Nature*, and ſets us above Brutes, is moſt "miſerably abus'd; turn'd againſt God, and our "ſelves; and made the Occaſion of our more in-"excuſable Ruine. But, This is only an Acci-"dental Misfortune; far from the Natural Ten-"dency of ſo Noble a Privilege. And He, who "would argue from hence, that Mankind had "better want theſe Faculties, may juſtly ſeem "to have degenerated into Brute; and to be "quite forſaken of all that Reaſon, which he "ſo Wildly and ſo raſhly condemns. So juſt Ground is there for reading this Treatiſe, with thoſe Cautions to be laid down upon the XXXVII*th Chapter*; and ſo truly does our Author, keep up his Character, of an *Academick Philoſopher*.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Third Reſpect, under which we propoſed to conſider Man, *is by taking a ſhort View, and ſummary Account of his* Life.

The True Value, the Continuance, and Deſcription of Humane Life, and the ſeveral Parts, or Stages of it.

1. *Of the Worth, or juſt Eſtimate of Life.*

ONE very Conſiderable; One, indeed, of the Principal, and moſt Neceſſary Points of Wiſdom, is rightly to underſtand the True Value of *Life*; and to make ſo juſt an Eſtimate of it, as to keep, or to loſe it; to cheriſh and preſerve, or to neglect and lay it down; and ſo to manage our ſelves in the whole Conduct of it, as Duty and Decency require. There is not any One Caſe, in which Men are more apt to be wanting, nor where their Failings are of more Dangerous Conſequence, for the involving them in new and infinite Difficulties. The Mean, and the Ignorant, the Worldling, and the Man of Pleaſure; and, in general, all that do not, or cannot conſider, prize *Life* extravagantly: They look upon it, as the *Supreme Good*, and prefer it ſo much before all other Things, as not to admit a Compariſon between them. If Life were to be ſold at a Price; nay, if a ſhort Reprieve only, and Lengthening out their Term a little, can be had, they can think nothing too Dear, no Conditions too hard, to be ſubmitted to; but are ſatisfied the purchaſe ought to be made at any Rate. For This, they tell you, is their *Happineſs*, and *when That is gone, All is gone*; their

their very Motto is, *Nothing more precious than Life.* (*Vitâ nihil charius*) They value and love it, not only as the Scene of Action and Enjoyment, and upon the account of the Conveniences and Opportunities it affords, but upon its own ſuppoſed intrinſick worth; and live merely for the ſake of Living. And how can we think it ſtrange, that ſuch Perſons ſhould be ſo very defective in the reſt of their Duty, ſo miſ-led with Errours, and extravagant Notions, when they make the very firſt Step wrong, and ſet out in ſo groſs a Miſtake, concerning this great Fundamental Article of Wiſdom and Virtue?

There is alſo a Contempt of *Life*, that declines as much to Vice in the other Extreme, and repreſents it as a Burden, or a Trifle; Worth Nothing, or Worſe than Nothing: But this Undervaluing is the effect of Weakneſs and Ignorance, of Pride and Ingratitude. For we know very well, that when it falls into Wiſe and Good Hands, it is capable of becoming an Inſtrument of great and general uſe, both to our ſelves, and to others. Now I can by no means be of Their Opinion, taken literally and plainly, who give it out for their Principle, That * *the greateſt Happineſs is, Not to live at all; and the next moſt deſirable thing is to live but a very little while.* Nor is that Argument they uſe in vindication of this Opinion, at all ſufficient or Satisfactory: What Hurt (ſay they) could there be in *Non-Exiſtence?* and what Matter had it been, if I were never created? To This one may reply with Reaſon enough, What do you make of all the Happineſs you have enjoy'd? What would become of This, if you had had *no Being?* And would it not have been ſome Matter, ſome

* Optimum non naſci; aut quam citiſſimè aboleri.

Hurt never to have enjoy'd it? For certainly, tho' the loſs of the Good which we have, and know the worth of, be a more ſenſible Evil; yet the mere privation of Good, and never having it at all, is One ſort of Evil too; even tho' that Good be ſuch as we ſhou'd never have miſſed, nor ſuch as was neceſſary to us. Theſe Extremes are too wide; they overſtrain the Point on both ſides, and degenerate into Vice; tho' they are not equally vicious and erroneous neither.

I confeſs, ſpeaking in the Quality of a Philoſopher, and with regard to the preſent State of Affairs only; I do not think That Wiſe Ancient much out of the way, who acknowledged † *Life to be Good; but ſuch a Good, as no Man would accept of, if it were left to his own free Choice, and he were fairly inform'd beforehand, what Incumbrances lay upon it.* It is not at all amiſs, that we are engaged in it, before we know what it is: We come into the World blindfold; but That is no reaſon why Men ſhou'd afterwards put out their own Eyes, or hoodwink themſelves. For the Miſchief is, that, when we are got hither, we run into different Ways: Some cheat themſelves into ſo extravagant a Fondneſs for Life, that they wou'd not part with it again at any rate. Others fret themſelves into ſo ill an Opinion of it, that they grumble eternally, are diſcontented at every thing, and pretend to be weary, and ſick of Living. But Wiſe Men have juſter Notions of the Matter; They conſider that this was a Bargain made without their Knowledge or Conſent; (for no Man lives, or dies, aſſoon, or as late, or in ſuch Manner and Circumſtances, as he pleaſes himſelf) But ſtill it is a Bargain we are bound to ſtand to; and if it be a hard one,

† Vitam nemo acciperet, ſi daretur ſcientibus.

we

we muſt try to make the beſt of it. Sometimes we ſhall meet with Rough Ways; but the whole Paſſage is not ſo: And therefore Philoſophers agree, that the beſt Courſe is to create no Diſturbance, nor ſtruggle and flounder unprofitably, but for Men to ſuit their Tempers, and comply with their Circumſtances as well as they can; to carry it off with Evenneſs and Moderation, and make a *Virtue of Neceſſity*; for That is the Character of Wiſdom and Good Management: And when they have fixed themſelves in this Method, then to live as long as is Fit for them, conſiſtent with their Duty, and Decency: Not as long as is Poſſible for them, which is the Principle of fooliſh and profligate People. For there is a Seaſon proper for Dying, as well as one for Living; and a Virtuous Honourable Death is a Thouſand times rather to be choſen, than a Wicked and Infamous Life. Now a Wiſe and Good Man makes it his Buſineſs to live juſt ſo long as Life is better than Death, and no longer: For, as we obſerved before, that They are in the Wrong, who eſteem the ſhorteſt Life beſt; ſo is that common Opinion a Miſtake too, which raiſes the Value by Computation of Years, and accounts that Life beſt which laſts longeſt.

2. *Of the Shortneſs of Life.*

The Shortneſs of that Term allow'd us in this World, is a great and a general Complaint: We meet it in every Mouth; not from the Ignorant and Vulgar only, where we cannot expect better, than that They ſhould be willing to live always; but (which may be allow'd a little to ſurprize us) even Great Souls, and Wiſe Men, reckon it among their very greateſt Unhappineſſes. Now to ſay the very Truth, as Men uſually manage the Matter, and indeed as Nature hath in ſome meaſure contriv'd it, Life is very ſhort; For the greateſt part of it is employed and di-

verted otherwiſe; and a very ſmall Proportion left for the true Uſes and Ends of Living, The Time of our Infancy and Ignorance, the Decays and Infirmities of Old Age, the neceſſary Intervals of Sleep, the Diſeaſes of our Bodies and our Minds, and the infinite other void Spaces of it, wherein we are incapable of doing Good, run away with a great deal of our Time: And when the Whole is ſumm'd up, and theſe Abatements made, the Remainder is not much. But yet, without troubling our ſelves with the Contrary Opinion, which aſſerts the Shortneſs of Life to be greatly for our Advantage, we ſhall find Reaſon enough to accuſe this Complaint of Injuſtice; and to think it more the effect of Inconſideration and Ill-Nature, than of good Arguing, and Virtuous Diſpoſition. For what Advantage would a longer Life be to us? Shall we wiſh for it to no other purpoſe, but merely to Live in; to take our Eaſe, to Eat, and Drink, and Sleep, to Look about us, and ſee more of the World? What need is there of ſo much Time for this? We have already ſeen, and known, and taſted what we are capable of, in a very little time; and when we are got to the End of our Curioſity, This is ſufficient. What Good will it do us, or wherefore ſhould we wiſh to act the ſame things over and over again, and be always beginning afreſh? Who would not be cloyed with eating upon the ſame Diſh every Day? If this be not nauſeous and troubleſome, yet to be ſure it is ſuperfluous and unneceſſary. This is but One Circle, which is perpetually rolling, and brings the ſame things uppermoſt again; ſometimes they remove to a little diſtance, and then they quickly return back upon us: 'Tis but a ſpinning the ſame Web; and That which may ſerve a Child to play with, but can never be a fit Entertainment for grown Men.

Shall

Shall we then wiſh it for nobler Ends; that we may grow Wiſer and Better, and aſpire to higher degrees of Virtue and Perfection; that we may do more Good, and be more uſeful in our Generations? This indeed carries the Appearance of an excellent Diſpoſition; but They that know us, will not be impoſed upon by it: For Who ſhall teach, Who ſhall improve us? Alas! That Little which is committed to our Truſt, is ſo ill uſed, that we cannot have the Confidence to ask for more. We neglect what we have already, and ſuffer the greateſt part of it to ſlip thro' our Fingers. We ſquander it away profuſely upon Vanity and Trifles; nay, we abuſe and miſemploy it upon Wickedneſs and Vice. And yet after all this Unfaithfulneſs and Folly, we cry and complain for more, and think our ſelves ill dealt with, that we have not enough. Enough for What? For the ſame inſignificant and ill purpoſes to be ſure; for That wou'd be the Conſequence of a more liberal Allowance too. But, ſuppoſing Men ſerious in this Matter; and that they wou'd really do as they pretend; yet of what Uſe wou'd this vaſt Treaſure of Knowledge and Experience prove? For the Soul muſt change its Dwelling at one time or other; and whenever That diſlodges, all our Wiſdom goes with it. Since therefore This cannot ſtay always, why ſhou'd we take it ill that it ſtays ſo little a time? For if it ſink into a ſtate of Oblivion, and all muſt be loſt, What mighty difference is there, whether this be done ſooner or later? But if it removes into a better Condition, and be (as it really will be) put into a ſtate of clearer Viſion, and more perfect Knowledge, why ſhould we deſire to have that Happineſs delayed, and kept back from us?

But you will ſay, perhaps, This *Gift of Life* is very unequally diſtributed; for there are ſome

Creatures, that live Three, Four times as long, as the uſual Age of Man. I might anſwer, That the Accounts we have of this kind are many, if not moſt of them, fabulous. But waving That, and allowing the Objection; yet it muſt be confeſſed withal, that Some, nay the much greater part of Animals live not near ſo long; ſome never arrive at a Fourth part of our Years, and very few ever come to an equal length with us. Now pray, what Right, what Privilege, what Reaſon hath Man to challenge a longer Duration here, than the reſt of his Fellow-Creatures have a Title to? Where did God ever grant him ſuch a Charter, or how will he be able to make good the Claim? Is it reaſonable He ſhould be indulg'd more than They, becauſe he puts out his Time to better Intereſt, and employs it upon Buſineſs more noble and ſublime in it ſelf, more worthy and deſerving of this Favour, than They are capable of? I greatly fear, This Argument may be thrown back in our Faces, and prove the ſtrongeſt Plea againſt us: For ſure He ought rather to be cut ſhorter than the Reſt, as a Puniſhment for his Abuſe and Miſmanagement. And in This he is ſingular, and ſtands alone. The whole Creation cannot furniſh a Parallel; not any one Inſtance of this Bleſſing ſo grievouſly perverted, not ſuch another *Monſter* of Wickedneſs and Unfaithfulneſs, of Ingratitude and Baſeneſs, of Intemperance and Debauchery, and all manner of Diſorderly Living. This *Charge* hath been ſufficiently proved upon him already, when we ſtated the Compariſon betwixt Him and the Beaſts; and therefore I urge my Point, and ask that Queſtion once more, What Benefit wou'd a longer Life be to him? Nay, I back that with a Second, and add, What an Inconvenience would it be to Himſelf, and how miſchievous to the World? It would make his own

own Account the heavier, his Crimes and Arrears the greater, and it wou'd encourage him to yet more Extravagancies than he is guilty of already: For this very Conſideration would put him upon bolder and more deſperate Attempts. The ſhortneſs of his Continuance in the World, as Matters now ſtand, is ſome Check to his wild Career, and breaks all his Meaſures; and the Uncertainty of it abates and damps his Fury: But if theſe Reſtraints were removed, and Aſſurances given of a larger Term, Nothing would be able to ſtop him; his Projects would be always New, without Number, without End; and he would *live* as if he were to *live for ever*. You ſee how ſtrong theſe Inclinations are now. He cannot but feel and fear his own Mortality; and yet theſe Reflections are ſo over-balanc'd by a corrupt Principle within, that he cannot forbear holding faſt what he hath, and eager Deſires and Purſuits of what he hath not, and forming vaſt and very diſtant Deſigns, as if he were really Immortal. * Tis a juſt Reproof which *Seneca* gives, *Ye live, as if Life were never to have an End. The Frailty of your Nature is never thought of; or if it be, 'tis remembred to no purpoſe; for at the ſame time that your Fears are infinite, and this proves you Mortal; your Deſires are infinite too, as if you lookt upon your ſelves to be Immortal.*

Again; What neceſſity is there for all thoſe great and goodly Deſigns, and that mighty Buſineſs, which is pretended to merit a *longer Life* for Mankind, than any other Animal? Does Nature require more back than is given us? No ſure.

* Tanquam ſemper victuri vivitis. Nunquam vobis fragilitas veſtra ſuccurrit; omnia tanquam Mortales timetis, tanquam Immortales concupiſcitis. *Seneca.*

Men

Men have no juſt ground of Complaint; but abundant Cauſe for Indignation and Remorſe, for treating themſelves no better. The *Life* allow'd us is enough to anſwer All the Purpoſes of it; but the Miſery is, that we turn Negligent and Prodigals, and do not husband it ſo well as we might and ought to do: It is not ſhort of it ſelf, but we make it ſo, by waſting it unprofitably. We labour under no Wants of this kind, but what our own Prodigality brings upon us; and are ſcandalouſly laviſh of the Thing we pretend to need moſt. * We loſe it, we ſell it, we throw it away; we vilifie it, and complain that it hangs upon our Hands; we are at ſome pains to paſs it away, as if it were a Matter of no Worth at all; as if our Stomachs were over-loaded, and we ſick and cloy'd with too great Abundance. There is not any of us, but is guilty of one or other of theſe Three Faults; either employing it Ill, or not employing it at All, or employing it Inſignificantly, and to no purpoſe. † *A great part of our Life* (ſays *Seneca*) *is run off in doing what we ſhould not; much the greateſt in doing nothing at all; and almoſt the whole of it in doing things by the by, and ſuch as are not our proper Buſineſs.* No body takes pains in learning how to Live; but All lay out their Studies and their Time upon any other Subject, rather than This. And yet This, like all other Arts, is not to be attained ſlightly and eaſily; a Man cannot be expert in it without long Practice, much Diligence, and very ſollicitous Application of the Mind. Some put off all Thought of *living well*, till they can *live no longer*. They ſpend the Vi-

* Non inopes vitæ, ſed prodigi.

† Magna vitæ pars elabitur malè agentibus, maxima nihil agentibus, tota aliud agentibus.

gour

gour and Flower of their Years in Toil, and Trouble, and Folly; and propose great Enjoyments to themselves hereafter, and wondrous Comforts in their declining Age. How are they sure they shall live to that Age? But if they were, what a wretched Madness is This? Tis directly as if a Man should set his Cask to running, and let out all the best and sprightly Liquor, that he may reserve the Dregs for his own Drinking. *Age* is the *Lee* and *Sediment of Life*; All we can do then, is to try if we can sustain and sweeten it a little; but to defer our Satisfactions till then, is to give them quite away, and lose them for altogether. Nay, many never go thus far, but finish their Day without ever beginning their Work; and go off the Stage without considering why they were brought on, or what Part they were to act. * *Some* (says the Philosopher) *begin to live when they should make an End; others cease to live before ever they begun: Among the many Mischiefs that Folly brings upon us, This is not the least, That it is always beginning to live.* We think of Business, and intend to set about it; but make no Progress at all, nor bring any thing to perfection.

3. *Description of it.*

The World is a Theatre, and our present Life in it, the Beginning and the End of a Play; our Birth draws the Curtain, and our Death shuts it up again: Tis a Comedy of Errours; a constant Succession of Accidents and Adventures, a Contexture and Chain of several Miseries linked closely, and interwoven within one another; nothing but Evil on every side; That which passes off, and that which approaches, and comes into its place; and these drive out, and push forward

* Quidam vivere incipiunt cum desinendum: Quidam ante desiverunt quàm inciperent: Inter cætera mala, hoc quoque habet stultitia, semper incipit vivere.

each

each other, as the Waves of the Sea do in their Ebbings and Flowings; Trouble and Diſquiet are always at hand; but for Happineſs, we are cheated with the empty Shadow of it. Blindneſs and Inſenſibility take up the Beginning of our Lives; Labour and Anxious Care, the Middle; Weakneſs and Pain, the Latter End; But Ignorance and Errour reach from the Beginning to the End; Theſe are inſeparable, and keep us Company quite through.

4. The *Life* of Man hath its Inconveniences and Miſeries of ſeveral ſorts. Some of them are in Common; extending to all Perſons, and all Times; Others are Peculiar and Succeſſive, and diſtinguiſh'd by the different Parts, and Age, and particular Seaſons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Man's Eſtate, and Old Age; for Each of theſe hath its diſtinct Calamities; ſome Embaſements and Incumbrances, which may be properly call'd its own.

5. *Youth and Age compar'd.* When *Youth* and *Old Age* come to be weigh'd one againſt the other, it hath been uſual to give the Advantage to the Latter: And moſt Authors ſpeak of Age with Honour and Reſpect, as having attain'd to greater degrees of Wiſdom, more maturity of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper: All which good Qualities are marvellouſly cry'd up, with a Deſign to put Youth out of Countenance, and to charge upon it the contrary Characters of Vice and Folly, Licentiouſneſs and Extravagance. But with the leave of thoſe, who have thus decided the Controverſie, I muſt take Liberty to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very unjuſt: For, in good truth, the Defects and the Vices of Age are More in Number, Worſe in Quality, and leſs to be reſiſted or recover'd, than thoſe that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tempers

pers ſour and mouldy with long keeping. The Soul keeps pace with the Body; Both are ſpent, and Both decay, till at laſt we grow ſo weak, ſo perfectly helpleſs, as in reſpect of both, to verifie that Proverb, of *Old Men* being *twice Children*. *Age* is a neceſſary, but a ſtrong Diſeaſe; it loads us inſenſibly with grievous Imperfections, and then contrives to cover the Shame of them with creditable Names. What is in effect no other than Moroſeneſs of Humour, a peeviſh diſlike of the preſent Enjoyments, and Diſability to do as the Man did heretofore, paſſes for Wiſdom and Gravity, Experience, and an Inſight into the Vanity of the World. But Wiſdom is ſomewhat much more noble than all this comes to, and far above making uſe of ſuch mean Inſtruments. There is a vaſt difference between *growing older* and *growing wiſer*; between forſaking all Vice, and the changing one for another; and, as it often happens in this Caſe, changing for the Worſe. Old Age condemns the Pleaſures and Gayeties of Youth; but how much of this muſt be allowed to its not being now able to reliſh them any longer? It is like *Eſop*'s Dog, hates and deſpiſes what it cannot enjoy. But This is not to diſdain and give over Pleaſure; it is rather to be diſdain'd and given over by it. Pleaſure is always Airy and Entertaining; and theſe are Perſons no longer for its Turn. But why ſhould they caſt a Reflection upon That, which is due to themſelves? Why ſhou'd Impotence corrupt their Judgment? For this, if impartially conſulted, would tell Young Men, that there is Vice in their Pleaſures; and Old Men, that there is Pleaſure in Vice. And if this were rightly underſtood, and frankly confeſt, Youth would be a great deal the better, and Old Age not one whit the worſe.

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The Vices more peculiar to *Youth* are, Raſhneſs and Heat; Forwardneſs, and an unguarded Converſation; Debauchery, and all manner of Senſual Exceſs. And theſe are in ſome Degree natural to that State; the Effects of Warmth and Vigour, and the Boylings of a Florid Blood: All which, as they need and ought to be corrected, ſo they have ſomething to ſay in their own Excuſe. But what Apology ſhall we make for the Ill Qualities that attend *Old Age*? The lighteſt and leaſt of which are vain Arrogance and Pride; a troubleſome, and peremptory way of Converſing, and an engroſſing all the Talk to themſelves; froward and unſociable Humours, Superſtition and Whimſie; Love of Riches when paſt the uſe of them; ſordid Avarice, and Fear of Death; which generally is not (as ſome have favourably interpreted the Caſe) the effect of a cold Blood, and low Spirits, and of Courage damp'd by theſe Natural Cauſes; but it proceeds from long Cuſtom, and Acquaintance, and a fooliſh Fondneſs for the World; by which the Old Gentleman hath corrupted his Judgment, and hath a greater Tenderneſs for it, than young Men, who enjoy more, and know leſs of it. Beſides theſe, there are Envy, and Ill-Nature, and Injuſtice; but the moſt exquiſite and ridiculous Folly of all, is, that Affectation of a ſevere, and grave, and wiſe Character; and hoping to gain Reſpect and Deference, by an Auſtere Look, and Scornful Behaviour; which indeed does but provoke Laughter, and become it ſelf a Jeſt, while it pretends to extort Obſervance and Fear: For the Young Fellows combine together againſt this formal Auſterity, which they ſee put on only for a Diſguiſe; and with a deſign to amuſe and affright them into Reverence, where real Merit, which would engage it, is wanting. In ſhort, The Vices of Old Age are ſo numerous

on

on the One Hand, and the Infirmities of it on the Other, and Both together conspire to render it so despicable, that the best and most saving Game it can play, is to secure Mens Affections, and to win them by Methods of Kindness, and Affability, and Good-Nature. For Churlishness, and an Imperious Humour, and whatever aims at Fear and Dominion, are not by any means Weapons fit for These Persons to manage. The Affecting so very much Awe, does by no means become them; and if the thing could really be compassed (which it rarely, or never is) yet they should much rather choose to render themselves Agreable; and think the Love, and Respect, and Honour of young Persons, more to be desired, than the keeping them in Constraint and Fear, and Tyrannizing over all that converse with them.

THE

THE
Fourth Conſideration
CONCERNS
Man, *with regard to his Manners, Humour, and Condition,* &c.

A general Draught of Man.

THE Ancient Sages, and as many as have apply'd themſelves to the ſtudy of Humane Nature, when they repreſent *Man* to us, have this remarkable Agreement among them, That in all their Draughts and Deſcriptions, the principal Lines are the ſame. For they All conſpire to paint him, as a Creature made up of theſe Four Things; *Vanity, Weakneſs, Inconſtancy,* and *Miſery.* They ſtyle him *The Prey of Time*; *The Sport and Geugaw of Fortune*; *The Image of Inconſtancy*; *The Pattern*, nay rather *the Prodigy of Weakneſs*; *The Balance of Envy and Miſery*; *a Dream*; a *Phantome*; *Duſt and Aſhes*; a *Vapour*; a *Morning-Dew*; a *Flower that preſently fadeth*; *in the Morning Green and growing up, in the Evening cut down, dry'd up, and withered*; a *Wind*; *Graſs*; a *Bubble*; a *Shadow*; a *Leaf born away by the Wind*; a *Sponge full*

full of Excrements in his Beginning; a *Bundle of Infirmities and Miseries in the Middle State*; *Rottenness and a Nuisance, and Food for Worms, in his Latter End.* In a Word, The most *Despicable*, The most *Calamitous part of the whole Creation.* *Job*, who was as well skilled, and as much experienc'd in this Subject, as any Man ever was, hath drawn him at full Length, in his true Colours and Proportions: And *Solomon* after Him hath done the same in His Books. *Pliny*'s Piece of him is *in Little*, but extremely like the Original, when he calls him * The most wretched, and yet the proudest and most insolent Creature in the whole World. Under the Former of these Attributes, (That of Wretched) he comprehends all the Characters already mention'd, and the Descriptions other Writers have given of him. The Second (That of Proudest) concerns another Head of very great Consideration; and in these Two Words he seems to have comprized all that can be said upon the Matter. These Two Qualities, I confess, seem utterly inconsistent and destructive of each other. For what in Appearance more distant, what more Contradictious, than Emptiness and Presumption, than Misery and Pride? So strange, so monstrous a Composition is *Man*, in which these wide Extremes are Ingredients.

Now the very different parts, whereof Man consists, Body and Spirit, make it exceeding hard to give a tolerable Description of him entire, and altogether. Some charge all that can be spoken in disparagement of Man, upon the Body, and represent him a most excellent Creature,

* Solum ut certum sit nihil esse certi, nec miserius quicquam homine aut superbius.

complete and ſuperiour to any other, in regard of his Mind. But this Method is ſo far from Juſt, that on the contrary, All that is truly Ill, not in Man only, but in the whole World, is the Product and Contrivance of the Mind. And much the greateſt part of the Vanity, Inconſtancy, Miſery, and Preſumption, with which Humane Nature is debaſed, reſides in this part of us; which gave *Democritus* occaſion to call the Mind *An unknown World of Miſeries*; and *Plutarch* proves it by a Tract written on purpoſe, and upon this very Subject. This General Conſideration then, which regards Man in his own Nature, and in the Groſs, ſhall conſiſt of theſe Five Particulars: *Vanity, Weakneſs, Inconſtancy, Miſery,* and *Preſumption*; Which are indeed the moſt Natural, the moſt inſeparable, and univerſal Qualities, of any that belong to him; though the Two laſt ſeem more intimately to concern, and touch him moſt to the quick. I add too, that there are ſome things reducible to ſeveral of theſe Five Heads; and it is not eaſie to determine, which of them they moſt properly belong to, particularly the Topicks of *Weakneſs* and *Miſery*, between which there is great Affinity and Reſemblance.

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* Utrum graviores morbi animi quàm corporis. *Plut. Lib.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

I. *Vanity.*

OF all the Qualities, that belong to Humane Nature, *Vanity* is the moſt Eſſential. The very Peculiar of Man, and Predominate over the reſt. For, whether we regard Moral Evil, or Misfortune, or Inconſtancy, or Irreſolution, or any other ill Property, (of which, God knows, this Soil always bears a plentiful Crop) yet it abounds in nothing ſo much, as in Worthleſſneſs, and Emptineſs; Senſeleſs Folly, and Ridiculous Vanity. Upon this Account *Democritus*, was certainly more in the Right, when he laughed at all Mankind, and treated them with Scorn, and Contempt, than *Heraclitus* was, who wept and afflicted himſelf; and ſo expreſt ſome ſort of Eſteem for Men, as if he thought them worth his Trouble and Concern. And *Diogenes* took a better Courſe in reproaching and diſdaining them, than *Timon* did, who profeſt to hate Mankind, and fled away from all Converſation. *Pindar* hath given a livelier Image of This, than any Author beſides, in that bold Stroke, where he hath joyned the Two Vaineſt Things in the World together, to finiſh his Idea, calling *Man* the *Dream of a Shadow*. This Conſideration hath driven ſome wiſe Men to ſo very great a Contempt of Humane Nature, that when a Difficult, Bold and Noble Undertaking was mentioned to them, they would frequently reply; That all the World was not worth a Man's giving himſelf any Trouble for it, (ſo ſaid *Statilius*

to *Brutus*, when they diſcourſed the Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*) That a wiſe Man ought not to do any Thing upon any Account, but his own. And that it was by no means fit, that Wiſe Men and Wiſdom ſhould ſuffer any Diſquiet, or be expos'd to any Hazard, for the Sake of Fools and Sots.

2. *Vanity of the Thoughts.* This Vanity hath great variety of Ways to expreſs it ſelf by. As, Firſt of all, In our Thoughts, and ſecret Conferences with our Selves, which are very often, even Worſe than Vain, Frivolous, and Ridiculous. And yet in theſe trifling Imaginations we ſpend a great deal of Time, and are not ſenſible of it. We enter upon them, continue in them, and come out of them again, without ever being conſcious of our Motions: Which makes the Vanity double, and argues great Inadvertency, and Diſregard of our ſelves. Here is one walking in his Dining-Room full of Care to manage his Feet ſo, that each Turn may be compaſſed with ſuch a Number of Steps, and that ſuch Parts of the Boards only may be trod upon: A Second forms with great ſerioufneſs long Harangues to himſelf, compoſes a Scene of Action, what he would ſay, and how he would maintain his Port, if he were a King, or a Pope, or ſome other Thing, which he is ſo far from, that he knows it is impoſſible he ever ſhould be ſuch. And thus he feeds upon Wind, nay, upon ſomewhat yet leſs ſubſtantial, upon a Thing that never had, nor ever will have, any ſort of Exiſtence. Another is taken up in contrivance for the Management of his Perſon, the Affecting a particular Motion of his Body, an Air of his Face, a Singularity of Addreſs, odd Sentences, and uncommon Pronunciations; and This he is infinitely delighted with, as a Thing extremely graceful and engaging, and what other People muſt needs admire, and be taken with too. Then how prodigiouſly vain and fooliſh are we in our Wiſhes

Wiſhes and Deſires; from whence ſpring our ridiculous Opinions, and our yet more ridiculous Hopes and Expectations? And This again, not only at ſuch times as we ſurfeit with Leiſure, and have no other Buſineſs to employ our Thoughts; but it very often interrupts our ſerious and moſt important Affairs, and breaks our Thread in the very heat of Action. So *Natural* is *Vanity* to us, and ſo *prevalent* over us, that it Spirits us away, and plucks us forcibly from Truth and Solidity, and real Subſtance; to loſe us in Air, and Emptineſs, and Nothing.

3. *Concern for Futurity.*

But of all Vanities, the moſt refined in Folly, is that anxious Care of what ſhall happen hereafter, when we are gone, and cannot feel it. We ſtretch our Deſires and Affections, beyond our Perſons and Subſiſtence; and are much concerned for things to be done to us, when we ſhall be in no capacity of receiving them. How importunately do we covet Praiſe, and Applauſe after Death? and how egregious a Folly is This? What can be vainer? This is not Ambition, as Men may be apt to imagine; for That deſires a Senſible Honour, ſuch as a Man can enjoy, and reap ſome Benefit from. So far as our good Name indeed is capable of doing Service to our Children, or Relations, or Friends, that ſtay behind, I own there is uſe of it; and am content Men ſhould deſire it in proportion to this Convenience. But to propoſe That, as Our Own Happineſs, which can never reach, or in any Degree affect our ſelves, is meer Vanity. Such another Folly is Theirs, who perplex their Lives with Fears of their Wives marrying ſecond Husbands; and paſſionately deſire they would continue ſingle; nay, are content to purchaſe the Gratification of this Whimſie, at a dear Rate, by leaving in their Wills great part of their Eſtates to their Widows, upon this Condition. What an inſupportable Folly? and,

as it ſometimes falls out, what horrible Injuſtice is This? How directly the Reverſe of thoſe Heroick Spirits in former Ages, who upon their Death-Beds adviſ'd their Wives to Marry again, as ſoon as Decency and Prudence would permit; and to render Themſelves uſeful by bringing Children to the Publick? Some again, Conjure their Friends to wear ſuch a Ring, or a Lock of Hair, or ſome other Relick, as a conſtant Remembrance of them, when they are dead; or leave Directions for ſome Particular thing to be done about their own Bodies; What can we make of all This? hath it not a very untoward Aſpect? Methinks it looks, as if Men could be content to part with *Life*; but could not even then ſubmit to part with *Vanity*, at any Rate.

4. Another *Vanity* is This, That the Generality of Mankind live for Other People only, and not for Themſelves. We are not half ſo much concern'd what we really and truly are in our own Perſons and Diſpoſitions, as what the World takes us for, and how we ſtand in Character and Reputation abroad. And thus we frequently Cheat our ſelves, and caſt away the true Happineſs, and Advantages of Life, and do a Thouſand inconvenient Things; Tho' at the ſame time we Torture our ſelves to be agreable to the Standers-by, and to put on what we know is moſt in Vogue. And this is plainly ſo, not only in our Eſtates, and our Bodies; The Table, the Equipage, the Furniture, the Dreſs, the Figure, all adapted to the preſent Mode, and what the World expects from Perſons in our Circumſtances; But, which is a great deal worſe, and more deplorable; in the Advantages of the Mind the Obſervation holds too. For even Theſe are thought of no Uſe or Worth, unleſs they draw the Eyes and Approbation of other People. And Virtue it ſelf

is

is neglected and diſeſteem'd, if it be not publickly acknowledged and commended: As if the Teſtimonies of ones own Breaſt were no Satisfaction; As if thoſe Things, which were given for our proper Uſe and Benefit, had loſt all their Efficacy, and changed their Nature, when Others do not ſee, and ſhare in them, as well as our Selves.

Nor is our *Vanity* confin'd to ſimple Thoughts, and Deſires, and calm Diſcourſe; but it often riſes higher, puts both Body and Mind into violent Agitations, and Pains. Men often teaze and torment themſelves more, for Matters of little or no Conſequence, than for Thoſe which are of neareſt Concern, and upon which their All depends. Our Soul is frequently thrown into violent Diſorders, by little Whimſies, a meer Fanſie, a Dream, a Shadow and empty Amuſement, without Subſtance, without Ground; and works it ſelf up to all the Exceſſes of Anger and Revenge, Joy and Grief, and Confuſion; and all This with building Caſtles in the Air. The Ceremony of taking leave, the Idea of ſome particular Geſture in a parting Friend, ſtrikes us deeper, and gives us more real Trouble, than all the Reaſoning in the World, upon Matters of greateſt Moment, is able to do. The Sound of a Name repeated, ſome certain Words and melancholy Accents pronounc'd Pathetically; nay, dumb Sighs, and vehement Exclamations, go to our very Hearts. Tricks which all your formal Haranguers, Enthuſiaſts, Buffoons, and Others, whoſe Trade it is to move the Paſſions, know, and practiſe in great perfection. And this airy Blaſt ſometimes ſurpriſes the moſt cautious, and tranſports the moſt reſolved, unleſs they ſet a more than common Guard upon themſelves. So ſtrong an Influence hath *Vanity*, and We ſo mighty a Tendency to it. Nay, as if it were not Reproach ſufficient

5. *Commotions of the Mind.*

to be agitated and toſſed about with Toys and Trifles, even Falſhood and Cheat hath the ſame Effect, and (which is ſtrange) even when we know it is nothing but *Falſhood* and *Cheat*. Such Delight do we take, ſuch Induſtry do we uſe, to Bubble our ſelves with our Eyes open, and to feed upon Fable and Nothing. * How *dextrous we are to deceive our ſelves*, We need no other Inſtances than Thoſe that cry heartily, and fall into violent Paſſions upon hearing diſmal Stories, and ſeeing deep Tragedies, at the ſame time that they know the moving Parts of Theſe to have been invented and compoſed for Entertainment and Diverſion, at the Diſcretion of the Romancer, or the Poet: Nay, ſome of them meer Fables; ſo far from Truth now, that they never were true in any Circumſtance at all. Shall I mention one *Vanity* more? That of a Wretch poſſeſſed, fond and dying for Love of an ugly old Hag; One, whoſe Age and Deformity he knows, and knows that ſhe Hates and Deſpiſes him too; and notwithſtanding all this, is bewitched with a painted Face, and Colours well laid; the Affectation of a Coquette, or ſome other Impoſture, which he ſees and confeſſes to be an Impoſture; and all the while runs mad and owns no other Charm, but what he perfectly ſees through the Fallacy of.

6. *Viſits and Matters of Civility.* But to ſhew you, what Footing *Vanity* hath got, and how cloſe it ſticks to Humane Nature; we will now paſs from private Deportment and Diſpoſitions, to publick Converſation; by which This will plainly appear, to be no particular and perſonal *Defect*, but the *Vice* of the whole Species in common. And here, what Vanity, what loſs of Time

* Ad fallendum noſmet ipſos ingenioſiſſimi ſumus.

may

may we obſerve in the Impertinencies of Viſits, Howd'you's, Forms of Addreſs, mutual Entertainments; In the Offices of Civility, ſet Speeches, and Ceremonious Behaviour; in Proffers of Service, in Promiſes, and Praiſes? How many fulſome Strains of Complement, what Infinite Hypocriſy, Falſhood and Deceit? How open and barefac'd, ſo that the Perſon that utters it, and he to whom it is directed, and every one that ſtands by, ſees and knows, and is ſatisfied it is Falſe? Thus Converſation is now become little elſe, than a Tryal of Skill for Diſſimulation; and looks like a common Confederacy, where Men have combin'd together to lye, and bubble, and abuſe, and make a Jeſt of one another. Nay, good Manners require, that at the ſame time a Man tells you an impudent Lye, you ſhould return him your Thanks, for what you know he intends not a word of; and He again, who is ſatisfied you believe not a Syllable of what he ſays, receives thoſe Acknowledgments of yours with a ſet Face, and an Air of Confidence; and thus you ſtand cringing, and fawning, and dodging for the laſt Word; each ſtriving to begin, and fearing to leave off, and ſhrugging, when both are heartily weary, and would fain be well quit of one another. What Inconveniences are we content to endure for theſe Formalities? We expoſe our Selves to the Air, to Heat, to Cold; diſturb the Peace of our Lives, and are in perpetual Pain for theſe courtly Follies; We neglect our Buſineſs of Weight and Conſequence, and attend upon Wind and Smoke. We are vain at the Expence of our Eaſe, nay, of our Health, of our very Life. And what can prove Mankind more enſlav'd to *Vanity* than This, That *Levity* and Accident tramples *Subſtance* under Foot, and Air carries away ſolid Body, whither it will? eſpecially, when a Man that behaves himſelf otherwiſe, muſt

muſt be look'd upon as a Sot, and a Fool; one that knows nothing of the World, nor what becomes him to do in it: Thus to play this Farce dextrouſly, is the greateſt Mark of Wit; and the moſt affected *Harlequin* in it, is the fineſt Gentleman; but not to be Vain is contemptible Stupidity, and he that declines playing the Fool, betrays his own want of Senſe and good Breeding. Nay, when there is no need of all this Form and Complaiſance, *Vanity* hangs about us ſtill: Witneſs the freer Diſcourſes of the moſt familiar Acquaintance, and intimate Friends. How many trifling Impertinences, Falſhoods, Banters, (I omit the wicked and miſchievous Part, becauſe that falls not under this Head) How many arrogant and vain Boaſtings go to the making up this ſort of Converſation too? Men are ſo induſtrious to take, to ſeek, to make occaſions of Talking of themſelves, or of ſomewhat that belongs to them; They do it with ſo ſenſible, and yet ſo nauſeous a Pleaſure; if they think they have ſaid or done a good thing, or that ſomewhat they are poſſeſt of is better than ordinary, They are ſo uneaſie till they have publiſh'd and enlarg'd upon it; as if all their Wit and Worth were loſt, unleſs other People were made ſenſible of it too: They catch at the very firſt Convenience, cry it up to the greateſt Degree imaginable; nay, they perfectly bring it in by Head and Shoulders, and interrupt all other Diſcourſe to ſtart This: And when any body elſe is Talking, we preſently thruſt our ſelves in, and take an Advantage of ſhewing our Parts; ſo eager are we that People ſhou'd underſtand what we are, and have a regard for us; and not for Us only, but for every thing that we have a regard for.

As

As a yet greater Demonſtration, how abſolute a Sovereignty *Vanity* hath obtain'd over Humane Nature, we need but recollect the moſt conſiderable Revolutions that ever happen'd in the World, and the Occaſions of them: For thus it will ſoon appear, that the moſt general and moſt formidable Convulſions of Cities and Kingdoms, and whole Empires; the Seditions, and Revolts, and Eates of Armies; the bloodieſt Battels, the barbarouſeſt Murders, the ſharpeſt Diſputes, and moſt implacable Quarrels, have proceeded from very trifling, ridiculous, and inſignificant Cauſes. Witneſs the long War between *Troy* and *Greece*, the Piques of *Sylla* and *Marius*, and all the Confuſions that follow'd from thence, in the Civil Wars of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*. The Poets have repreſented this well enough, by pretending an Apple to have been the *Boutefeu*; the Original of all that Blood and Devaſtation in *Aſia* and *Greece*. And indeed the firſt Springs, upon which theſe vaſt Events move, are commonly Things of no conſideration; but That which begins very ſmall, ſwells to a vaſt Bulk afterwards; and the blowing it up thus, is an irrefragable Proof of the Vanity and Folly of Mankind. Nay, many times an occaſional thing goes further with us than the principal Cauſe; and ſome paltry little Circumſtances make more ſenſible Impreſſions, and gall us more than the main Matter to which they retain; as *Cæſar*'s Robe put *Rome* into greater Paſſion and Concern, than his Death it ſelf, and the Two and twenty Stabs in his Body had done before. 7. *Publick Commotions.*

The Laſt, and indeed the moſt exquiſite *Vanity*, is our ſeeking with ſo much Induſtry and Paſſion, and pleaſing our ſelves ſo highly; nay, placing our very *Happineſs* in Advantages, which have neither real Worth, nor Neceſſity to recommend Them: 8. *Notions of Happineſs and Content.*

But

But as they are trifling and frivolous in themſelves, ſo they are ſuch as we may be very happy, and live very comfortably and conveniently without. Whereas on the other hand, thoſe that are neceſſary, and eſſential to our true Happineſs, find little or no part of the Regard due to them; and every Body is indifferent whether he hath Them or not. Thus the Condition of Man is all Air and Speculation; His whole *Happineſs* imaginary; Opinion and Dream is all he purſues; and in this he ſtands Alone, and cannot match himſelf in the whole World. *God* hath all *Good* in Eſſence and Reality, and *Evil* in Notion and Underſtanding only. *Man*, on the contrary, hath only fantaſtical *Good*, but his *Evils* are weighty and ſubſtantial. *Beaſts* are not ſatisfy'd with Opinion, nor do They feed upon Fancy, but require ſomewhat that is preſent, and ſenſible, and real, to content them. *Vanity* is reſerv'd to Man for his Portion, the Inheritance and peculiar Right of his Nature. He runs, he buſtles, he fights, he dies, he flies, he perſues; he graſps at a Shadow, he Worſhips the Wind; he ſweats and toils all Day, and in the Evening, when his Gains come to be computed, a Mote is all the Wages he receives for his Work.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

II. *Weakneſs.*

WE are now advancing to the Second Head, under which Humane Nature is to be conſidered; and This cannot be any Surprize, after what hath been ſaid already. For how ſhould ſo much Vanity be otherwiſe than Feeble and Frail? Accordingly, this Frailty is frankly confeſſed by all People, and ſeveral Inſtances of it reckoned up, which are too Plain not to be diſcerned: But then it is not obſerved in its due Proportion, nor in all Caſes where it really hath a Part; as in thoſe, for Inſtance, which ſeem to have more of *Strength*, and a leſs Mixture of *Weakneſs*; ſuch as Deſire; The Uſe and Enjoyment of what a Man is poſſeſt of; In his Good and his Evil; in ſhort, ſuch as Man takes a Pride in, and values himſelf upon. And yet, even Theſe ſuppoſed Glories and Excellencies of his Nature, are undeniable Arguments of his Weakneſs. This may poſſibly ſeem a Paradox at firſt Sight; but a few particular Reflexions, will give us a clearer and more diſtinct View of the Thing. 1.

Firſt, As for Deſires; It is manifeſt a Man cannot fix upon any Thing, not even in Wiſh and Imagination, ſo as to ſit down with That, and reſt himſelf contented. We have it not in our Power, to Chuſe what is neceſſary, and fit for us; nor to ſay, in Particular, what This would be. And if Providence in Wiſdom and Kindneſs, beſtow what we deſire, and what really is fit, upon us, yet it does not ſatisfie. We are Eternally gaping at ſome- 2. *In deſiring and chooſing.*

what

what Future and Unknown; and find, that what is preſent never fills, never contents; but what we have not, is ever eſteemed above it. Could we ſuppoſe a Man ſo far indulged, that a Blank ſhould be put into his Hands, to write his own Terms; yet even That Fortune of his own Carving, would not be ſo to his Palate, but that in a ſhort Time he would retract it; ſome Alterations and Amendments, ſomething to be added or taken away: In ſhort, he deſires he knows not what. How well ſoever the Particulars may pleaſe, yet when the Account comes to be ſummed up, nothing contents him; for, to ſay the Truth, he is Uneaſie, and diſcontented with his own ſelf.

3. *In Uſing and Enjoying.* His *Weakneſs* is ſtill Greater, and more conſpicuous, in the Uſe and Enjoyment of what he hath, than in the Deſire of what he hath not; and that in ſeveral Reſpects. Firſt, in that he cannot manage, nor reap the Benefit of Things as they really are, and in their Native Purity; but there is a Neceſſity of diſguiſing, and adulterating them, that they may be accommodated to our Purpoſe. Elements, Metals, and other Things in their Primitive Simplicity are perfectly uſeleſs to us; Pleaſures and Delights, are never to be enjoyed without a Mixture of Pain and Inconvenience.

* —— *For ſtill ſome bitter Thought deſtroys*
Our fancied Mirth, and Poiſons all our Joys. Creech.

Extremity of Pleaſure, carries with it an Air of Melancholy and Complaint; and the higheſt Gratifications of Senſe, are Weakneſs, and Faintings: And that which gives True and Perfect Content-

* —— Medio de fonte leporum.
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipſis floribus angat. *Lucret.* L. 4.

ment

ment hath much more Solidity, and a ſevere Satisfaction, than of Gayety and Tranſport in it.

† *Even* Happineſs, *it ſelf, if it do not moderate it ſelf, oppreſſes and deſtroys it ſelf.* Which gave occaſion to one of the Antients to ſay, *That God ſold us all the good Things we receive from him*; meaning, that none of them are Pure and Unmingled; and we cannot be ſaid to have That *gratis*, for which we pay the Price of that Evil and Uneaſineſs which attends it. The Caſe is directly the ſame with *Grief* too, for This is never without ſome ſort of Pleaſure annexed to it. ‖ *Pleaſure and Pain, tho' in their Natures the moſt unlike that can be, are yet ſo contrived, by Nature, as to be conſtant Companions, and go Hand in Hand*——

Even Tears are ſhed for Pleaſure and Relief,
And Humorous Man turns Epicure in Grief.

Thus all Things in this World are mingled and tempered with their Contraries; and it is not amiſs to Obſerve, what Maſters in Painting teach us, That the very ſame Motions and Muſcles of the Face, are employed both in Laughing and Crying. And common Experience ſhews us, that exceſſive Laughter brings Tears. There is no good Quality in us, without ſome Tincture of Vice, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper Place hereafter; nor is there any Evil, without ſome abatement of Good.* Every Misfortune is capable of being turned to Advantage; there is no Good without Evil, no Evil without Good in Man; every Thing is a Mixture, and nothing comes to our Hands ſincere and

† Ipſa felicitas ſe niſi temperat, premit.
‖ Labor voluptaſque diſſimillima naturâ, ſocietate quadam naturali inter ſe ſunt juncta; eſt quædam flere voluptas.
* Nullum ſine authoramento malum eſt.

unmin-

unmingled. *Secondly*, All that happens to us, is miſmanaged, and taken by the wrong Handle; Our Palats are humorſom and uncertain, and know not how to reliſh Things as they ought; and from This variety of Taſts, it is, That the endleſs Diſputes, and Inreconcileable Opinions, concerning the *Chief Good*, have proceeded. The very beſt Things, oftentimes, decay and die upon our Hands; are corrupted by our Weakneſs, or our Wickedneſs; or are loſt and come to nothing, for want of Ability to make the Beſt of them; nay, ſometimes they do not only turn to No Account, but to a very Ill One; and what is Good in it ſelf, proves to Us, a mighty Evil, and manifeſt Diſadvantage.

4. *In Good and Evil.*

But the Weakneſs of Humane Nature is moſt copiouſly diſplay'd, with regard to Good and Evil, to Virtue and Vice. My Meaning is, That a Man with all his Induſtry and Endeavours, cannot be entirely Good, nor entirely Wicked. He is Maſter of nothing, in ſhort. Upon this occaſion we will conſider Three Points. The firſt is, That it is not poſſible to exerciſe every kind of Virtue; The Reaſon is, that ſome of them are incompatible, and can never dwell together; the ſame Perſons, and the ſame Circumſtances, are not capable of them. As for Inſtance, The Chaſtity of a Virgin, and that of a Widow; the Virtues of a Single, and thoſe of a Married Life; Theſe Latter in each Kind, Widowhood and Marriage, being Conditions of much more Encumbrance, and Trouble, more Difficulty, and therefore more Virtue, than the quiet, and undiſturbed State of Celibacy and Virginity; though Thoſe on the other Hand, have the Advantage in Purity, and Grace, and Freedom from Buſineſs and Care. The Conſtancy and Greatneſs of Mind, which exerts it ſelf in Poverty and Want, in Affliction and Pain, is very

I. *Virtue and Vice.*

See Adverti-ſements at the End of the Chapter.

ry Different from that, which preſerves a Man's Temper in Proſperity and Plenty; and the Patience and Thankfulneſs of the Receiving Beggar, from the Liberality of the Giver. And as This holds in Virtues, ſo does it much more in Vices, ſeveral of which are not only very far Diſtant, but Diametrically oppoſite to each other.

It is no leſs obſervable, Secondly, That many Times our Matters are ſo ordered, as not to permit the Performance of ſuch Actions, as relate to One Virtue, without encroaching upon ſome Other, and doing what is inconſiſtent with, or offenſive to That very Virtue we are practiſing; becauſe things often interfere and obſtruct us, ſo that we cannot ſatisfie One Duty, but at the Expence of Another. This is like what our Proverb calls *Robbing Peter, to pay Paul*, and yet thus it is; not from any Deficiency in Virtue it ſelf, but from the Impotence and Inſufficiency of Humane Nature, which is too ſhort, too narrow, to give or receive any certain, conſtant, univerſal Rule of acting Virtuouſly; and Man cannot ſo contrive his Methods, and provide himſelf with Helps, and Occaſions of doing Good, but that they will frequently croſs and interrupt one another. Thus *Charity* and *Juſtice* are ſometimes impracticable at once. If I engage againſt my Relation, or my Friend, in a Battle; *Juſtice* requires me to take his Life, and Treat him as an Adverſary; *Charity* and Affection bid me ſpare and preſerve him as a Friend. Suppoſe a Man mortally wounded, and that he hath nothing to expect, but the languiſhing out the miſerable Remains of Life, in extreme Torture; it were certainly an Act of Charity, to put this wretched Creature out of his Pain, by killing him out-right, as the Perſon who kill'd *Saul* alledged for himſelf; and yet this is ſuch a Mercy, as Juſtice would call one to an Account for; and 5.

David puniſhed it accordingly. Nay, the being found near ſuch a Perſon in a lonely Place, when Search is made for the Murderer, though one be there with Intentions of Kindneſs, is exceeding Dangerous; and the leaſt, that can come of it, is the being made to undergo the Courſe of the Law; and brought upon Tryal for a Misfortune which one had no Hand in. And this laſt Inſtance ſhews, how *Juſtice* does not only offend againſt *Charity*, but alſo how it intangles and obſtructs it ſelf, according to that moſt true Obſervation, * *The Extremity of Right is the Extremity of Wrong.*

6. The Third Caſe, and indeed, the moſt remarkable of all, is The Neceſſity Men are ſometimes under of uſing Evil Means to deliver themſeves from ſome greater Evil; or for the compaſſing ſome Good End. So that Things in themſelves not Good, nay, much otherwiſe, are ſometimes legitimated, and have Credit and Authority given to them, for the Sake of the Purpoſes they ſerve: As if Men might, nay, as if they muſt, be wicked in ſome Degree, in Order to becoming Good in a greater. And this not only Policy and Juſtice; but Religion too, furniſhes Examples of.

7. II *Politicks* In *Politicks*, How many indirect Practices are allow'd, and daily made uſe of? And this not merely upon Permiſſion and Connivence, but even by expreſs Direction and Approbation of the Laws. † *Crimes are Eſtabliſhed by Publick Edicts*, as we ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve more at large in another Place. When a State is full and overgrown, like a replete Body, whoſe Humours are either too Noxious, or too many to be endured; the Method of diſcharging this Oppreſſion, is, to ſend off its Superfluities of Men, or thoſe among

Book III. Chap. 2.

* Summum Jus ſumma Injuria.

† Ex Senatus conſultis & plebiſcitis ſcelera exercentur.

them,

them, who are of the hotteſt and warlike Diſpoſitions, to be knock'd on the Head abroad. Thus a Vein is breath'd; but the Eaſe it gives, is at the infinite Expence and Trouble of ſome other Countrey. And this we know hath been the Practice of *Franks* and *Lombards*, *Goths* and *Vandales*, *Turks* and *Tartars*. So again, a Foreign War is often begun, and maintained abroad, on purpoſe to keep buſie Spirits employ'd, and to prevent Inſurrections, and Civil Diſſentions at Home. *Lycurgus*, as a Leſſon of Temperance, uſed to make Slaves Drunk; that Men of Quality, from Their Extravagances, might learn to deteſt this Vice. The *Romans*, to harden their People, and make Dangers and Death familiar and contemptible, inſtituted thoſe Inhumane Sights of their Gladiators, and entertained them with Blood and Slaughter every Day. This at firſt, indeed, was confin'd to condemned Malefactors only; then it came to Innocent Slaves; and at laſt Free-Men, and People of Condition practiſed, and valued themſelves upon it. The Stews in ſome great Cities, are of the ſame Kind; and ſo are the Uſury, the Divorces of the Law of *Moſes*, and among other People and Perſuaſions; Whoſe only Recommendation is This, That they are allowed for a preſent Neceſſity, and to put a Stop to greater Miſchiefs.

So likewiſe in *Juſtice*, which cannot ſubſiſt nor be put in practice, without ſome mixture of *Injuſtice*. Nor is this the Caſe of *Commutative Juſtice* only, This were no ſtrange Matter; for here it is in ſome ſort neceſſary; Men could not live by their Trades, nor maintain Commerce with one another without ſome reciprocal Injuries and Offences; every Man muſt ſell a thing for more than it is ſtrictly worth; and therefore ſome Laws have allow'd Men to Cheat, provided it be not above

8. III. *Juſtice.*

half the Price of the Goods: But *Diſtributive Juſtice*, which conſiſts in dealing Rewards and Puniſhments, does the like; ſo ſhe her ſelf confeſſes, * *Extreme Right is extreme Wrong.* And *All eminent exemplary Caſes have ſome Allay of Injuſtice in them; wherein however, the Hardſhips which private Men ſuffer, are well paid with the Advantages that accrue to the Publick from them.* *Plato* allows in ſeveral places, that Publick Miniſters ſhould draw Criminals to a full Diſcovery, by falſe Hopes and Promiſes of Pardon and Favour, which they never intend to make good. Which is to make a way to Juſtice thro' Impudence, and Cozenage, and Falſhood. And what ſhall we ſay of that curſed Invention of Racks, which are a Tryal of Patience indeed, but none at all of Truth? For you ſhall never be able to get the Truth out of Them that can, nor out of Them that cannot endure them. Why ſhou'd we think extremity of Pain can more diſpoſe a Man to tell what is, than to tell what is not? If an Innocent Man be ſuppoſed endu'd with Patience enough to bear the Torture, why ſhould the Concern for ſaving his Life inſpire a guilty Perſon with the ſame degree of Reſolution? I know it is commonly reply'd in excuſe of this Barbarity, That the Pain aſtoniſhes and enfeebles the Guilty, and extorts a Confeſſion of his Treachery from him; whereas it hath the quite contrary effects of confirming and fortifying the Innocent. But the Contrary of this happens ſo often, that to ſpeak the Truth, This is an enſnaring and a pitiful Method; a poor and baſe way of Dealing, full of Doubt and Uncertainty. For what would not a

* Summum Jus ſumma Injuria Et Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra ſingulos Utilitate publicâ rependitur.

Man

Man ſay or do to get quit of ſuch Miſery? * *Pain extorts Lies from the moſt Innocent*; ſo that a Judge, which examines upon the Rack, to prevent the Death of Innocent Perſons, firſt Racks the Innocent, and then Murders him. Many a Thouſand People have loaded themſelves with falſe Accuſations. But were it not ſo, what intolerable Injuſtice and Cruelty is it to torture and break a Man to pieces, for a Fault which as yet there is no Proof of? To avoid killing him without Cauſe, they do ten times worſe than kill him. If he be innocent, and bear it out, What Juſtice can there be in putting him to any Pain at all? You'll ſay, By bearing the Rack he is abſolv'd; I thank you very kindly. But This, however, tho' an Evil, is the leaſt, Humane Infirmity could contrive; and yet this is not practiſed every where neither. I confeſs, to Me the Cuſtom of determining Controverſies, and clearing Men's Innocence by Combat, ſeems to have leſs of Injuſtice and Barbarity in it. And yet This, tho' formerly much in requeſt, is long ſince very juſtly condemned and exploded. For Chriſtianity allows no ſuch bloody Methods, nor warrants any dependence upon them, for a diſcovery of the Truth.

But if *Man* be ſo weak (as we have ſeen) in regard of Virtue, and in his *practical* Capacity; he is much more ſo in his *Intellectual*, and in relation to *Truth*. Tis prodigious, that Man ſhould be ſo form'd by Nature, as to deſire Truth eagerly, and grudge no Pains to attain it; and yet ſo at the ſame time, as not to bear it when it offers it ſelf to his View. The Flaſhes of it blind him, the Thunder of it ſtuns him; it is too bright, and too loud to be born. This is not Truth's Fault how- V. 9. *Truth.*

* Etenim Innocentes mentiri cogit Dolor.

ever, which is exceeding beautiful, exceeding lovely, exceeding good and beneficial to Mankind; and what was ſaid of *Virtue* and *Wiſdom*, is at leaſt as properly applicable to *Truth*; * *That could we behold all its Charms, the whole World would be infinitely in love with it.* But the Defect is on Man's ſide; his Faculties cannot bear ſo ſtrong a Light; its Beams dazzle, nay hurt his Senſes. In Affairs merely Humane, he that ſets it before us, is eſteem'd our Enemy. Truth and Plain-dealing are diſobliging things. And what Perverſneſs is this? that what we love and ſeek ſo paſſionately, we ſhould be ſo loath, ſo angry to find? Truth is not only amiable, but knowable too, yet not perfectly ſo by Us; for at preſent it ſeems Man is only ſtrong in Deſire, but weak in his Enjoyment of it; and not able to receive what he deſires. The Two chief Means made uſe of to bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth, are *Reaſon* and *Experience*. But both theſe are inſufficient, and ſo very weak (tho' of the Two, *Experience* ſeems the more ſo) that no certain Concluſions can be drawn from them. *Reaſon* hath ſo many Tricks and Turnings, is ſo flexible in its Arguments, and ſo diſguis'd in its Forms, that any thing may be made plauſible from it; (as will be obſerv'd in another place) *Experience* is no leſs fallible, becauſe Events are conſtantly unlike one another. Nothing in Nature is ſo Univerſal as Diſparity; nothing ſo rare, ſo difficult, ſo impoſſible indeed as Likeneſs: And nothing argues greater Weakneſs, and want of Judgment, than the not being able to diſcern and diſtinguiſh the Difference. This, however, is to be underſtood of ſuch a Likeneſs, and ſuch a Diverſity as is perfect, and holds in every Circumſtance: For indeed both Similitude and Diſſimilitude are everywhere in ſome reſpect and degree. No Two things are in every

*Quæ ſi oculis cerneretur, mirabiles ſui amores excitaret. *Cic. of. l.* 1.

regard

regard Like; none in all reſpects Unlike one another. So exceedingly ingenious hath Nature approv'd herſelf in the Mixture and Compoſition of the World.

But after all, What can make more full Diſcoveries of Humane Infirmity, than *Religion* it ſelf hath done? Its main Intention and End is to lower Man in his own Eſteem; to ſhew, and make him duly ſenſible, how *wicked*, how *weak*, how *mere a Nothing* he is; and in this humble Senſe, to drive him to God for Succour and Support, who is, indeed, his *Happineſs*, his *Refuge* and *Strength*; nay, his *All*. The firſt Method taken to inculcate theſe mean Notions of our Selves, is by Inſtructing, Reminding, Upbraiding us; ſetting before us the Reproachful Titles of *Duſt and Aſhes*, *Earth*, *Fleſh and Blood*, *Graſs*, and the like.

After that, it inſinuates this Truth after a moſt noble, and excellent, and ſtupendous manner; introducing God, humbling, debaſing himſelf, and becoming weak for the ſake of Man; ſpeaking, expoſtulating, entreating, promiſing, ſwearing, growing angry, threatning; and, in a Word, entring into Treaty and Terms, and managing him by all the endearing Arts of Perſuaſion, in the ſame tender, kind, condeſcending Methods, with which a fond Father wins and gains upon his Children, by ſtooping to their little Follies, and imitating their Infant-Imperfections. So very great it ſeems, ſo inſuperable was the Weakneſs of Humane Nature, that no Acceſs could be attain'd, no Correſpondence held with the Divinity, till God himſelf was pleas'd to make the firſt Approaches; and by deſcending to our Capacities, and our Level, to draw us nearer to himſelf. While He continu'd in his Native Majeſty, the Diſtance was too vaſt; and therefore the only way to bring Us up to Heaven, was for God to come down upon Earth.

A Third Inſtance is in the *Ordinary Exerciſe of Religion*; for what more lively Emblems, more expreſſive Symbols, more unanſwerable Proofs of our Impotence and Infirmity, than the *Principal* and moſt *Solemn Acts* of *Worſhip* have ever been?

What ſhall we ſay to *Sacrifices*, which in former Ages ſeem to have been in uſe all the World over? I mention not the horrible unnatural Cruelties, into which, thro' the Corruption of Mankind, and the Wicked Artifice of the Devil, this Cuſtom degenerated in Idolatrous Countries; thoſe barbarous Oblations, or rather Murders and Maſſacres of Men and Children, of the beſt and moſt innocent Perſons among them: But, confining our ſelves to that of Beaſts only, we ſhall be clearly convinc'd, that Theſe were ſo many Marks and Remembrancers of Men's own Vileneſs and Infirmity.

For, firſt of all; In the very Nature of the Thing, they were ſo many *Teſtimonies* of the *Curſe and Condemnation we lay under*; a ſort of publick, authentick Acknowledgment, that the Offerer himſelf had juſtly deſerv'd that Death, inflicted by Him upon the Beaſt; and a beſeeching God to accept that *devoted Life*, in the ſtead of his *own forfeited Life*: For without all Diſpute, had there been no *Curſe*, no Condemnation to which Men were liable; neither wou'd there have been any Place, or poſſible Occaſion for *Bloody Offerings*, Expiations, or Propitiatory Sacrifices.

This is a farther Evidence, Secondly, of our Weakneſs, if we look at the Meanneſs of the Intention, upon which that Uſage grew and was encourag'd; and That cou'd be no other than the Hope of Appeaſing and Gratifying Almighty God, by ſuch Bloody Oblations. I ſpeak not now of the Reaſons why God inſtituted Sacrifices; but of that Notion which plainly appears to have been predominant in the Minds of Men, who did not ſee

ſee into the Myſterious End of them; which the Generality of the *Jews* themſelves never did; and much leſs cou'd it be expected that the *Pagan* World ſhou'd penetrate into it.

It is true, indeed, Almighty God, in great Grace and Compaſſion to thoſe more early and ignorant Ages of the World, which knew no better; did very favourably accept Good Men, when they approached him with this ſort of Devotion; and the Apoſtle takes particular Notice of his having *Reſpect to Abel and his Offering*; as the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament does, of his teſtifying that Acceptance by viſible Signs, in the Caſe of *Noah*, *Abraham*, and Others. There being this Motive to his Mercy, that what was done of that kind proceeded from an Intention to ſerve and honour him; and that the Underſtandings of Men were groſs and heavy; they were in their Minority, and under a *Schoolmaſter*, (as St. *Paul* expreſſes it of the *Jewiſh* People) but at the ſame time honeſt and well-meaning: And it is not improbable, that this Opinion, ſo univerſal at That time, might repreſent Sacrifices to them, as a Dictate of the Law of Nature, and the only proper Method of Divine Worſhip. Heb. xi.

There was, it is confeſſed, another Conſideration, which rendred *Sacrifices* very valuable and well-pleaſing to God; whereby they were made uſe of, as *Figures* and Repreſentations of that One truly meritorious *Sacrifice*, to be offer'd upon the Altar of the Croſs afterwards. But this is a Myſtery peculiar to the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Religion. And as it is a Common, ſo is it an Excellent and Adorable Inſtance of the Divine Wiſdom, to convert what is of Human Inſtitution, Natural Uſage, or of a Corporeal Nature, to High and Holy Purpoſes, and make ſuch things as the Ceremonial Law conſiſted of, turn to a Spiritual Account.

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But ſtill This does not by any means infer, that God took pleaſure in theſe things, as of any real Intrinſick Worth and Good in themſelves; For even before Grace and Truth ſet this Matter in its cleareſt Light by the Goſpel, the Prophets were not ſparing to declare the Contrary; and Thoſe among the *Jews* of more enlightened Underſtandings, ſaw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu'd. Thus *David*; *Thou deſireſt no Sacrifice, elſe would I give it thee, but thou delighteſt not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin haſt thou not requir'd.* And again, ſpeaking in the Perſon of God himſelf, *I will take no Bullock out of thy Houſe, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds.* They call'd upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. *The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears haſt thou opened, that I ſhould do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* And many other Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe. And at laſt, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himſelf, who was *Truth*, and the Teacher of it, and who condeſcended to come into the World, that he might diſabuſe Mankind, and reſcue them from their Ignorance and Errours, hath utterly aboliſh'd this way of ſerving God: Which he wou'd never have done, had there been any *Eſſential Goodneſs* in it, which cou'd have recommended it for its own ſake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Univerſal Propitiation, the uſe of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, *They that worſhip God muſt worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father*

Pſal. li.

Pſal. xl.

Pſal. l.

John iv. 23, 24.

ther ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him. And without Queſtion, next to the Extirpating Idolatry, This of aboliſhing Sacrifices, is One of the moſt Glorious, Publick Effects; One of the beſt Reformations, which Chriſtianity hath wrought in the World. And hence it was, that *Julian*, the Emperour, its moſt profeſſed, moſt inveterate Enemy, in Deſpight to it, offered more *Sacrifices*, than perhaps any other Man ever did; and endeavoured to introduce This Way of Worſhip, and Idolatry again, as being both directly in Contradiction to the Chriſtian Religion. But of This we have ſpoken ſufficiently; and therefore let us now take a ſhort View of ſome of the other conſiderable Branches of Religion.

The *Bleſſed Sacraments*, when Adminiſtred to us in Elements ſo common, and of ſuch mean Eſteem, as *Bread* and *Wine*, and *Water*; and not only ſo, but in the very Act of Adminiſtration bearing. Reſemblance to the moſt Vulgar and Deſpicable Actions of Life, as *Wiſhing*, *Eating* and *Drinking*, are plain *Memento's* of our continual Weakneſſes, and Wants, our Miſeries and Pollutions. And as the marvellous Efficacy magnifies the Almighty Power and Goodneſs of God, ſo the Need we have of them, ſhould humble us, with mortifying Reflections upon our own feeble Condition.

Thus again, *Repentance* is preſcribed, as the Neceſſary, the only Remedy for our Spiritual Diſeaſes; and 'tis plain, This, Conſidered in it ſelf, is an Act full of Shame and Reproach; it upbraids us with our Faults and Follies; afflicts our Souls with Grief and ſad Remorſe; and ſhews us to our Selves in the Worſt, and moſt Deformed Figures, that can be: But, however Evil and Uncomely this may ſeem in it ſelf, yet it is Neceſſary for reconciling us to God, and That is enough to reconcile Us to it. Another Inſtance may be taken

taken from *Oaths*, which are, indeed, Religious Acts, when lawfully practiſed, by Reaſon of the Name of God, ſolemnly invoked in them: But yet, it is evident, that the Common Uſe and Adminiſtration of theſe, is a Scurvy Symptome, a moſt ſhameful Argument, how little Mankind are to be truſted; What Monſters of Falſhood, and Treachery, of Errour and Ignorance, we are! How vilely ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful the Perſon requiring them is, and how liable to Jealouſie, the Perſon from whom they are demanded; and what a mean Opinion thoſe Law-givers, who ordered them, had, of Mens *Honeſty* and *Truth*; when one's bare Word will not give Satisfaction, and (as our Saviour ſays) *whatſoever is more than this, cometh of Evil.* Thus you ſee, not only how Weak and Sickly our Condition is; but likewiſe what ſort of Remedies, *Religion* hath found it Neceſſary to apply for our Cure. Since it may be ſaid, in ſome Senſe, with Regard to theſe Matters, *That God hath choſen the weak things of this World.* He did not appoint ſuch as were Nobleſt and moſt Excellent in their own Nature, but condeſcended to conſider the Circumſtances of the Patients, and hath accommodated his Applications to Our Capacities. So that the Goodneſs theſe Things have, is not ſo much inherent in their own Nature, as it is Relative, and derived from the Uſes they ſerve, and the Ends to which they are directed. They are Good, as Medicines are, becauſe they checkEvil, and prevent that which is Worſe. They kill the Cauſe and Occaſion of themſelves; for, they ſprung from Sin, and their Buſineſs is to extirpate, and reſtrain Sin. They are Good, as publick Executions are in Common-Wealths; as Sneezing, and Vomiting, and other ſuch violent Evacuations, in our Bodies, whereby the noxious Humours, which oppreſs Nature, are diſcharged; ſuch as are at once the Sign

Matt. V. 37.

1 Cor. I.

and

and the Remedy of a Diſtemper. In ſhort, It is well for us that we have them; but it had been abundantly better for us, if we had never had any Occaſion to make uſe of them; and That Occaſion we never ſhould have had, if Man had continued as God made him, and preſerved his Original Wiſdom and Integrity. And accordingly we may take Notice, that Theſe are Things fitted to this frail and mortal State only; and not any of Thoſe more Noble Parts of Religion, which ſhall be the Eternal Exerciſe of our Souls hereafter, when we are releaſed from this Bondage of Fleſh and Corruption. When our Imperfections and our Sins ceaſe, Theſe ceaſe with them; whereas our Praiſes, our Love of God, and other Duties of Intrinſick Goodneſs, are of Eternal Uſe and Obligation; ſo far from dying with our Sins and Bodies, that they will be the more Conſtant, the more Delightful Employment, of our Sinleſs and Exalted State; and make a conſiderable Part of the Heavenly, and Divine Life.

The former Remarks have ſhewn Man's Imbecillity in *Goodneſs* and *Truth*; what follows may perhaps ſurpriſe you more, becauſe it undertakes to repreſent him no leſs impotent in *Evil* too. For They who do their utmoſt Endeavour to be Wicked, cannot be entirely ſo, but are always forced to leave ſomewhat unfiniſhed. There is conſtantly ſome Secret Remorſe, ſome Conſideration of Honour, or Fear, that checks, and pulls them back; ſlackens and enervates the Will, and keeps them from part of the Villany they intended. And this Reſtraint hath been the Ruine of many a One, who hath propoſed to ſave himſelf, by venturing no farther. Which ſort of Folly, and the Miſcarriages that have been owing to it, gave Occaſion to that Proverb, *That a Man muſt never play the Fool by halves.*

This

This *Rule* is Judicious enough, but deſerves a little Illuſtration, becauſe, as it hath a *Good*, ſo is it likewiſe capable of a very *Bad* Senſe. To underſtand it, as if a Man ought to abandon all Conſcience, and might in any Circumſtances do Well and Wiſely to be Wicked without Reſerve, is a very perverſe Interpretation, and would render it a moſt pernicious Maxim. In this Reſpect, that Contrary Proverb is moſt True, that *The ſhorteſt Follies are the Beſt.* But it is True too, that in ſome Caſes Mildneſs and Moderation are of Dangerous Conſequence; as particularly, when we have a deſperate and formidable Enemy to deal with, and (as we commonly ſay) *Hold a Wolf by the Ears.* A Man then hath no ſafe Middle-Way left; no Courſe to take, but either the winning him over entirely by Courteſie, or abſolutely to ſubdue, and put him out of a Capacity, to do us farther Miſchief. This was the conſtant Method of the *Romans*, and a very prudent One no doubt it is. Thus *Camillus* remonſtrated to the Senate in the Caſe of the *Latines*, after ſeveral Revolts, ſuing for Terms of Reconciliation; That they muſt either be admitted into Friendſhip, or not ſuffered to be a People any longer; and * That there was no other Way left to ſecure a laſting Peace, but either *Extremity of Rigour*, or a *Generous Pardon.* In ſuch an Exigence of Affairs, to do Things by Halves, is to ruine All; as the *Samnites* found by woful Experience, who for want of following the Advice of a † Wiſe Old Senator, who when they had hemm'd in the *Romans*, and had them at their Mercy, gave his

Herennius.

* Dii immortales ita vos potentes hujus conſilii fecerunt, ut ſit Latium deinde, aut non ſit, in veſtrâ manu poſuerint. Itaque pacem vobis, quod ad Latinos Attinet, parare in perpetuum, vel ſæviendo, vel ignoſcendo poteſtis. *T. Liv.* Lib. VIII. Cap. 13.

† Vide *Tit. Liv.* Lib. IX. Cap. 3.

Opinion

Opinion, either for obliging them by Honourable Treatment, or for cutting them all off; paid very dear. That of *Courteſie*, is the Nobler Conqueſt, and ought to be a Man's Firſt Choice; The Second is only for Caſes of Extremity, and ſuch Enemies as Kindneſs will do no Good upon. Now, from all theſe Inſtances, the Infirmity of Humane Nature appears very evidently, both with Regard to *Good* and *Evil*. A Man can neither perform, nor avoid either entirely, and without reſerve; and what he does, or ſo much as he declines of it, is neither the One nor the Other, abſolutely and without mixture. There is ſome Allay, ſome Abatement in both Extremes, and thus Man hath it not in his Power to be *exquiſitely Good*, or *exquiſitely Wicked*, but finds himſelf checked and confined, on either Hand.

Let us proceed to obſerve ſome other Effects, and plain Indications of Humane Infirmity. It is a Littleneſs of Soul, which makes Men, that they neither dare, nor can *reprove* others, when they have done amiſs, nor can bear being reproved Themſelves, when they deſerve it. And this farther Remark is likewiſe True, That Men, as they have, or want Courage, for One of Theſe, ſo do they conſtantly, for the Other of them too. Now, This is a very Fooliſh Niceneſs, to deprive our Selves, or our Friend, of ſo Beneficial and Neceſſary a Kindneſs, merely for a ſlight Scratch, which at the moſt does but pinch our Ears, and make them tingle a little. And near of Kin to This, is that other Folly, of not daring to deny what we are ſenſible is not fit for us to grant, and not being able to receive a Repulſe, with any manner of Temper. 12. *In Reproofs and Denyals.*

When Men are *falſely ſuſpected*, and *wrongfully accuſed*, they are liable to a Two-fold Nicety, and each of Theſe is chargeable with Weakneſs. (In ſuch 13. *Falſe Suſpicions, and Accuſations.*

ſuch Accuſations, I mean, as common Report lays, and not Thoſe which fall upon them in the Methods of Law and Juſtice) One of theſe Extremes, is the Being too eaſily moved, and over-induſtrious to excuſe, or to juſtifie Themſelves, and this ſometimes moſt Impertinently, and Officiouſly.

* ——— *Falſe Reports diſgrace*
And trouble, Whom? The Vicious and the Baſe. Creech.

A Man cannot wrong his Innocence more, than thus, to ſtake his Conſcience upon every ſlight Provocation, and refer his Honeſty to the Arbitration of all Companies he comes into. † *When Things are plain of themſelves, a ſet Argument does but perplex and confound them.* *Socrates*, upon his Tryal, would not ſubmit to be vindicated, either by Himſelf or by any Other; and rather choſe to die Silently, than accept the Aſſiſtance of that Eminent Pleader *Lyſias*, in his Defence.

But the Other Weakneſs is juſt oppoſite to This; when a Man of Courage gives himſelf no Trouble, nor takes the leaſt Pains about his own Juſtification; tho' the Charge upon him have gain'd Ground, and prepoſſeſt many; when he deſpiſes the Accuſation, and the Perſons that lay it, as not worth his Anſwer or Notice; and thinks it would be a Diſparagement and a Reflection to engage with them. This indeed hath been the Practice of ſome great and generous Spirits; of *Scipio* eſpecially, who ſeveral times weathered his Point thus, with marvellous Conſtancy and Firmneſs of Soul. But a great many Perſons diſapprove this Method, and take offence at it; for they think it

* ——— Mendax infamia terret
Quem niſi mendoſum & mendacem? *Hor. Ep.* XVI. *Lib.* II.
† Perſpicuitas argumentatione elevatur.

proceeds

proceeds from Haughtineſs and Diſdain, too great a Value of Themſelves, and want of due Regard for other People. That the depending too much upon one's Own Innocence, and not ſubmitting to remove Jealouſies, is ill Treatment: Or elſe, this obſtinate Silence and Contempt, they interpret Conſciouſneſs of Guilt, Diſtruſt of Juſtice, and want of Ability to juſtifie one's ſelf effectually. Miſerable Condition of Mankind in the mean while! that when they are ſuſpected and accuſed, have no poſſible way of giving entire Satisfaction; but whether they ſpeak, or whether they ſit ſtill and hold their Peace; whether they do, or do not take care to defend their Names from Reproach, are ſure to incur the Imputation of Weakneſs and Cowardice. We think it a Mark of Courage, and adviſe Men not to be Sollicitous in making Excuſes; and when they take our Advice, we are ſuch Fools to Reſent it, and complain that they do not think Us worth excuſing Themſelves to.

14. *Niceneſs and Affectation.*

Another Evidence of *Weakneſs* is the enſlaving our ſelves to any particular Manner, and affecting to be diſtinguiſhed by ſome uncommon way of Living. This is a vile Effeminacy, a Niceneſs moſt unbecoming a Man of Honour; it renders us ridiculous and diſagreeable in Converſation; and is highly injurious to our Selves; by ſoftening our Minds, and making us tender and delicate, and unfit to ſtruggle with any Accident, which may conſtrain us to change our Courſe of Life. Beſides, it is a Reproach, not to dare to do, or endure, what the reſt of the Company do. Such People are fit for no Place but an Alcove, or a Dreſſing-Room. The beſt Faſhion, when all is done, is to be Negligent, and Complying, and Hardy, if need be; to dare, and be able to do any thing; but to uſe this Power in ſuch things

only, as are innocent and good. A Man does well to know and obſerve Rules; but not to Enſlave himſelf to them.

15. *Conſulting of Books.* Another Vulgar Folly there is, and a very general one, which comes under this Head of *Weakneſs*. Tis the running after foreign Examples in Authors; being fond of Quotations, allowing no Teſtimony to have Weight or Credit, except it be in Print; nor any thing to be True, but what is *Old*, and in *Books*. According to this Rule, the Preſs may give Reputation to the greateſt Follies; Whereas in truth, every Day preſents us with freſh Inſtances of Things in no degree inferiour to thoſe more celebrated ones of Antiquity. And if we had but the Wit and the Judgment to make good Reflections upon Theſe; to cull and collect carefully ſuch as are for our Purpoſe; to examine them curiouſly, and diſcover all their Beauties, the Improvement would be wonderful; And every Age would be equal to any of the paſt, the Tranſactions whereof we ſo zealouſly ſtudy and admire; and, to be plain, we ſtudy and admire them for no other Reaſon ſo much, as that they have Antiquity and Authors to recommend them.

16. *Extremes* This again is an Evidence of *Weakneſs*, That Men are capable of nothing, except in moderate Proportions; *Extremes* of any kind are what they cannot bear. If they are very ſmall, and make a deſpicable Figure, we deſpiſe and diſdain them, as not worth our Conſideration: If they be exceeding great and glorious, we are afraid of them, admire, and take offence at them. The Former of theſe Remarks concerns Men of great Quality, and great Judgment: The Second is more generally true of meaner Attainments and Circumſtances in the World.

This

This appears very plain too, in our Hearing and Sight, when we are ſtruck all on the ſudden with ſome unexpected and ſurprizing Accident, which ſeizes our Spirits before we know where we are. The Amazements of this kind are ſometimes ſo great, as to deprive us of our Speech, of our Senſes; ſo *Virgil* deſcribes the thing, 17. *Sudden Accidents.*

* *Her curdled Blood runs backward at the ſight,*
And pale numb'd Limbs a ſudden Trembling ſhook;
She ſtiffens into Statue with the Fright,
Swoons, and at laſt long Silence hardly broke.

nay, ſometimes Life it ſelf hath gone too. And This, whether the Event were proſperous, as that *Roman* Lady, who dy'd for Joy to ſee her Son ſafe return'd out of a beaten Army; and the Examples of *Sophocles*, and *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, Teſtifie; or whether it be unhappy, as *Diodorus*, dy'd upon the Spot for Shame, that he was baffled in a Diſpute.

One Inſtance more I will add, which diſcovers it ſelf Two ways, in direct oppoſition to one another. Some Perſons are vanquiſh'd into Mercy by Tears, and Submiſſions, and earneſt Entreaties; and are offended at Firmneſs and Courage, as if this were Sullenneſs, and Obſtinacy, and Pride. Others Acknowledgments, and Prayers, and Complaints make no manner of Impreſſion upon; but Conſtancy and Reſolution wins them. The Former of theſe proceeds no doubt from *Weakneſs*; and accordingly, we find it more incident and common to Mean, and Effeminate, and Vulgar Souls. But the Second it is not ſo eaſie to give an account of; and yet this Temper is incident to

* Diriguit viſu in medio, calor oſſa reliquit,
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur. *Virg. Æn.* III.

Men of all Conditions. One would think it an Argument of a brave and generous Spirit, to be wrought upon by Virtue, and a generous Manly Behaviour; and ſo no doubt it is, if This be done out of a due Veneration for Virtue, as *Scanderbeg* receiv'd a Soldier into Favour, for the gallant and obſtinate Defence he made againſt him; and as *Pompey*, the whole City of the *Mammertines*, out of the regard he had to *Zeno*, who was one of their Body: And as the Emperour *Conrade* forgave the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the reſt of them that were beſieged with him, for the Bravery of the Women, who convey'd them away upon their Heads. But if this Yielding proceed from the Surprize and Confuſion, occaſion'd by the over-bearing Power of ſome Superiour Virtue, (as the People of *Thebes*, who were quite diſpirited when they heard *Epaminondas* in his Defence, reckon up his good Services, and noble Exploits, and Reproach their baſe Ingratitude with a becoming Indignation; and *Alexander*, when he deſpiſed the noble Reſolution of *Betis*, who was taken with the City of *Gaza*, of which he was Commander) then there is another Account to be given of it. The Former of theſe was Weakneſs; the Second, neither the effect of Courage nor Weakneſs, but of Anger and Rage; which in *Alexander* was never ſubject to any Check, nor ever knew any Moderation.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THis Author had ſaid in the Preface to his Book, that his Deſign was to write after the manner of the Academick Philoſophers; who made it their Buſineſs, to repreſent each ſide of the Queſtion in its utmoſt Beauty and Strength, without delivering any deciſive Opinion in the Caſe, or being bound to ſtand by either Branch of the Controverſie.

troverſie. An Attentive Reader will eaſily obſerve, that Monſieur *Charron* hath thus far maintain'd the Character he propos'd for his Pattern, as to make the moſt of the Arguments that offer'd for his preſent purpoſe, without precluding himſelf from putting quite another Face upon the Matter, when his Subject requir'd, that it ſhould be taken by another Handle. Thus you will find him varying concerning the Attaining of Knowledge by Senſe, and whether This be the Only poſſible way of Information; by comparing Chapter X. and Chapter XIII. And in the very Subject of this Chapter and Section; how diſtant is the Reflection he makes here, from thoſe others which He and other Philoſophers propoſe to us elſewhere; upon the Noble Excellence of Virtue, the Largeneſs of its Scope and Extent; its Independence upon Fortune and Caſualties; and the mighty Convenience of furniſhing ſomething commendable and proper for our Exerciſe, and ſo making us Happy in every poſſible Condition of Humane Life? *Sect.* 10. 11,

This Variety then of Thought is a good warning to avoid what our Author ſo frequently condemns; Too eaſie a Credulity, and taking his Notions upon Truſt: For we find even thoſe Notions not always the ſame, but accommodated to his preſent Subject and Deſign: And That Deſign well attended to, and taken along with us, will be a very good Guide to our Underſtanding him aright. For Inſtance; He had laid it down in the beginning of this Treatiſe, as a Fundamental Principle, That the Ignorance of a Man's Self is the great and moſt governing Errour of his Life; of an Influence ſo univerſally pernicious, that all his Vices and Misfortunes are owing to it. But then This was ſuch an Ignorance as diſpoſed Men to over-value and neglect themſelves, by covering, and quite overlooking the Defects and Diſadvantages of Humane

Nature; and ſo kept the Patient incurable, becauſe inſenſible of his Diſeaſe. In order to remedy this Evil it is, that Monſieur *Charron* undertakes to ſhew Men to Themſelves; and 'tis evident his Deſign requires that he ſhould ſhew the worſt of them; and paint only Thoſe Features and Lines ſtrong, which may diſcover their Deformity, and tend to humble and to mortifie them firſt; and then to awaken that Care, which can never be vigorouſly employ'd, till they are firſt convinc'd of the Weakneſs and Danger of thoſe Circumſtances that want it.

A Philoſopher now under theſe Circumſtances, is thus far like a Law-giver, that it will be Prudence in him to ſuppoſe, and provide againſt the Worſt; and therefore, as I wou'd not extenuate the Art or Wiſdom of my Author, nor do Injury to his Argument; ſo neither can I be juſt to the Dignity of our Nature, and grateful to the Wiſe and Good Creator of it, unleſs I give my Reader theſe ſhort, and (as I conceive) neceſſary Directions in peruſing this *Firſt Part* of the Book.

Firſt, That What is here truly ſaid of ſome, or moſt Men, (and was fit to be ſaid in general Terms, becauſe the worſt Men have moſt need of ſuch Treatiſes, and ſo are moſt concern'd in them) muſt not be ſo univerſally apply'd, or underſtood, as to be taken for a common Standard, and univerſal Repreſentation of all Mankind without Exception.

Secondly, That in thoſe Vices and Defects, which are general, we ſhould make a Diſtinction between ſuch as are eſſential to Humane Nature, and inſeparable from its Original Conſtitution; and ſuch as are the effects of Cuſtom and Corruption, of either *Adam*'s, or our own Sin.

Thirdly; That what we Charge as a Defect be really ſo, and owing to the Cauſe we aſcribe it to.

to. Theſe are neceſſary Cautions for the ſake of doing common Juſtice, as well as preventing Miſtakes in our Selves. It were unreaſonable to take our Meaſures of all Mankind in reſpect of their Bodies, from the Sick or Lame; and from the Fools or the Sots, every whit as extravagant for their Souls. It were a charging God fooliſhly, to aſcribe thoſe Impotencies and Evils to Him, which have been the Conſequences of our Diſobedience againſt Him. And it is a moſt unthankful Aſperſion upon the Beauty and Wiſdom of his Providence, to charge That upon a Defect in Nature, Which is really no other than a natutal Reſult of the different Fortunes and Conditions of Men: Which is exactly the Caſe here before us: For wherein is the Excellent Wiſdom of that Providence more clearly ſeen, than in that uſeful Variety of Circumſtances, which Men are placed in? And what can more Vindicate the *Juſtice* and *Goodneſs* of God from any reaſonable Exception, than This, That there are particular Virtues appropriated to every ſort of Perſons and Accidents; and that no Circumſtance of Life is poſſible, or ſuppoſable, but it may be adorned and recommended by Virtues, which are ſeaſonable and diſtinguiſhing for that very Condition? This Variety of Virtues then is far from a Natural Weakneſs; it is not owing to Nature, but to Fortune and Providence; and is ſo far from a Diſparagement, that it is rather an Ornament and Advantage to the World. Indeed if Nature have any thing to do in it, it is the Nature of Virtue it ſelf; for even Almighty God, who is Goodneſs in Perfection, yet does not exerciſe both Juſtice and Mercy (for Inſtance) at once, to the ſame Perſon, and in the ſame reſpects: And how is Man the worſe for not doing things inconſiſtent and incompatible, and what even Almighty God himſelf does not do? The ſame

may be ſaid of the Defects of Juſtice, taken Notice of afterwards; at leaſt in ſome degree: Thoſe being the unavoidable Conſequences of Multitudes incorporated into Civil Societies, and ſo many Intereſts nicely interwoven with one another: All which I thought it my Duty to hint at, thereby to prevent any mean, repining, or ungrateful Thoughts, which ſuch Reflections as Theſe, when laviſhly ſpoken, or unwarily received, might be apt to raiſe in Men's Minds, to the Diſquiet of their own Hearts, and the Diſhonour of the Maker and Governour, not only of the Humane, but of Univerſal Nature.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

III. *Inconſtancy.*

MAN is a Creature wonderfully Various and Mutable; and the great Difficulty of coming to any Judgment concerning Him, which ſhould be certain, fixt, and univerſal, proceeds from hence, That our Lives are not all of a Piece, but made up of diſagreeing and different Parcels. Moſt part of our Actions do not ariſe from ſteady Thought, but are ſudden Starts and Sallies, the Effects of Accident and Impulſe, and look like Shreds of ſeveral Stuffs patch'd up, and ſewed together. Firſt Irreſolution, and then Fickleneſs and Change of Meaſures when we have reſolved, are the commoneſt and moſt apparent Vices of Humane Nature. And our Actions, 'tis plain, do ſo ſtrangely croſs and contradict one another, that it is not eaſie to believe ſo many Contrarieties ſhould all be deriv'd from the ſame Original. We change and

and are not ſenſible of it: We run eagerly after every Whimſie of our own Appetites, and are born away by the Stream of Accidents and Paſſions; Tis no more Reaſon, but Inclination that governs us: * *But ſure it is, nothing can ever be regular and ſteady, which is not directed and order'd by Reaſon and Method.* Thus our very Minds and Tempers vary too; the Climate, the Weather, and the Motions of Time and Seaſons, make conſiderable Alterations and Differences in us.

† *In each Man's Breaſt This Weathercock, the Mind,*
Moves with the Sun, and ſhifts with every Wind.

Our whole Life is nothing elſe, but one unequal, irregular, and many-figur'd Motion; nothing ſtrait, nothing ſteady; We are perpetually moving and turning; and the very change of our Poſture is ſo frequent, as to be an Uneaſineſs and Trouble to us. || *No Man continues to wiſh and deſign the ſame thing two Days together. Now the Man is for Marrying; by and by a Miſtreſs is preferr'd before a Wife: Now he is Ambitious and Aſpiring, and looks Big; preſently the meaneſt Servant is not more humble, more condeſcending than He. This Hour he ſquanders his Money away; the next he turns Miſer, and ſcrapes all he can. Sometimes he is frugal and ſerious; ſometimes profuſe, airy, and gay. Thus we ſhift our Characters each Moment, and act a Thouſand ſeveral Parts.*

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* At nil poteſt eſſe æquabile, quod non à certâ ratione proficiſcitur.

† Tales ſunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipſe
Jupiter auctiferâ luſtravit lampade terras.

|| Nemo non quotidie conſilium mutat & votum, modo uxorem vult, modo amicam; modo regnare vult, modo non eſt eo officioſior ſervus; nunc pecuniam ſpargit, nunc rapit; modo frugi videtur & gravis, modo prodigus & vanus; mutamus ſubinde perſonam.

The

The Mind is with it ſelf at ſtrife,
And diſagrees in all the Courſe of Life;
For what it hated now, it ſtreight deſires,
What now it threw away, it moſt admires. Creech.

So little is any of us the ſame; and ſo much harder is it to Sound and Know *Man* perfectly, than any other Creature whatſoever: For he is full of Doubles and Trickings; the cloſeſt, cunningeſt, and moſt Counterfeit part of the Creation. He hath a Thouſand little Cloſets and falſe Doors, where he hides, and comes out again; Sometimes a Man, ſometimes a Monſter; a Thouſand Breathing-holes, at which he blows ſometimes Hot, ſometimes Cold, and almoſt blinds you with Cloud and Smoak. Every Agitation is but a freſh Folly; and the Courſe of his Life One continu'd Errour. He is born in the Morning, and dies at Night; is ſometimes in Chains, and ſometimes at large; ſometimes a God, and ſometimes an Inſect: He Laughs and Cries for the ſame thing; is ſatisfy'd and diſſatisfy'd; ever wiſhing, and never knowing what he would be at. Sometimes tranſported, and ready to leap out of his Skin for Joy; and preſently again ſo melancholy and dejected, that nothing can content, nothing quiet him, or make him think Life tolerable.

Quod petiit ſpernit, repetit quod nuper omiſit,
Æſtuat, & vitæ diſconvenit ordine toto. *Horat.* 1. *Ep.* L. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Misery.

WE are now to draw the largeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhing Line of the whole Piece. *Man* hath been, already, deſcribed *Vain* and *Feeble*, *Frail* and *Inconſtant*, with Regard to *Goodneſs* and *Happineſs*, and *Eaſe*; But he is *ſtrong* and *luſty*, *conſtant* and *hardened*, and *tough* in *Miſery*. He is in a manner *Miſery alive*, and in *Humane Shape*; and no one Word is equally expreſſive of his Condition. For all *Miſery* centers in him, and dwells in no other part of the World beſides. To be Miſerable is the Property of our Nature; Man alone is ſo, and every Man is ſo, as will appear by and by. For a true Repreſentation of this Matter, it were convenient to run over all the parts of his Life; to deſcribe his Eſſence, his Coming into the World, his Stay in it, and his Departure out of it. This were an endleſs Undertaking, and I pretend not to it; nor need I indeed, becauſe ſo many have handled the Subject before me. What I intend at preſent, is only to inſtance in ſome Particulars, not commonly taken Notice of, nor reputed Unhappineſſes; at leaſt, ſuch as Men do not throughly conſider, nor are ſufficiently ſenſible of, tho' they be in reality very grievous, if we make a true Judgment of them. 1. *Miſery proper to Man.*

Take this then for the Firſt Proof of Man's Miſery, That his Firſt Appearances in the World are Mean and Deſpicable; but his Going out of it, his Death and Deſtruction, are eſteem'd Glorious and full of Honour. By which One would be tempted 2. *In his Beginning and End.*

pted to think this a monſtrous Creature, in the Production whereof there is ſo much Shame, and ſo much Reputation in the Unmaking him again. What relates to the former of Theſe, Modeſty draws a Veil over; But the latter is proclaimed and receiv'd with Triumph; The Inſtruments are prepared with great Expence; We wear them conſtantly about us, and look upon Them as Ornaments to our Perſons. We are born in Chambers privately, but die before many Spectators, in Fields and Camps, in the Sight of the Sun, and with Sound of Trumpet, and are proud of Butchering one another. Nature hath provided but One Way of coming into the World, but a great many Paſſages out; and, as if even thus Nature had done too little, Invention and Induſtry have added their Aſſiſtance, and make Men every Day more Ingenious in new Arts of Killing. Laws and Cuſtoms have not aſſigned any Recompence for Mens Skill in multiplying, or in preſerving Mankind; But all our Enſigns of Honour, are for the deſtroying it. Arms of Families, Advancements, Riches Commands, Triumphs, and Trophies are decreed to Them that are mighty to oppreſs, to grieve, to murder Mankind. The Two great Heroes of all Story, *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, were each of them (according to *Pliny*'s Computation) the Death of more than a Million of Men, and yet neither of theſe added One to the Number. And heretofore, Men were ſlaughtered in Publick Theatres, merely for Pleaſure and Paſtime. * *Man, a Creature Venerable and Sacred, is ſlain for Sport and Diverſion; Death in Man is Entertainment ſufficient. Innocent Perſons are brought upon the Stage, to be Sacrificed for the*

* Homo res ſacra per jocum & luſum occiditur; ſatis ſpectaculi in homine mors eſt innocentes. In ludum veniunt ut publicæ voluptatis hoſtiæ, fiant. *Senec. Tertul.*

Peoples

Peoples Pleasure. In some Nations it is Usual to curse the Day of their Birth, and bless That of their Death. And the Wisest Man That ever lived, hath taught us, that the Latter of These is much Better of the Two. Now, no Other Creature is so discontented with it self; nor are the Particulars here mention'd, True of Beasts, or any Part of the Creation besides.

3. *Destroying his Pleasure.*

The Second Evidence of his Misery, may be taken from the Retrenchment of Pleasures; Those poor and low Pleasures of which he is capable (for the Head of *Weakness* may have satisfy'd us, that the Pure and Exquisite are too refin'd for him) the Care taken to abate of the Number, and to check the relish of them. If this be not done upon a Religious Account, how monstrous a Folly is it? Thus far Man is oblig'd to become his own Enemy; to rob and betray Himself; so that even his Pleasures are Burdens, and he contributes to his own Uneasiness. And this some are so superstitiously severe in, that they avoid Health, and Good Humour, and Mirth, as Evils.

* *Oh wretched Men! whose Pleasures are their Crime.*

We are exceedingly ingenious to our Disadvantage; and the Force of our Wit feeds upon nothing more, than the contriving new Arts of Uneasiness to our Selves.

4. *Creating Misfortunes to our selves.*

Thus it is plainly in a much worse Instance than the former: For the Mind of Man does not only spoil Good, and deny its own Appetites, and check even lawful Delights; but it is eternally busie in framing and forging Pains and Evils. Thus Things which have in reality nothing of Evil in Them,

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* O miseri, quorum gaudia crimen habent. *Gallus, Eleg.* 1.

and

and ſuch as Beaſts ſtand in no Fear at all of, our Minds draw in the blackeſt Colours, and moſt hideous Shapes; and then tremble, and ſtart, and run away, from Monſters of their own making. Thus we eſteem it a mighty Unhappineſs, not to be Honourable, and Rich, and Great; and look upon Cuckoldom, want of Children, and Death, as inſupportable Evils. Whereas, to ſpeak freely, I know no Temporal Affliction which is really Evil, and felt to be ſo, but *Pain* only. And the Reaſon, why ſome Wiſe Men have been known to fear thoſe other things, was not upon the account of the Things themſelves, but of the Pain which may happen to be an inſeparable Attendant upon them. For This ſometimes is a Forerunner of Death; and ſometimes it follows upon Poverty and Diſgrace. But if you conſider theſe Matters, (abſtracting the Pain) all the reſt is mere Imagination; a Thing that hath no Being, but in our own Brains; which are eternally cutting themſelves out new work, and forming Evils that are not, to add to Thoſe that are; thus enlarging our Miſery, and finding it freſh Employment, inſtead of quieting and cutting it ſhort. For the Beaſts feel nothing of all this; and therefore it is plain they are *Evils*, not of *Nature's*, but of *Fancy's* making.

5. *Born to Pain.* As for *Pain*, which ſeems the only real Evil, Man is perfectly fitted for That, and born to it. The *Mexicans* welcome their Children into the World, with this Salutation; *Child, thou art come into this World to ſuffer; take it patiently, and hold thy Peace.* And Three Arguments there are, which may convince us, that Pain is in a manner Natural to Man; and a State of Indolence or Pleaſure, foreign to his Conſtitution. The Firſt is, that every Part about a Man is ſuſceptible of Pain, and but very few capable of Pleaſure. The Second, That

That Those which are capable of Pleasure, can receive but one or two sorts of it; but all the Parts receive great variety of Pains, and Those of the most different kinds too; Extremity of Heat and Cold, Pricking, Bursting, Bruising, Scratching, Flaying, Beating, Scalding, Fainting, Swooning, Extension, Oppression, Relaxation of the Parts; and others without Number, that want a Name, besides Those of the Soul; so that a Man is much more able to suffer, than to express his Sufferings. To this must be added, that a Man cannot continue long in Pleasures: All his Delights are a short Blaze; should they last long, they would destroy Themselves, and become painful and insupportable. But his Pains are of a great length, and not confin'd to certain Seasons, as Pleasures are. Thus Pain hath a more absolute Dominion over us; its Territories are larger; its Reign more lasting, more general, more uncontroll'd, and, in a Word, more Natural, than that of Pleasure is, or can possibly be.

To these Three Remarks may be added as many more; as First, Pain and Sorrow is much more common, and comes oftner upon us; Pleasure is hard to be met with, and seldom Returns. Then, Pain comes of its own accord, without any seeking or Endeavour of ours to procure it; but Pleasure never approaches voluntarily; we are fain to court it, to buy it dear, and oftentimes pay more for it than it is worth. Pleasure is never Entire, but hath always some Abatement, some Alloy of Uneasiness, somewhat attending it that we cannot like, and had much rather were otherwise; but Pain and Dissatisfaction are often without any manner of Mixture or Mitigation. And after all this, the worst part of the Bargain, and that which most clearly proves our Misery, is, That Extremity of Pleasure does not affect us so sensibly

bly as a very ſmall Degree of Pain or Sickneſs. * *Humane Nature is more accommodated to the Senſe of Evil, than of Good.* Perfect Health and Eaſe makes no manner of Impreſſion; but the leaſt Indiſpoſition makes a very great one. † *The Prick of a Pin, tho' the Skin be ſcarce razed, puts the whole Body into Diſorder; and yet That whole Body, when in a ſtate of perfect Eaſe, hath no particular Senſation, or Motion of Joy reſulting from it.*

6. *Remembrance and Anticipation of Evils.*

As if all this were ſtill too little, and neither Real and Subſtantial Evils, nor Falſe, and of our own forming, could complete our Miſery; we ſtretch, and lengthen both the One and the Other of theſe; give them new Life, and ſuſtain them longer than they could poſſibly ſubſiſt without our cheriſhing; as if we were perfectly in love with Uneaſineſs. This we do ſeveral ways; as Firſt, by calling to remembrance that which is paſſed, and foreſtalling that which is to come. This Method can never fail, becauſe the Two great Privileges our Nature boaſts of, are *Memory* and *Foreſight*; and theſe Advantages and Prerogatives of our Species, we ſo pervert, as to render them the Inſtruments of our Unhappineſs. ‖ *The Paſt and the Future both put us upon the Rack; many of our Advantages do us an Injury; Memory calls back our Terrours; and Forethought antedates them: No Man bears the preſent Burden, and no more.* Now what can expreſs a more importunate deſire of Miſery, than the not ſtaying till the Calamity comes, but going out to meet, and find, to ſeek, and to invite it, to haſten

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* Segnius homines bona quàm mala ſentiunt.

† Pungit---In cute vix ſummâ violatum plagula Corpus,
Quando valere nihil quenquam movet——

‖ Futuro torquemur & præterito, multa bona noſtra nobis nocent; timoris tormentum memoria reducit, providentia anticipat; nemo præſentibus tantum miſer eſt.

its

its Approaches towards us? This is like the *Men that kill themselves for fear of Dying*, which is, out of Curiosity, or Weakness, to pull down upon us what we most apprehend. And thus we do not only wait for our greatest Evils, and real Inconveniences with a foolish Impatience, but oftentimes terrifie and torment our selves with the Expectation of Those, which perhaps would never reach us at all. These Persons take great pains to be miserable before their Time; nay, to be doubly so, by the sense of the Calamity when upon them, and by long Premeditation at a distance, which is a Thousand times worse than the Calamity it self. * *The Fatigue of Sense is much less in enduring, than the Torture of the Mind in expecting.* The real Existence of Misery is, it seems, too short and transitory, and therefore the Mind must give it Birth, and lengthen out its Life, and entertain it self with it before-hand. † *He that afflicts himself before he needs, is sure to be afflicted more than he needs.* Beasts are secure from such Wretchedness and Folly, and are in this respect much beholding to Nature, for not having given them the tormenting Faculties of Wit, and Memory, and Foresight, like ours. *Cæsar* used to say, that *the best Death was that which was least thought on.* And there is no doubt, but the Pomp and Expectation of Death is frequently more painful and terrible than the Thing it self. It is not here any part of my Design to discourage or reflect upon that Premeditation, which Philosophy and Religion require of us: For This is the very Tempering that hardens the Soul, and makes it Proof against all Accidents and Assaults; and a Place shall be reserved for recommending this particularly. But what I would ex- Book II. Ch. 7, 11.

* Minus afficit sensus fatigatio quam cogitatio.
† Plus dolet quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet quàm necesse est.

plode, is that Apprehenſion of Evils to come, which is always Poor-ſpirited, and ſometimes Groundleſs, and ever Fruitleſs; which troubles, and ſullies the Soul with Black Thoughts, deforms its Beauty, diſturbs its Quiet, and embitters all its Joy. And ſure it is much better to be abſolutely ſurpriz'd, than thus fore-warn'd: Rather than think thus of Future Evils, never think at all. But ſetting aſide this Antedating of Evil; the very Anxiety, and Care, and perpetual Hankering after Future Contingences of any kind, the Sollicitude of our Hopes, the Eagerneſs of our Deſires, the Miſgivings of our Fears, are a very great Miſery. For beſides, that What is *future*, is equally out of our power with What is *paſt*, (and ſo theſe Thoughts are vain) we are certain to receive Detriment by that which can do us no ſervice. (*For* * *the State of a Mind always in pain for what will happen hereafter, is certainly moſt deplorable*) It robs us of all ſedate Thought; deſtroys all that comfortable Senſe, and quiet Enjoyment we might have of preſent Advantages; and makes it impoſſible for Men to ſit down eaſie and ſatisfy'd under any Diſpenſations of the kindeſt and moſt bountiful Providence to them.

7. *Uneaſie Enquiries.* Nay, Man ſtops not here; but, as if he were concern'd to furniſh new Matter for that Miſery, which comes up but too thick of its own accord; he cultivates and encreaſes it, by a reſtleſs Curioſity, and ſtudious Purſuit of freſh Objects, which may create, or cheriſh his Unhappineſs. With what Eagerneſs and Pleaſure does he thruſt himſelf into Buſineſs; and how inquiſitive and impatient is he to diſcover That, which, if it would preſent it ſelf to his View without any Trouble of his,

* Calamitoſus eſt animus futuri anxius.

he

he ought rather to turn away, and hide his Eyes from? And this buſie Temper is owing either to a Natural Reſtleſneſs, diſpoſing us to be miſerable; or from a vain Affectation to be Judicious, and Wiſe, and always employ'd; that is, in plain *Engliſh*, to make our ſelves Fools and Wretches: As we needs muſt be, when our Induſtry to perplex our ſelves is ſo great, that when we have no Buſineſs of our own to diſquiet us, we go abroad in queſt of Troubles, and officiouſly concern our ſelves with the Affairs of other People. In a Word, Man is under exceeding great and perpetual Agitation of Mind, not only from ſuch Thoughts and Cares as are unneceſſary, and turn to no account; but ſuch as are thorny, troubleſome, and injurious to him: The *Preſent* gives him Pain; the *Paſt*, Regret; the *Future*, Perplexity; and, by his Behaviour under all this, one would think him afraid of nothing ſo much, as the not being ſufficiently Miſerable, after all his Endeavours to render himſelf ſo. And may we not juſtly uſe this Exclamation; *O wretched Mortals! how many Evils do you continually endure, which might with great eaſe have been avoided! how many more indeed are Thoſe of your own, and how few in Compariſon, Thoſe of God's and Nature's making!* But Thus alas it is! Man delights himſelf in Miſery, and is obſtinate in ſeeking and cleaving to it. He chews the Cud upon each Misfortune, and takes great Pains that none ſhould be forgotten, but renews their Images daily and hourly. Nothing is ſo frequent, ſo familiar, as Complaints; and where Occaſions are but light and trivial, he cheriſhes and heightens the Reſentment; calls himſelf the moſt unhappy Man in the World, and takes it ill not to be thought ſo; * *Such Pleaſure does he find in indulging his Grief.* And

* Eſt quædam dolendi voluptas.

ſure the being ſo very ambitious to enhance our Miſery, and to get the Character of Thoſe who excel all others in it, is a much greater Miſery, than never feeling or knowing our Unhappineſs at all. * *And yet this is that querulous Creature Man, that ſits with great Eagerneſs brooding upon his own Miſeries.*

8. *In the Remedies of Miſery.* Thus you ſee him abundantly Miſerable, by Nature and by Choice; in Reality and in Imagination; by Conſtraint, and with Induſtry and Pleaſure. He hath too much of it in deſpight of all Endeavours to the contrary; and yet his great Fear is, that he ſhould not have Miſery enough. He is always in Chaſe of ſome freſh Unhappineſs, and in pain till he hath overtaken it. But now we will take him in another Proſpect, affected with a Senſe, and weary of ſome particular Evil; (for even This does not happen always; and many Miſeries are endured without any uneaſie Reſentments at all) And when his Mind is thus far awakened, let us next obſerve, how he endeavours to diſengage himſelf, and what Remedies are to be apply'd in order to a Cure. And Theſe are ſuch in truth, as rather fret and anger the Sore, than heal it; for by quitting one Evil, he only exchanges it for another, and oftentimes for a worſe. But ſtill the very Change is pleaſing, or at leaſt, it ſooths and allays the Pain a little. He fancies one Evil may be cured by another; and this Imagination is owing to a vulgar Errour, that ſeems to have bewitch'd Mankind; which makes them always ſuſpect things that are eaſie and cheap; and eſteem nothing truly valuable and advantageous, but what coſts us dear, and is attended with much Labour and Difficulty. And This again riſes higher, (for it is not more ſtrange

* Homo animal querulum, cupidè ſuis incumbens miſeriis.

than

than true, and nothing can more fully prove, that Man is exceeding miserable) That, let the Evils we lie under, be what they will, some other Evil is necessary, for the expelling and subduing them; and whether the Body or the Mind be the Part affected, the Case in this respect is much the same. For the Diseases both of the one and the other, are never to be healed and taken off, but by Torture, and Pain, and great Trouble: Those of the *Mind* by Penance, Watchings, and Fastings; hard Usage, and course Fare; Confinements and Mortifications; which, notwithstanding the Voluntariness and Devotion of them, must of necessity be afflicting and pungent; because the whole effect of them would be lost, if we could suppose them in any degree subservient to Ease and Pleasure. Those of the *Body* require nauseous Medicines, Incisions, Caustick, and severe Dietings; as They whose Unhappiness it is to be oblig'd to a Course of Physick, know by woful Experience. They are got between the Millstones, (as they say) ground and bruised on one side by the Disease, and on the other by a Regimen as bad as the Disease. Thus Ignorance is cured by long laborious Study; Poverty by Sweat and Toil; and Care and Trouble are as Natural in all the Provisions for Body and Mind both, as it is for Birds to fly.

9. *Miseries of the Mind.*

The several Miseries hitherto insisted on, are such as the Body suffers in; or, if not peculiar to that alone, yet at least such, as it bears a part in with the Mind; and the highest they go, is only to the meanest of our Faculties, *Imagination* and *Fancy*. But Those, which next fall under our Consideration, are of the most refined and Spiritual Nature, such as are more truly deserving of that Name; full of Errour, full of Malignity; their Activity greater, their Influence more general, more pernicious, and more properly our own; and yet at the

ſame time leſs acknowledged, leſs perceived by us. And This enhances, nay doubles Man's Miſery; that of moderate Evils he hath a quick and tender Senſe, but thoſe which are greateſt, he knows not, feels at not all. Nor can he bear to be informed of them. No Body dares mention them to him; none will do the ingrateful good Office of touching this Sore Place; ſo hardened, ſo obſtinate, ſo loſt is he in his Miſery. All therefore that can be allow'd us in the Caſe, is to handle them with all imaginable Gentleneſs, and juſt Glance upon them by the by; or rather indeed, to point them out at a diſtance, and give him ſome little Hints to exerciſe his own Thoughts upon, ſince of his own accord he is by no means diſpoſed to take any notice of them. And Firſt,

The Underſtanding. In reſpect of the *Underſtanding*; Is it not a moſt prodigious, and moſt lamentable Conſideration, that Humane Nature ſhould be ſo univerſally tainted with *Errour* and *Blindneſs?* Moſt Vulgar Opinions (and commonly the more general, in a more eminent manner) are erroneous and falſe; not exempting even thoſe that are receiv'd with the greateſt Reverence and Applauſe. Nor are theſe ſo Sacred Notions Falſe only; but, which is worſe, very many of them Miſchievous to Humane Society, and the Publick Good. And tho' ſome Wiſe Men (and they alas! but very few) think more correctly of theſe Matters, than the generality of the World, and have a truer Notion of them; yet even Theſe Men ſometimes ſuffer themſelves to be carry'd down with the Stream; if not always, and in every Point, yet now and then, and upon ſome Occaſions. A Man muſt be very firm and well fixed, to ſtem the Tide; very hardy, and of a ſound Conſtitution, whom an Infection ſo epidemical cannot faſten upon. For indeed, Opinions that have got Footing everywhere, and are entertain'd with

with general Applauſe, ſuch as ſcarce any Body dares to contradict, are like a ſweeping Flood, that bears down all before it.

* *Good Heaven! what Errours darken Human Sight!*
And wrap our Souls in groſs ſubſtantial Night!

† *Blind wretched Man! in what dark Paths of Strife,*
We walk this little Journey of our Life! Creech.

To inſtance in all the fooliſh Opinions, with which the generality of Mankind are intoxicated, were much too tedious an Undertaking. But ſome few ſhall be juſt mention'd here, and reſerved to their proper places, for a more full Enlargement upon them; and ſuch are Theſe that follow.

1. The forming a Judgment of Counſels and Deſigns, and pronouncing them Prudent, and Seaſonable, and Good; or the direct Contrary; according as they ſucceed Well or Ill. Whereas the Iſſues of all theſe things are in no degree at our own diſpoſal, but depend entirely upon a Higher Hand; One, who, as his own Infinite Wiſdom ſees fit, proſpers the moſt unlikely Methods, and defeats the Wiſeſt Meaſures, and moſt promiſing Attempts. *See* Book III. Chap. 1.

2. The Condemning, and utterly exploding all foreign and ſtrange Things, *Manners*, *Opinions*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, *Obſervances*, and looking upon them as barbarous and Wicked, without ever examining into the Matter, or knowing of what Nature and Conſequence they are: And all this, for no other rea- *See* Book II. Chap. 8.

* Proh ſuperi! quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent?
† O miſeras hominum mentes & pectora cæca,
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantiſque periclis
Degitur hoc ævi quodcunque eſt? *Lucret. Lib.* 2.

ſon, but that they are New to Us, and practiſed only in remote Countreys, and different from the Vogue and Uſage of our own. As if We were the common Standard for all the World to take Meaſures by; and nothing could poſſibly be commendable or convenient, but what hath been received, and is in requeſt, in that little Spot of Ground, where our particular Lot hath fallen.

See Book II. Chap. 10.

3. Somewhat diſtant from This, is the eſteeming and extolling Things, becauſe they are *New*, or *Scarce*, or *Strange*, or *Difficult*; which are the Four powerful Charms, that attract, and get ſo abſolute Aſcendent over Vulgar Souls: And very often it happens, that the Things prized highly upon theſe Accounts, are mere Vanities and Trifles, and have neither intrinſick Goodneſs, nor Uſefulneſs, nor any other Conſideration to recommend them. For what can be more juſtly deſpicable, than That Prince, who is ſaid to value himſelf extremely, upon an Art he had, of ſtanding at a diſtance, and throwing Grains of Millet through the Eye of a Needle?

4. All thoſe ſuperſtitious Opinions, and unaccountable Whimſies, which debaſe and enſlave the Minds of Children, and Women, and all the weak and ignorant part of Mankind.

Ibid. 5. The eſteeming Men more or leſs, according to their worldly Advantages; and proportioning not our Reſpects only, but our Opinions too, to their Riches, Honours, and Preferments; as if the Value of a Horſe were to be taken from his Trappings; and the Buyer, to know his good Qualities, and adjuſt his Price, ſhould look no farther than the glittering Bridle and embroidered Saddle.

6. The rating Things not according to their Real, Natural, and Intrinſick Worth, which oftentimes is conceal'd; but according to the Outward Face and

and Shew; the Pomp and Figure, the Noiſe they make, and the Reputation they have in the World.

7. The thinking, that a Man is ſufficiently revenged of his Enemy, when he kills him; whereas This is to put him under Shelter, and out of the Reach of all manner of Evil, and to expoſe one's own ſelf to it. Tis to take away from him all power of Feeling, or being hurt by the Revenge we intend; and that very Act, which deſigns him the greateſt Miſchief, ſets him at perfect Eaſe. This is a Folly that may be reduc'd to the former Head of *Weakneſs*, and is a Branch of That, as well as of *Miſery*.

8. The reckoning it a moſt inſupportable Injury and Unhappineſs, and that a Man becomes an Object of Contempt, for being a *Cuckold*. For how can we poſſibly wrong our Judgment more, than by thinking meanly of a Man, and that he is juſtly ridiculous and deſpicable, for the Fault of another; which he is ſo far from having any hand in, that tis plain he never approved it? The Caſe is much the ſame in our having a worſe Opinion of any Man, for being a *Baſtard*.

9. The diſeſteeming what is preſent, and our own, and ſuch as we are in ſecure and peaceable poſſeſſion of; and being infinitely fond of the very ſame Things when we have them not, and merely becauſe they belong to ſome Body elſe. As if Preſence and Poſſeſſion abated the real Worth of a Thing; and the not having it were a Recommendation ſufficient to raiſe the Price of it in our Accounts.

* *Poor Envious We, deſpiſe*
Virtue when preſent; when it flies,
Stand and gaze after it with longing Eyes. Creech.

Hence came the Proverb of *No Prophet being receiv'd with Honour in his own Country.* Thus to lower the Value of any thing, there needs no more than to be the Owner and Enjoyer of it: Thus Husbands look upon their own Wives, and Fathers upon their Children, with Indifference and Diſdain. *If you would put an End to your Love,* (ſay the Men of the *Town*) *Marry your Miſtreſs, and the Buſineſs is done effectually.* Thus every Other Man's Servant is better, His Horſe fleeter, His Houſe more convenient than our Own. Tis pretty odd, I confeſs, to prefer things purely imaginary, before Thoſe that are real and ſubſtantial; and yet this is the Caſe of that unreaſonable Valuation we put upon things that are abſent, and at a diſtance, and other Peoples; upon things Before we have them, and After we have loſt them. The Reaſon of ſo unequal a Proceeding in theſe two Caſes laſt mention'd, ſeems to be This; That the Value we ſet upon things Before we have them, is not proportion'd to their real intrinſick Worth, but to the falſe Idea's our own Imaginations form, or the vain Boaſts other People make of them; Both which are always bigger and more beautiful than the Life: But Poſſeſſion and Experience diſcover the Truth, and then we learn to rate them after the Excellence they actually have, and the Benefit that can be made out of them. Again; The things we have loſt are lookt upon with Melancholy, and much Regret, becauſe then we conſider them entire, and in the

* Virtutem incolumem odimus.
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. *Horat. Ode* 24. *Lib.* 3.

Groſs,

Grofs, whereas the Use and Enjoyment we had of them was not so, but by Piece-meals, and by little at a time. In which Men are commonly much more unkind to Themselves, than they need to be: For they defer their own Happiness, reserve it for a farther Day, and always promise themselves Time and Opportunities enough for enjoying it hereafter; so that even what they have, they are so stingy in the use of, that they are scarce sensible of what they possess; and it is in a manner all one as if they had it not. And This seems to be the true account, why the Passion and Concern for our Losses and our Wants, is more vehement and visible, than the Pleasures and Satisfactions taken in what we possess. And in this no doubt we must allow a great Mixture of *Weakness* as well as *Misery*. We are not sufficient for full and perfect Enjoyment, and only capable of Desiring intensely and in perfection. There is indeed a vicious Temper of the Mind, directly opposite to That I have been speaking of; which is, That Degree of Self-sufficiency and Satisfaction, that whatever We are, or have, appears to us incomparably better than all the World besides. We can be pleas'd, nay, we can be in common Charity with nothing but our Own; and whatever is so, nothing can be superior, nothing equal, nothing like or comparable to it. I dare not say this Quality argues Men any Wiser than the other; but all the World, I believe, will admit, that it makes them Easier, and contributes much more to their Happiness and Content.

10. The shewing one's self forward and zealous upon all occasions, to resent things warmly, and engage in Disputes with Peremptoriness and Passion, as often as there is any fair and plausible Pretence given, of appearing to be a Man affectionately concern'd for Justice, or Religion; for promoting the Publick Good, or gaining the Love of the People.

"For

" For as theſe are Things which ought to be very " precious, and no good Man muſt neglect them in " their Seaſons; ſo it requires Diſcretion to chooſe " thoſe Seaſons, and to manage and temper an ho- " neſt Zeal. Every Man that is well-diſpoſed, is " not qualified for the Undertaking; and every " Time and Company is not fit for Him that is qua- " lified, to undertake it in.

Chap. XXXIII. 11. The putting on exceſſive Melancholy, or ſuffering our ſelves to be really afflicted, and mourn to a great degree, upon the Death of a Friend, or any other Calamity that befals him: And to imagine, that a Moderate degree of Paſſion upon ſuch Occaſions, argues want of Affection and ſincere Friendſhip. This is not only *Miſery*, but an exceeding *Vanity* too, and as common as it is vain.

12. The bearing a very great regard to thoſe Actions, which require a great deal of buſtle and ſtir in the doing, and make a Noiſe in the World; and to ſlight and undervalue all that are done in a ſtill, ſedate, and obſcure manner: As if no Effects could ever follow upon ſuch a dull, heavy way of proceeding; but all Men were aſleep, and did nothing, that do it not with Hurry and Clutter. In ſhort; All thoſe vain Preferences, which Men give to Art above Nature, are likewiſe of this kind; for One of Theſe, works with Labour and Obſervation; the Other eaſily, quiet, and unſeen. And thus whatever is ſwell'd, and blown up by Induſtry and Invention; that which cracks about our Ears, and ſtrikes ſtrongly upon our Senſes, (and all this is Artificial) we reſpect and value highly; infinitely above That which is mild, and gentle, and ſimple, and uniform, and common; for ſuch are the Products of Nature. The former of Theſe awakens us into Attention; the latter advances ſilently, and leaves, or lays us aſleep.

13. The

13. The putting unfair and perverse Interpretations upon the good Actions of Others; and when the Thing is well in it self, attributing it to base, or trifling, or wicked Causes or Occasions. So did They, whom *Plutarch* is angry with, for pretending, that the Death of *Cato* the Younger proceeded from no other Principle, than his Fear of *Cæsar*; And some Others yet more senselessly, charg'd it upon Ambition. This is a most infallible Symptom of a sick Judgment; a Disease that proceeds, either from Wickedness at home, and a general Corruption of the Will and Manners, disposing Men to pervert every Thing to the worst Sense; or else from Uneasiness and Envy against Persons that are better than Themselves; or else from a Mis-giving Quality within, which reduces all their Belief to the Compass and Size of their own Abilities; so measuring others by their own Standard; believing Every one as bad as they know Themselves to be; and absolutely incapable of doing things better, or proposing nobler Ends in their Actions, than their own usually are. Or perhaps, as probable an Account of this as any of the former, may be a Natural Weakness and Littleness of Soul, which, like tender Eyes, cannot bear to look at so strong and clear a Light, as that which Virtue sheds, when Pure, and in its native Beauties. Nor is it amiss here to take notice of a Practice exceeding common; which is, Men's affecting to shew the *Nicety* of their *Judgment*, and the *Smartness* of their *Wit*, in finding Faults, suppressing, extenuating, disguising Circumstances, setting Things in their worst Light, and eclipsing the Glory of the bravest Actions. In all which, one would wonder they should suppose any thing worth valuing themselves upon; since it is manifest, all Dexterity of this kind is a much greater Demonstration of their Ill-

Ill-Nature, than it can be of their Parts; and as it is the Vileſt and moſt Diſingenuous, ſo is it the Eaſieſt and moſt Vulgar way of Wit, in the World.

14. Another, which ſeems to be a very convincing Teſtimony of the *Miſery of Humane Minds*, (tho' ſomewhat more nice, and out of the way of common Obſervation) is, That the Soul in its calm, and ſound, and compoſed Eſtate, can riſe no higher than the perception of thoſe Objects, and the performance of ſuch Operations, as are Common, and Natural, and of a moderate Size: But in order to the raiſing it up to ſuch as are Divine and Supernatural, ſuch as admit Men into the Secrets of Heaven, it is diſtemper'd, and violently agitated; either by vehement Impulſes, Extaſies, and Enthuſiaſms; or by Trances and deep Sleeps. This I gather, not only from the *Tripods* and *Oracles* of the Heathen *Pythia*, but from the authentick Accounts given us of Revelations, and the extraordinary Manifeſtations God was pleaſed to make of Himſelf to Prophets, and Holy Men in Scripture: Such as *Abraham*, and *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, and others in the Old Teſtament; and St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* in the New. All which Inſtances ſeem to argue, that the only Natural ways of attaining to theſe extraordinary Communications, are by Tranſport and Sleep, by *Viſions* and *Dreams*. So that our Mind, it ſeems, is never ſo Wiſe, as when it is out of its Senſes; nor ever ſo truly Awake, as in Sleep. It arrives beſt at its Journey's End, by leaving the Common Road; and takes the Nobleſt and moſt ſucceſsful Flights, when its own Faculties appear moſt depreſſed; as if it were neceſſary to Loſe it ſelf for the Finding ſomewhat better and more lofty; and to be Miſerable in order to its being Happy.

Happy. "This seems most Natural, because we *Advert.*
"are assured it was most usual; not that there
"was an impossibility of other Methods, but that
"these were best adapted to Humane Infirmities.
"And therefore it is worth observing upon this
"Occasion, what Truth Himself mentions, as a
"Prerogative, by which *Moses* was distinguished
"from other Prophets: *In that God talked with* Deut. xii.
"*him Face to Face, as a Man talketh to his Friend*; that
"is, Easily and Familiarly, without any of those ve-
"hement Commotions of Body, or extatick Rap-
"tures of Soul, which the rest of Mankind us'd
"to feel upon such Occasions. And this proves,
"both that the Other Method was so ordinary as
"to justifie our Author's Observation; and yet
"that there was no utter Incapacity for this freer
"way, in Humane Nature, (which deserved this
"additional Remark upon it); for God, who is
"absolute Master of Nature, can reveal himself
"in what manner he sees fit.

15. *Lastly*, Can any greater Defect or Misery be imagin'd incident to the Minds of Men, than the Neglect and Disesteem of their best and most useful Faculty? And yet This is almost every one's Case, while we extol *Memory* and *Imagination*, and are fond of excelling in These, but let the *Judgment* lie idle and unimprov'd; no Care taken to employ it, nor any account at all made of it. Do but look abroad a little, and you will soon be convinced of what I say. For what are all the neat Harangues, the learned Treatises, the quaint Discourses, the celebrated Sermons and Books, with which the World is so mightily taken; What, in a Word, are all the Productions of this fruitful Age, (the Works of some few Great Men only excepted) but common Places and Quotations, tack'd and fil'd up together; a Collection of other Men's Labours put into a new Method, with some few

few Strokes and Illuſtrations, and ſo naturaliz'd, and made all our Own? And what can we make of this, but a work of *Memory*; the Excellency of a School-Boy, and That which requires very little Brains or Trouble, as to all that part which we pick up from Authors, and find ready cut to our Hands; And the Work of *Imagination*, for thoſe little Graces and Garnitures, which make up the much leſs part, added by our Selves? This oftentimes is mere Vanity; no one Stroke of a Judicious Man, no one eminently Good Quality diſcernible in it; and accordingly the Authors themſelves, under whoſe Names good Things are publiſhed, are often known to be Perſons of weak Parts, and very indifferent Judgment; looſe in their *Principles*, and debauch'd in their *Morals*. And how much better than all this is it, to hear a good honeſt Farmer, or a common Shopkeeper, talking in their own Gibberiſh, plain downright Truths, in a dry rough way, without Trick or Dreſs to adorn and ſet them off; and giving good uſeful Advice, which is the Natural Product of ſound Senſe, and an unſophiſticated Judgment?

10. *The Will.* Thus much for our *Underſtanding*. The *Will* is in no degree inferiour in Miſery, but hath at leaſt as many Sources; and the Inſtances of it are more deplorable, than any under the former Head. Theſe are indeed innumerable; ſome few of them are ſuch as follow.

1. The being more deſirous to be *thought* Virtuous and Good, than really to *be* ſo; and when one does good Actions, doing them more for the ſake of Others, than our Own; making Reputation a more powerful Motive and Principle of Virtue, than Conſcience; coveting and taking greater Satisfaction in the Commendation and Applauſe of the World,

World, than in the ſecret Conſciouſneſs and Comfort of having done our Duty.

2. The being much more forward and eager to *revenge* an Injury or Affront, than to *acknowledge* a Favour, and return a Kindneſs. Inſomuch that to own an Obligation is a perfect Trouble, and Mortification, a leſſening one's ſelf; but the taking Satisfaction reputed a Pleaſure, a Pride, an Advantage. And what can be a greater Reproach to our Nature, what more betray the Baſeneſs and Malignity of it, than the verifying that Obſervation; * *Thanks are a Toil and a Burden; but a Retaliation of Injuries is eſteemed an Addition and a Gain?*

3. The being more violent and fierce in the Paſſion of *Hatred*, than in That of *Love*; more diſpoſed to, more vehement in Detraction and Calumnies, than in our Commendations and good Characters of Men and Actions; to feed upon Evil rather than Good; and entertain ill Reports, and an odious Repreſentation of our Neighbour, with more ſenſible Reliſh than his Praiſes; To enlarge more willingly upon Theſe, allow them a greater Share in our Converſation, to employ one's Wit, and Arts of Expreſſion upon this Subject rather than the Contrary. As the generality of Hiſtorians, Orators, and Poets do, who are cold and flat in relating Men's *Virtues*, but ſharp and poignant, eloquent and moving in the Deſcription of their *Vices:* And thus we find, that the Expreſſions, and Figures of Rhetorick, which ſerve to expoſe and blacken Men and Things, are mighty different, much more full and copious, more emphatical and ſignificative, than Thoſe which are employed in Recommendation and Praiſe.

* Gratia oneri eſt, Ultio in quæſtu habetur.

Book II. Chap. 3.

4. The declining Evil, and addicting one's Self to Good, upon falſe and improper Ends; when This is not the reſult of Virtuous Motions and Inclinations from within, nor the Dictate of Natural Reaſon, nor the Love of Virtue, nor the Senſe of Duty; but ſome Conſideration altogether foreign, and wide of the Matter. Some mean and ſordid Proſpect of Gain and Intereſt; the Itch of Vain-glory, the Hope of Advancement, the Fear of Reproach, Complyance with Cuſtom, Obſequiouſneſs to the Company; and, in a Word, the not doing Good for the ſake of doing it, and becauſe it becomes us, and binds our Conſcience; but upon ſome occaſional Motive, and external Circumſtance, that happen'd to fall in with us at that time. And at this rate, the greateſt part of Mankind are only good by Chance. Which gives the true Reaſon of their being ſo extremely various, and unequal, and fickle, and inconſiſtent with Themſelves; for ſo muſt all things needs be, that are govern'd by Impulſe and Accident; and nothing but true and well-weigh'd Principles, grounded upon Duty and Reaſon, can produce a ſteddy, conſtant, and uniform Virtue.

5. The leſſening our Affection for the Perſons we have wronged, and that for no other Reaſon, but merely becauſe we have done them an Injury. Is not this very odd? What account can be given of it? We cannot pretend that this Coldneſs always proceeds from Apprehenſions of Revenge; for perhaps the injur'd Party hath no ſuch Thought, and is as kindly diſpoſed to Us, as ever: But the Reaſon ſeems to be, that the very Sight and Remembrance of him accuſes Us to our Selves, and our Conſcience takes theſe Occaſions to fly in our Faces, and reproach our Baſeneſs and Indiſcretion. So that if the Perſon offending does not abate of his Kindneſs, this is a good Argument that he did not offend

offend wilfully, and is not conscious to himself of any thing that can give him a just Dissatisfaction at his own Proceedings. For, commonly speakking, Every one that offends knowingly, and with a malicious Design, changes in his Affection afterwards, and either turns an Enemy, or at least very cold and indifferent; according to that usual Proverb, * *He that does the Wrong, never forgives.*

6. An Observation not much unlike the former, may be made, concerning Persons who have highly oblig'd us: The Sight of such is often an Uneasiness; it upbraids us with a Debt, and awakens ungrateful Remembrances of our Want, either of Disposition, or of Power to requite Them. Nay, sometimes Men are so abominably wicked, as even to rejoyce at the Death of a Benefactor, because it eases them of this sort of Pain, according to the Remark of an Old Author; *Some the more they have been obliged, the worse they hate: A small Debt makes a Man your Friend, but a great one will be sure to make him your Enemy.*

7. The taking Delight in Mischief; being glad at the Pains, and Dangers, and Difficulties of other People; and conceiving a secret Indignation and Displeasure at their Prosperity and Promotion. Nor do I mean here any such Envy or Uneasiness as proceeds from Passion and particular Resentment; for this is chargeable upon the Vices of single Persons only. But the Thing I aim at is the common Temper, and natural Condition of Mankind in general, which, without any Pique, or Spleen, or Provocation, disposes even Good Men † to receive a sort of Satisfaction from the Risques of Men in Seas and Storms; to be an-

* Chi offende mai non pardonna.

† Suave Mari magno, &c. *Lib.* 2.

gry at any Preference of our Friends before Us, either in point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them*; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick ſown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

"The Firſt of theſe Inſtances, which of all the "reſt ſeems moſt hard-hearted, *Lucretius* gives a "much more innocent account of, and acquits it "of the ſevere Imputation laid upon it here, in "the beginning of his *Second Book*. And indeed, "what is ſaid There upon that one Inſtance, is "applicable to all Here mention'd, which are owing "to the Love of our Selves, and comparing our "own Caſe with that of other People.

'Tis pleaſant when the Seas are rough, to ſtand,
And view another's Danger, ſafe at Land;
Not 'cauſe he's troubl'd; but 'tis ſweet to ſee
Thoſe Cares and Fears, from which our Selves are free.
Mr. Creech.

"And ſure there is a great difference between Ma-"lignity and Self-Love; between Tenderneſs for "our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala-"mities and Dangers.

11. *Concluſion of Spiritual Miſeries.* In a Word; To give you a true Repreſentation of the greatneſs of our *Miſery*, I only add, That the World abounds with Three ſorts of Men, which out-do all the reſt, both in Number and Reputation; and thoſe are The *Superſtitious*, The *Formal*, and The *Pedantick*; Theſe, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topicks are *Religion*, *Common Converſation*, and *Learning*; and each of Theſe is the Field appropriated to each of theſe Perſons; *Religion*

ligion to the *Superstitious*; *Common Conversation*, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the *Formal*; and *Learning* to the *Pedants*) But These, I say, tho' engag'd in Matters so distant, are yet all cast in the same Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, sick Judgments, nay sick of a Disease that scarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your self to instruct these Men better, is but so much Time and Labour lost upon them: They are so much in the Wrong, and so highly conceited that none who differ from them can be in the Right, that no good is ever to be done. If you will take Their Judgments, none are comparable to themselves for *Virtue* or for *Wisdom*. *Obstinacy* and *Self-sufficiency*, which every where hath too great an Ascendent, reigns Absolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of these Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a sound Man again. For what is there more exquisitely foolish, what more stiff and inflexible than these Fellows? They are secur'd by a double Barrier from the Conquests of Reason and Persuasion; First, by their Weakness, and Natural Incapacity, which disables them from seeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a false Confidence in their own Excellencies above the rest of the World, which makes them despise all Others, as their Inferiours, unable to advise, and unfit to reform Those, who are already so much wiser and better than They.

As for the *Superstitious*, they are highly Injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They disguise themselves with a Mask of Piety

The Superstitious. See Book II. Chap. 5.

Piety, and Zeal, and Reverence, and Love for God; and this Jest they carry so far, as to teaze and torment themselves with Austerities and Sufferings, that were never requir'd at their Hands. And what is to be done with such infatuated Wretches as These, who imagine that those voluntary Afflictions are highly meritorious; that the Almighty is indebted to them, and much oblig'd by Works which he never commanded; and that all the rest ought to be releas'd in consideration of These? Tell them, they take things by the wrong Handle; that they stretch, and pervert, and misunderstand the Scriptures, and lay Burdens upon themselves, more and heavier than God ever laid. Their Answer is, that They intend well; (and that Intention they doubt not will Save them) that what they do is from a Principle of Piety and Devotion, and cannot want Merit and Acceptance upon that Account. Besides, there is something of Interest in all this, which you can never prevail with them to part with; for what Gain is to be propos'd in Prospect, what Satisfaction to be receiv'd in Present, which can make them amends for the mighty Expectations and Raptures of that fond Notion, that by this means God becomes Their *Debtor*, and they *merit* at His Hands?

Formalists. The *Formalists* are a sort of People entirely devoted to Form, and Shew, and Outside; and These think themselves at liberty to indulge their Passions, and gratifie any, though never so unlawful, Desires, without Check and Controul, provided they do not offend against the Letter of the Law, nor omit any of those external Observances, which are required in their Behaviour, and lookt upon as the Rules of Living. Here you shall see an old griping Jew, that hath brought God knows how many Families to Beggery and Ruine; but he hath done no hurt in all this: For he never asked for more

more than his Own, at least what he thought so; and if upon these Demands, Arrests, and Suits, and Prisons have ensu'd, yet he only suffer'd the Law to take its Course; and who can blame this honest Man for coming by his Right in the way of Justice? But O Good God! how many good things are neglected, and how many wicked and barbarous things done, under the pretence of *Forms*, and the Protection of the *Laws!* Nothing can be truer, than that *Extremity of Right is Extremity of Wrong.* He that makes This the Rule of all his Proceedings, and allows himself to take the Advantage of the Law upon every occasion, is so far from an *honest Man*, that he is one of the most *dangerous Knaves.* Such Reason was there for that Saying us'd to this purpose, *God deliver us from the Formalists.*

By *Pedants*, I mean a sort of prating Fellows, who first tumble over Books with great Pains and Study, and afterwards let fly in all Companies, and vend all they have pick'd up in their Reading, with as much Impertinence and Ostentation; and all this too, to turn a Penny, and promote their Interest, or their Credit by it. There are not in the World a Pack of more little Mercenary Wretches, more unfit for Business, and yet at the same time more forward, and presuming, and conceited of Themselves. Hence perhaps it is, that in all Countries, and all Languages, *Pedant* and *Scholar* are Terms of *Ridicule* and *Reproach.* To do a thing aukwardly, is to do it like a *Scholar.* To behave one's self like a Clown, and be ignorant of the World, is to be a *mere Scholar.* Such Scholars I mean as These I am now treating of; for these Reflections do not concern Learned Men in general, but such superficial Pretenders to it, as are only walking and living *Nomenclatures*; that have a Memory stuff'd full of Other Men's Know-

ledge, but none at all of their Own. Their Judgment, their Will, and their Conſciences are not one whit improved by it; They are never the wiſer, nor more prudent; never the more dextrous in Buſineſs, nor the more honeſt and virtuous, for all the Schemes and Inſtitutions they have run thro'. They can repeat Theſe, but they have not digeſted them; are Maſters of the Speculative part, but know nothing of the Application and Practice. So that all the fruit of their ſtudy is but to make them the more acquired, more egregious Fools; more full of Themſelves, and more noiſie and inſupportable in all Companies. They ſwell their Memory, but ſink their Wit, and adulterate their Underſtandings. And in ſuch Perſons as Theſe, That *Miſery* is moſt conſpicuous, which we lately placed the laſt of that ſort, with which the Intellectual Faculty of the Mind ſeems principally affected.

See Parag. 9. Fig. 15.

CHAP. XL.

V. *Preſumption.*

1. WE are now come to the laſt, and moſt hideous Line of the whole Picture; which makes up the other Branch of *Pliny*'s Deſcription; For this is indeed the Deformity of our Nature, the Bane of our Minds, the Source of the worſt and moſt erroneous Opinions, both Publick and Private; and yet, as bad as it is, 'tis a Vice natural to, and born with every Man. Now we ſhall do well to conſider this *Preſumption* in its ſeveral Reſpects, above, below, upon the level, within, and without us. As the Object is God, and the Cele-

Celeſtial Bodies, Terreſtrial Bodies, and Beaſts; Man our Equal, and our own Selves: And the whole Matter will turn at laſt upon theſe Two Points, The ſetting too high an Eſtimate upon our Own, and too low upon Other Things; Every Man in this Senſe deſerving the Character given by our Bleſſed Saviour, of the *Phariſees, They truſted in Themſelves, and deſpiſed Others.* A Word or two now upon each of the fore-mentioned Particulars.

2. *Preſumption in reſpect of God.*

And Firſt, with regard to Almighty God, (it is a horrible and melancholy Truth, but true it is, that) all Superſtition and falſe Worſhip, the affected Exceſſes, and the Wilful Defects in our Religious Services, are entirely owing to the want of a ſufficient Eſteem and Reverence for God; the not being ſenſible what ſort of Being He is, and entertaining ſuch Opinions and Idea's of the Divine Nature, as are not ſufficiently lofty, and pure, and refined. Now by ſaying *ſufficiently* ſo, I would not be underſtood, that our Apprehenſions ſhould bear any proportion to the Eſſential Greatneſs of his Majeſty; for God is Infinite, and admits of no proportion at all. Conſequently there is no poſſibility in Nature, that our Conceptions ſhould ever ſoar up to ſuch a height and *ſufficiency* as This; And therefore I mean that *ſufficiency* only to be wanting, which Nature hath made us capable of, and Duty requires from us. We do not raiſe nor direct our Minds, nor dart our Thoughts ſtrong, or high enough, when we form Notions of the Divinity: Alas! why do I ſay, not high and ſtrong enough? when it is but too evident, and our Actions ſpeak it out, that we entertain very feeble, and mean, and low Apprehenſions of him. And we ſerve him indeed accordingly; we offer him Things moſt unworthy of him, and deal with him more baſely and diſreſpectfully, than we pretend, or dare, to do, with ſeveral of his Creatures.

We

We diſcourſe, not of his *Works* only, (which yet command ſome Regard becauſe they are His) but we talk of his *Eſſence* and *Majeſty*, determine his *Will*, interpret his *Judgments*, paſs Sentence upon the *Diſpenſations of his Providence*, and all this more peremptorily, more ſawcily, than any Man of good Manners would take upon him to do, with the Counſels and Proceedings of his Prince. And yet every one thinks he may make bold with his God in Caſes, where to uſe the ſame Freedoms with any Perſon of Honour, would be condemned for inſufferable Rudeneſs and Contempt. A great many Men would reject ſuch Service and Homage, and think themſelves highly injured and affronted, if we ſhould talk ſo meanly of them, and make uſe of their Name upon ſuch trifling Occaſions, and in ſo contemptuous a manner as we do that of God. We undertake to manage him, go about to flatter and careſs, to bend and bring him over, to bribe and to compound with him; nay, I might tremble to ſay it, ſome think even to brave and dare him, to ſnarle and grumble, to take things ill, and be exceeding angry at him. *Cæſar* bad his Pilot hoiſt Sails boldly, and fear nothing tho' Winds and Seas, and Stars and Fate were againſt him, but buoy himſelf up with this Confidence, in oppoſition to all Difficulties, *That He who had* Cæſar *aboard, could not miſcarry. Auguſtus*, after having been Tempeſt-beaten at Sea, took upon him to ſet *Neptune* at Defiance, and by way of Revenge, ordered his Image to be taken away from among the reſt of the Gods, and excluded the ſolemn Proceſſion at the *Ludi Circenſes*. *Xerxes* ſcourged the Seas, and ſent a Challenge to Mount *Athos*. The *Thracians*, when it Thunders and Lightens, ſhoot Arrows up againſt Heaven, with all their Might, that by this means they may bring the Gods to Reaſon. And there goes a Story

Story of a certain Chriſtian King, in a neighbouring Country, whom when God had ſeverely chaſtized, he ſwore he would be revenged on him; and to make his Words good, commanded, *That for Ten Years next enſuing, no Perſon within his Dominions ſhould dare to put up any Prayers to God, or make mention of his Name any other way.*

* *Nought is too hard for Man.*
Grown Giants in Impiety,
Our Impious Folly dares the Sky.
We dare aſſault Jove's *glorious Throne,*
Nor (ſtill averſe to his Command)
Will we permit his lifted Hand
To lay his Thunder down. Creech.

But not to inſiſt longer upon ſuch prodigious Extravagances, Does not the general Temper and Practice of Mankind juſtifie that Character given by *Pliny*; *That no Creature is more miſerable, and yet none more proud than Man?* For, on the one hand, he forms to himſelf vaſt Conceits of the particular Love, and Regard, and tender Care God hath for him; thinks himſelf the chief, the only Favourite of Heaven; and yet this Darling ſerves him after a moſt unbecoming manner, and worſe than the pooreſt and moſt deſpicable of all his Creatures. How then ſhall we reconcile theſe Extremes? How can a Life ſo wretched, a Homage ſo poor and baſe, meet and dwell together in the ſame Perſon, with ſuch glorious Notions of Himſelf, and a Preference ſo vaſtly great above all the Creation be-

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* Audax Iapeti genus——
Nil mortalibus arduum.
Cœlum ipſum petimus ſtultitiâ, neque
Per noſtrum patimur ſcelus
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. *Horat. Lib.* 1. *Od.* 3.

ſides?

ſides? Is not This to be an Angel and a Swine at once? And indeed Men, who entertain theſe Opinions, and diſhonour God, by living in a Diſagreement with them (as the generality of Mankind do) muſt be content to bear the Reproach of a great Philoſopher to ſome Vicious and Hypocritical Chriſtians; *That they were the braveſt Fellows in the World at talking, but the pitifulleſt and moſt contemptible Wretches in their Lives and Actions.*

3. *Nature.* We are apt to think our Selves of Moment, and great Conſequence to *God*, to the *World*, and to *Nature* in general. That all Theſe are in great Pain and Anxiety upon our Account; That They only watch for our Safety and Preſervation; and This makes us look upon *Calamitous Accidents* with Surpriſe; but eſpecially, to be perfectly aſtoniſh'd at *Death*, as if it were a moſt ſtrange Thing how That ſhould break in upon us, notwithſtanding ſo many Guards that keep Centry about our Perſons, and are all (as we imagine) concern'd to ſecure us from it. For this, among other Reaſons, few People ever perſuade themſelves that any Hour is their laſt; but almoſt every Body, ſuffers himſelf to be cheated with falſe Hopes, at the very Inſtant of expiring. And what is all This but Preſumption? We think our ſelves too ſignificant; and fondly fancy, that this whole Univerſe muſt bear a part in our Death; that ſome great and general Revolution will happen upon it; that all things decay in proportion with our own Bodies, and fail one another in the ſame Degrees They fail Us; That there is no avoiding it, but They muſt all undergo the ſame fatal Shock, the ſame Diſſolution that We do. And in this Univerſal Deluſion, Mankind live, like People upon the Water, who, when their own Veſſel moves, ſeem to draw Houſes, and Towns, and Heaven, and Earth along with them. No Body conſiders that he is ſingle, and but

but One; a very ſmall and inconſiderable Part of the Creation: One out of many Millions, whom few have any Intereſt in, and perhaps fewer yet are the worſe for loſing; and the Matter is ſo far from every Body's going along with him, that ſcarce any Body will ſo much as miſs him when he is gone; no more than a Grain of Sand diminiſhes the Sea-ſhore, or the falling of a Star, changes the Face of the Sky.

Then again; *Man* pleaſes himſelf, that the Heaven, the Stars, and all that Glorious Movement over our Heads, and indeed the whole Frame and Order of this Material World, was thus created and conſtituted merely for his Sake: As if that Deſcription of the Heathen were his due, That * *ſo many Gods were perpetually Ambitious, and contending about his ſingle Perſon.* And this is a very extravagant Imagination indeed. He is lodged here in the laſt and loweſt Story of the World, at a great diſtance from the Ætherial Roof; a place, that in compariſon of the purer Regions above us, may be call'd the Sink of the World, where all the Lees and Dregs ſettle, with Creatures of the meaneſt Condition, and liable to receive all thoſe Evacuations of Rain and Vapours, which fall down upon his Head; nay, from Theſe he receives his very Subſiſtence; he lies open to Accidents, that beſet and oppreſs him on every Side; and yet this poor Wretch looks upon himſelf as the Maſter and Commander in Chief of the Univerſe. 'Tis true indeed, Almighty God hath given him a Dominion over ſome of his Fellow Creatures; and it is likewiſe true, that the reſt over which he hath not the ſame Dominion, are contriv'd for his Mighty Benefit and Convenience; but it will not follow 4.

* Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos.

from

from hence, that the whole Creation had no other End than his Service; nor that thoſe vaſt Globes of Light, and ſo many Pure Incorruptible Bodies, whoſe leaſt Virtue is not diſtinctly known, and which he muſt be content to gaze at with Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, were fram'd and are continued in this Regularity and Perpetuity of Motion, for Man only. From hence, it is confeſt, this Indigent Wretch derives his Food, his Maintenance, and unſpeakable Conveniences; The Rays, the Beauty, the Heat of the Sun, The Rain, and Dew, and other Diſtillations from Heaven cheriſh and ſuſtain him; and This, no doubt, was one Intent of the bountiful God that made them. But ſhall we preſume to determine from hence, that this was the Sole Intent and Uſe of them? Shall we call the Heavens and the Elements our Own, and pretend that Their Motions are only ſo many Tasks for Our Profit? This were, as if the Begger ſhould call himſelf Proprietor of the Wealth out of which he is reliev'd; and the Benefits in this Caſe are ſo general, ſo far from being confin'd to Man alone, that the meaneſt Fowl of the Air may as well make the ſame Pretenſions; Nay, in ſome Senſe, theſe Creatures may make them better; For Man, who receives Conveniences, hath ſome Inconveniences too from the Bodies above him; he hath none of them at his own Diſpoſal, he cannot underſtand how far their Efficacy will extend; nor make any certain Concluſions, what will be hereafter; and this puts him into perpetual Uneaſineſſes, and Fears and Amazements, leſt theſe Bodies ſhould not keep their Courſe, nor ſhed propitious Influences, but occaſion Barren and ſickly Seaſons, and ſo every thing ſhould prove Unkindly and in Confuſion; and under the Weight of theſe Apprehenſions he lies and trembles, for what ſhall fall upon him from Thoſe very Bodies, of which

which he vainly thinks himſelf Lord and Maſter; Whereas Beaſts, as they receive the ſame Advantages of Life and Subſtance with our Selves, ſo they receive it without any Diſturbance of Mind, or diſquieting Preſages of the Future; yea, and without any of thoſe diſcontented Murmurs and Complaints at what is Paſt too, which reſtleſs and ungrateful Man is ever bewailing himſelf in. I conclude this Obſervation with that Paſſage of *Seneca*; * *We are not the Proper Cauſe of the World's enjoying the ſeveral Seaſons, and their Viciſſitudes; Thoſe Things are order'd by Laws peculiar to themſelves, in the obſervance whereof the Will and Purpoſes of God are executed. We think too highly of our ſelves, if we ſuppoſe we are of ſuch Worth and Conſequence, that ſuch and ſo many Glorious Motions ſhould be contrived, merely for our ſakes; nor is our Correſpondence with Heaven ſo intimate, that all the uſe of the Stars ſhould be to direct, or to declare our Fortunes.*

Note. "Some Perſons, ſince the Improvement of "Aſtronomy, have given us juſter Notions of the "Magnitude of theſe Heavenly Bodies; That ſeve-"ral of them equal, and ſome very much exceed "the Proportion of this Earthly Globe; have en-"tertain'd Notions of a Plurality of Worlds, fur-"niſh'd with Inhabitants, as different from Thoſe "we know, as the Regions they inhabit are. A "Notion, which I only mention upon this Occa-"ſion, to hint, that there may be many Uſes un-"known to us, ſerved by the Heavenly Bodies; "And becauſe the Opinion ſeems to carry no

* Non nos cauſa mundo ſumus, hyemem æſtatemq; referendi, ſuas iſta leges habent quibus divina exercentur; nimis nos ſuſpicimus, ſi digni nobis videmur, propter quos tanta moveantur. Non tanta cœlo nobiſcum ſocietas eſt, ut noſtro fato ſit ille quoque ſiderum fulgor.

"Impiety

" Impiety at all in it, but pretends to conſult the " Glory of God, by exciting Men to a greater " Admiration of his Infinite Power, and Wiſdom, " and Goodneſs, exerted in ſo much a greater Va- " riety of Creatures, than what we are or can be " acquainted with, I thought it not amiſs to in- " ſert it here; though, as I ſaid, 'tis a Notion on- " ly; and what, as we cannot have an abſolute " Certainty for, ſo we have none againſt it. " If Reaſon give any Countenance to this Specu- " lation, Revelation no where forbids it. For *Mo-* " *ſes*, who made it his Buſineſs to deſcribe the " World we inhabit, had no Reaſon to mention " Others, in which we have no Concern; and his " not mentioning Them, was agreable to the De- " ſign of his Hiſtory; but does not exclude the " Reality or Poſſibility of any ſuch other Syſtems, " as were foreign to his Purpoſe, and ſo in no " Degree neceſſary to be taken Notice of. The " Reader, if he be deſirous of farther Satisfaction " in this Point, may pleaſe to conſult the Eighth " of Dr. *Bentley*'s Excellent Sermons againſt *A-* " *theiſm.* p. 4, *&c.*

5. *Animals.* As for the Things here below upon the Earth, that is, Beaſts and all Living Creatures, Man looks upon them with Scorn and Contempt, as if they were of no Conſideration at all. Forgetting, that they are form'd by the Hands of the ſame Almighty Artificer, and are reckoned among the Riches and Poſſeſſions of the ſame Lord; That the ſame Earth is our Common Mother, and that They and He, are of the ſame Family; and conſequently ought not to be ſlighted and diſdained, as if they were worthy no part of his Concern, nor bore any Relation at all to Him. Hence it is, that theſe Poor Creatures are ſo much abuſed; and treated with an Inſolence and Cruelty, that flies back upon Their and Our Common Maſter; for it is an

an Affront, and an Impiety, to deal thus by any Thing of His making, such as he does not only Own, but express a Tenderness for; thinks them worthy his own Care, and hath appointed certain Laws for their Benefit and Preservation; such as, tho' inferiour to Us in the most valuable Parts, yet he seems in some Things to have given the Advantage to; nay, such, as in several Instances, shame and reproach our Follies, and are therefore recommended in Scripture, as Masters for Man to be sent to School to. But This hath been already mentioned in another Chapter.

It is indeed a Doctrine commonly received, that *the World was made for Man, and Man for God*; which in some Sense is certainly true, and what I have said is no derogation from it. For, besides that Instruction, which all the Creatures in general contribute to, whether those, Above or Below us; Those useful Hints and Reflections they minister concerning Almighty God, Our Selves, and Our Duty: Some sort of Use, with regard to Profit, or Serviceableness, or Delight, may be drawn from every one of them in particular. From that Part Above us, which we have a less distinct Knowledge of, and which is not at all in our Disposal; This Firmament so nobly Vaulted, so richly deckt with Light, and all those rolling Fires above us; The Advantage Man receives from Them is That of *Contemplation* only. His Soul by These is raised and transported to admire and to love, to fear and to honour, and to pay most profound Reverence to the Almighty Master and Maker of so Glorious a Frame. In this respect it was no ill Remark of *Anaxagoras*, that *Man was created to contemplate Heaven*; and some of the old Philosophers accordingly gave him the Title of θεωρητικόν. From the Creatures in this lower World, he reaps Advantage and Assistance, receives great Supplies, and

Service properly ſo called. But for Men to perſuade themſelves, that God in making all theſe Things, had no other End in his Thoughts and Deſigns, but purely to conſult the Convenience of Mankind; This is too great a Stretch upon the Doctrine mentioned juſt now, and an Arrogance which I think may very deſervedly be charged with all that Folly and Preſumption I have laid upon it.

6. *Man himſelf.* The Laſt, but Principal Inſtance of this Preſumption, hath *Man* for its Object; and this muſt be conſider'd with regard to *Himſelf*, or to his *Fellows*; *Within*, as to the forming of his Judgment and private Opinions; or *Without*, as thoſe Sentiments are imparted by converſing with other People. And upon this Occaſion we will inſiſt upon Three Things, as ſo many Topicks in cloſe connexion and conſequence upon one another; by which Mankind betray at once their great *Weakneſs* and great *Preſumption*; and in both, great *Folly*.

Three Degrees of Humane Preſumption.

The Firſt of theſe conſiſts in Believing and Disbelieving. (I meddle not here with Religion, or Divine Faith, but deſire my Reader to recollect what was ſaid in the Preface,) Where Two contrary Vices are obſervable, which are exceeding common in Humane Life. One of Theſe, and the more general of the Two, is *Levity* and *Credulity*; that is, a Diſpoſition to receive Things, and be perſuaded too eaſily, upon the ſlighteſt Inducements; ſo that to gain our Aſſent, any the leaſt Circumſtance of Probability, or Pretence of Authority is ſufficient. This is the effect of Eaſineſs and Simplicity in the worſt Senſe of the Word; a Softneſs and Weakneſs of Mind, ſuch as we obſerve in mean Parts and Education, the Ignorant and Effeminate, the Superſtitious and Fanciful, Men of great Zeal, and little Judgment, which are all like Wax, always in a readineſs to receive any new

1. *Believing and Misbelieving.*

Im-

Impreſſion, and ſuffer Themſelves to be led about by the Ears with every idle Story. Hence it is, that we ſee the greateſt part of the World carry'd about with every blaſt of Opinion; and poſſeſſed with Notions, before either Age or Maturity of Judgment render them capable of chooſing; and accordingly Theſe Opinions are not the reſult of *Conſideration* and *Choice*, but the Prepoſſeſſions of *Time* and *Cuſtom*; the Rudiments of their Infancy, the Mode of their Country, or it may be, mere Chance, have taken faſt hold of them; ſo faſt, that they are inſeparably wedded to, abſolutely ſubdu'd and enſlav'd by them; and no Arguments are able to looſen theſe Prejudices, and ſet their Minds at liberty from them. * *Some violent Guſh of Wind drives them upon an Opinion, and there they cling, as if they were to ſave themſelves from a Storm, by keeping cloſe to that Rock.* Thus indeed the World is manag'd; We take Things upon Truſt, and depend upon other People. † *Each Man* is willing to ſave himſelf the trouble of Examining; and *had rather believe than judge: A Miſtake that hath paſſed through many Hands ſucceſſively, turns and tumbles us about at pleaſure: And all this from a Cuſtom of aſſenting too eaſily, which is exceeding dangerous and unfaithful.* Now this *Credulity*, ſo common in the World, tho' it be really a very great Inſtance of *Weakneſs*, yet is it not without a large Mixture of *Preſumption* too: For, to receive and ſtick by Opinions, and maintain them for certain Truths, without knowing any thing at all of the Matter, this is too much in all Conſcience; and therefore ſome little Enquiry is

* Veluti tempeſtate delati ad quamcunq; diſciplinam, tanquam ad ſaxum adhæreſcunt.

† Unuſquiſq; mavult credere quam judicare, verſat nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error; Ipſa conſuetudo aſſentiendi periculoſa & lubrica.

made into the Cauſes, and Reaſons, and Conſequences, tho' none at all is made concerning the Truth of the Thing. We commonly ask, What account can be given of This? or What can be the manner of bringing That about? all along taking the Matter of Fact for granted, and that Things really are as they are repreſented; when there is nothing at all in it. We write Tracts, manage Arguments, engage in Diſputes, enquire curiouſly after Cauſes and Effects of a Thouſand Things, which never had any Foundation in Nature; and the whole Argument on both ſides is falſe. One contends it is This way, another That way, and in truth it neither is, nor ever was Any way at all. How many Jeſts and Banters, pretended Miracles, ſham Viſions, and counterfeit Revelations, have crafty People impoſed upon Ours, and ſome late Ages of the World? And why ſhould a Man believe ſuch Pretenſions to Events, neither Humane nor Natural, when they may be confounded and diſproved by Natural and Humane Methods; when Reaſon can ſay nothing for them, and Revelation is ſo far from giving them Countenance, that it ſays a great deal againſt them? Truth and Falſhood have Faces and Features alike; Their Mien, their Reliſh, their Motions reſemble one another, and the ſame Eye judgeth of them both. * *Truth and Falſhood* (ſays one) *border ſo cloſe upon one another, that a wiſe Man ſhould not truſt himſelf upon the Brink of them, but move warily, for fear of ſliding into the Wrong.* No Man ought to be believed concerning Matters above the Power and Underſtanding of a Man; except he come with Authority from above, and bring ſuch Credentials along with him, as are ſupernatural, and exceed the Operations of Humane Strength; and ſuch no Te-

* Ita ſunt finitima falſa veris, ut in præcipitem locum non debeat ſe ſapiens committere.

ſti-

ſtimony can be, but the Divine. But it is to God alone that this Prerogative of right belongs, To be believed in whatever he ſays, for this ſingle Reaſon, *becauſe He ſays it.*

The other Vice oppoſite to This, is a Stupid and Obſtinate *Raſhneſs*, which condemns at all adventures, and rejects every thing for falſe, which Men either do not underſtand, or are loath to believe; and therefore will by no means have That true, which Intereſt or Inclination makes them wiſh may not be ſo. This is a Property more eſpecially viſible in ſuch as abound in their own Senſe, and think Themſelves more capable and more judicious than their Neighbours; ſuch as Pedantick Pretenders to Learning, Men addicted to Diſpute, and Thoſe that are violent in any Party, whether of Church or State. They fancy ſome little ſharpneſs in their Wit, and that They ſee farther into Things than the generality of People do; and This, with a Byaſs of their own within, makes them forward and fierce; They take upon them to determine every thing with an Air of Authority, and expect, that their Sentence ſhould be receiv'd for Law. This Vice is yet worſe and greater than the former; for it is the Extremity of Folly and Madneſs, to think we know the utmoſt Bounds of Poſſibilities; the ſecret Springs and full Extent of Nature; that We can comprehend the Operations of God, and pronounce what He is able, and what He will pleaſe to do; To meaſure all Truth and Falſhood by our own Capacities and Underſtandings; and yet This ought to be the Meaſure of True and Falſe, to juſtifie the Confidence and the Fierceneſs, which theſe ſorts of Men expreſs in all their Diſputes and Definitions of Things: For this is the Eternal Jargon they run you down with, *That's Nonſenſe, That's Falſe, That's Impoſſible and Abſurd.* And yet how many Things are there, which for a time have been thought extremely ridiculous, and rejected as impoſ-

ſible, and afterwards have brought ſuch Evidence of their Truth, that we have been forced to acknowledge and yield to them; nay, and after Theſe have been eſtabliſh'd, we have by Them been led to the entertaining of Others yet more ſurprizing and odd than the former? and on the other hand, How many that have been received for Goſpel, have in time loſt all their Veneration and Credit, and been diſcovered to be mere Errors and Impoſtures, and idle Fanſies?

8. *2. Affirming and Condemning.*

The Second Inſtance of this kind, which indeed is an uſual and a natural Conſequence of the former, is the being *poſitive* and *ſtiff* in aſſerting or denying, approving or condemning, according as we have been led to entertain or reject Opinions, without ſufficient Grounds for our Belief or Miſtruſt. This differs from the former only in degree, excepting that it adds Peremptorineſs and Obſtinacy to it, and ſo the Preſumption is worſe and more apparent. That *Eaſineſs* and *Credulity* hardens in time, and by degrees degenerates into a *Self-Conceit*, and *Poſitiveneſs*, which no Arguments can conquer, no Perſuaſions move or correct. Nay, ſometimes the Humour is carry'd on ſo far, that Men are more eager in aſſerting what they do not know, than what they do. * *Men perſuade themſelves more firmly of the things they leaſt underſtand, and aſſent with greater readineſs to Points dark and myſterious, that they may be thought to comprehend what really they do not, and from a natural eagerneſs of the Mind, that catches at every thing greedily.* It is counted a Reflection to be out at any Point that is ſtarted; or to yield a Diſpute, in which a Man is once engaged; and therefore Men diſcourſe with Reſolution and Obſtinacy, and great

* Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis quæ non intelligunt; cupiditate humani ingenii lubentius obſcura creduntur.

Aſſu-

Aſſurance, and come ready fixed and determined to maintain their Ground at any rate, how little ſoever they have to offer in defence of it. Now this exceeding Poſitiveneſs, and abounding in one's Own Senſe, are commonly Signs of Brutality and Ignorance, attended with Arrogance and Folly.

The Third, which is a natural product of thoſe Two, and the very Top and Extremity of *Preſumption*, is, The *perſuading* others, recommending and propagating our own Opinion; and This, not in a mild and gentle Method of fair Reaſoning; but with Authority, and in a Dogmatical way; to impoſe it, as if they were oblig'd in Duty to believe us, and ought not to ask Queſtions, or doubt of any thing we ſay. Now what inſupportable Tyranny and Uſurpation is This? He that hath receiv'd an Opinion, reckons it a work of Charity to win others over, and convince as many as he can of it too; and for the better effecting this Charitable Deſign, he gives it all the Strength and Advantage he can; repreſents every thing in its beſt Light, and adds from his own Invention, as much more, as he thinks may be for his Purpoſe, to make amends for any Defect or Oppoſition, which he ſuſpects may be met with, from the Apprehenſion of the Perſon he propoſes the Matter to. And, generally ſpeaking, there is not any thing for which Men are more tenderly concern'd, than for the putting about their Opinions, and gaining as many Proſelytes as they can. * *No Man is content to be miſtaken alone, but every one draws in others into the ſame Errour with himſelf.* Nay, ſo zealous are Men in this Particular, that where ordinary means of Perſuaſion are found inſufficient, the Defect is ſupply'd by *Violence* and *Terrour*, *Sword*, and *Fire*, and *Faggot*.

9. 3. *Perſuading.*

* Nemo ſibi tantum errat, ſed aliis erroris cauſa & author eſt.

This is properly the Vice of Dogmatical and Ambitious People; such as aim at absolute Dominion, and would fain be governing and prescribing to all the World. And, for the facilitating this Design, and to captivate Men's Understandings, they make use of Two Artifices. The First is, to lay down some general Propositions, which are term'd *Fundamental Principles*; and such as must be presupposed and granted on all hands; and from These they tell you, you must be so far from departing, that you are not allow'd so much as to Dispute, or admit the least Doubt, whether they be true or not. Upon These they raise what Superstructure they please, and so bring the World over to their side; which hath been a very successful Cheat, in propagating many gross Errours, and giving Authority to Things absolutely false. And indeed the Fraud lies chiefly in Those Principles, which ought to be *Truths Self-evident*, and clear to every considering Man; but Some have been advanced for such, which upon strict examination will be found, not only as disputable, but as weak, as false, as any of the Conclusions endeavour'd to be drawn from them; and the Propositions contrary to These, carry at least the same Face of Probability, and have as much to say for themselves.

Copernicus, Paracelsus.

Some eminent Persons we know of late have taken upon them quite to alter and overthrow the established, and so long uncontested Principles and Rules of the Antients, in *Astrology*, *Physick*, *Geometry*, and concerning the Nature and Motion of the *Winds*. Now all the Propositions and Notions of Men are equal to be sure, and ought to have the same Authority with us, excepting only so far as Reason gives one the Advantage above another. *Truth* does not depend upon the *Credit* or *Testimony of Man*; nor are there any Propositions that command an absolute Assent, and whose Authority is uncon-

unconteſtable, but what God hath been pleaſed to reveal; the reſt are mere Vanity and Pretence, that challenge Aſſent ſo imperiouſly from us. Now theſe Gentlemen require us to take their Word, and ſwallow All they ſet before us, without chewing; not any Tryal or Examination is allow'd you, which is the greateſt Injuſtice and Tyranny in the World. God (as was obſerved before) hath this Right incommunicable to any beſide Himſelf, to command our Aſſent in all he ſays, upon this ſcore merely, *becauſe he ſays it.* Where, by God's ſaying it, is included the Meſſage of all thoſe that are ſent, and atteſted by him, and not any immediate Revelation intended, and nothing elſe; for in oppoſition to ſuch Meſſengers, ſo commiſſioned and approv'd it is, that our Lord ſays, *He that ſpeaketh of himſelf is a Lyar.*

The Other Method, by which many have been drawn into Errours, is by counterfeiting this Seal from Heaven, pretending ſome new Miracle, or particular Inſpiration, or ſtrange Apparition, or the like; a Trick, which Hiſtory tells us, hath been often play'd with great Dexterity and Succeſs, by Princes, and Law-givers, and Generals of Armies. The firſt Perſuaſion taken from the Party concern'd, ſoon gets poſſeſſion of the weaker ſort; but this is ſo nice, ſo feeble, and ſo frail, that the leaſt Miſtake, or Miſmanagement would ſpoil and break all to pieces again: And wonderful it is to reflect, what famous Impreſſions have been owing to poor and frivolous Beginnings. But when this Impreſſion comes abroad into the World, it grows to a prodigious Bulk, and ſtretches it ſelf ſo, by the help of Time and Numbers, as to take in Men of better Senſe, and more diſcerning Judgments. For it is to no purpoſe then to kick againſt a general Belief; a Man hath nothing left to do, but to come in, and make One. The ſtrongeſt Evidence, and

moſt

moſt diſtinguiſhing Teſt of Truth, is the number of Believers, and the number of Years that have maintained it: And yet it is certain, that *Fools* are more than *half the World* in every Age. But, notwithſtanding this diſparity, it is a hard matter to fix in an Opinion, contrary to the general Senſe of Mankind. The Fallacy however laſt-mention'd hath been abundantly ſeen in the many Juggles and Cheats which have aſtoniſh'd the Multitude, and been palmed upon them for new Miracles; but by ſome Accident or other, or by a nicer Obſervation of ſome more jealous and acute than the reſt, the whole Cheat hath been detected and expoſed within a very little while; and yet Theſe very Cheats, if they had gather'd Strength, and not been ſtifled in their Infancy, had done their Buſineſs, and met with Wonder and Adoration every where. Theſe Diſcoveries however of falſe Miracles, and ſuch as are taken upon Truſt, are a greater Confirmation of the True, ſuch as the Faith of Chriſtians is built upon; which have neither wanted Time to ripen them, nor Curioſity of Enquirers to detect them, nor the Malice of Enemies to pervert and overthrow them, nor the Byaſs of Wicked Inclinations to render Men averſe from ſurrendring themſelves up to the Doctrines confirmed by them. And yet in deſpite of all Theſe, They did, and do, and will continue to prevail and triumph in the Minds of Men. And well it were, if better Care were taken to examine all Pretenſions of this kind very nicely, that ſo the True might not ſuffer in their Reputation and Effect, for want of being diſtinguiſh'd from the Falſe; and That poor Shift of profane Wretches might be expoſed and beaten down, who take ſhelter in ſome ſuch Diſcoveries as have been here mention'd, and, from a Few acknowledged Impoſtures, and ſome Others which look ſuſpiciouſly, and perhaps, if

carefully traced up to their first Head, might have been found no better, endeavour to insinuate, that None ever were otherwise. It must be confest, in the mean while, that the Things these Tricks are contriv'd to support, and lead Men into, are a mortifying Consideration; the great Variety of contending Sects and Religions, and the infinite Superstitions still in use among some parts of *Christendom*, the Ceremonies, and corrupt Customs which are Relicks of *Pagan* Idolatry, and which there is no bringing the People off from. And now, by this whole Discourse, we see what precious Creatures we are, and what we are like to come to at last, when we blindly follow such blind Leaders.

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The Fifth and Laſt Reſpect under which Man *was to be conſidered; conſiſting of the Differences between Some and Others; and of the Compariſons ariſing from hence.*

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Difference and Inequality of Men in general.

THere is not any One thing in all this lower World, wherein ſo great Variety is obſervable, as in Mankind; not any general Head or Species of Beings, whoſe Individuals differ in ſo many, and ſo diſtant Particulars from one another. If *Pliny*, and *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch* may be credited; There are Men in ſome places, whoſe Form and Figure bears but very little Reſemblance to this of Ours; and ſeveral Mongrels and Medleys between the Man and the Beaſt. Some Countries are inhabited by Men without any Head, whoſe Eyes and Mouth are placed in their Breaſts; ſome by Hermaphrodites; ſome, where they go upon all Four; ſome, where they have but One Eye, and That in the middle of their Forehead; and a Head ſhaped more

more like a Dog, than ſuch as we ſee Men uſually have. Some Places, where the lower part is all Fiſh, and they live in the Water; where their Women bring Children at Five Years old, and live no longer than Eight; where their Skull and Forehead is ſo hard, that no Iron can break or enter it, but rebounds back again; where they are transformed into Wolves, and Sheep, and Oxen, and at laſt return to the Humane Form again; where they have no Mouth, and all the Nouriſhment they are ſuſtained by, is from the Smell of certain Scents. And, to go no farther, This very laſt Age hath diſcovered, and many now living have ſeen and felt Men, that have no Beards at all; that live without the uſe of Fire, or Corn, or Wine; and Countries, where what We abominate as the moſt odious Deformity, is lookt upon and valu'd as the moſt exquiſite Beauty; (as hath been hinted before) As for the Diverſity of Cuſtoms and Manners, That will be the Buſineſs of another Head. What hath been related here may poſſibly ſeem incredible; but if it do, our Point will be prov'd without it. For go no farther than our own Knowledge, and what infinite Differences are there in *Faces?* inſomuch that Two are no where to be found, exactly and in all Particulars alike. 'Tis true, ſometimes there happen Miſtakes of one Perſon for another, becauſe of a very great Likeneſs between them; but then Theſe always happen, when One of the Parties is not by. For when we meet them Both together, the Errour vaniſhes; and we eaſily diſcern a Difference, which ſerves for a ſufficient Mark of Diſtinction to us, tho' perhaps it is ſuch a one, as we cannot readily tell what to call it.

The *Souls* of Men are yet more various, and full of diſtinguiſhing Characters, than their *Bodies*; For there is in this reſpect, not only a greater Difference

ference between Man and Man, than any that can be diſcover'd between Beaſt and Beaſt: But (which is but a bad Buſineſs, and not much for our Honour) the diſtance is more between Some Men and Others, than it ſeems to be between ſome Men and Beaſts. For one of the moſt excellent and apprehenſive Animals, ſeems to make much nearer approaches to the Underſtanding and Sagacity of Men of the loweſt Form; than Thoſe Men to ſome of the moſt capable and accompliſh'd Perſons. Now this mighty Difference between Men proceeds from inward and unſeen Cauſes; from the Mind, which conſiſts of ſuch variety of Parts; and it is brought about by ſuch intricate Springs and Principles of Motion, that the Contemplation of them would be infinite, and the Degrees depending upon them without Number.

Now the Laſt part of our Undertaking for attaining to a right Knowledge of Man, muſt conſiſt of the Diſtinctions and Differences obſervable in Him: And Theſe are of ſeveral ſorts, according to the different Parts of which Humane Nature is compounded, and the different Methods and Capacities in which Men may be conſider'd, and compar'd with one another. At preſent we will inſtance in Five, which ſeem to be the Principal; and of ſo large Extent, that all the reſt may be reduc'd to them. For, generally ſpeaking, all that is in Man is either Body or Spirit, Natural or Acquired, Publick or Private, Apparent or Secret; and accordingly this Fifth and Laſt Conſideration ſhall branch it ſelf into Five Particulars, which ſhall be ſo many Capital Diſtinctions between Man and Man.

The Firſt of theſe is *Natural*, *Eſſential*, and *Univerſal*; in which the whole Man, both Body and Mind, are concern'd.

The Second is principally *Natural* and *Eſſential*; but in ſome meaſure *Artificial* and acquir'd too;

too; and this concerns the Strength and Capacity of the Mind.

The Third is *Accidental*, and depends upon Men's Conditions and their Duties reſpectively; the Ground of all which is taken from the Circumſtance of Superiour or Inferiour.

The Fourth is likewiſe *Accidental*, and relates to Men's particular Profeſſions, and different ways of Living.

The Fifth and Laſt conſiders them with regard to the *Advantages* and *Diſadvantages*, by which either Nature or Fortune hath diſtinguiſhed them.

CHAP. XLII.

The Firſt Difference whereby Men are diſtinguiſh'd, which is Natural, and Eſſential, and deriv'd from the ſeveral Climates of the World.

THE Firſt, moſt remarkable, and univerſal Diſtinction between Some Men and Others, is That which regards the whole Perſon, the Mind and Body both, and all the Parts whereof Man conſiſts. And This is deriv'd from the different Situation of Countries, and Diviſions of the World; In proportion to which there neceſſarily follows a Difference in the Aſpects and Influences of the Heavens, the Diſtance of the Sun, the Temperament of the Air, and the Nature of the Soil: And from hence Men receive different Complexions, and Statures, and Countenances; nay, different Manners and Diſpoſitions; and different Faculties

culties of the Soul too. * *The Climate does not only contribute very much to the Strength of the Body, but alſo to the Vigour of the Mind. At* Athens *the Air is thin and fine, from whence the* Athenians *are generally ſharp, and of quick Parts: At* Thebes *it is thick and foggy, and this makes the Inhabitants and Natives of that Country, ſtupid and dull, groſs and robuſt.* This Conſideration mov'd *Plato* to thank God, that he was a Native of *Athens* and not of *Thebes.*

† *Prolifick Rays ſhed by the Partial Sun,*
Are not confin'd to Seeds and Plants alone;
Souls too the differing Genial Influence know,
And reliſh of the Soil in which they grow.

As the Nature of the Fruits, and of other Animals is very different, according to the Regions where they ſpring, and are bred; ſo Men likewiſe owe their Temper to their Country; and upon this account bring into the World with them Diſpoſitions Greater or Leſs, to War, Courage, Juſtice, Temperance, Docility, Religion, Chaſtity, Wit, Goodneſs, Obedience, Beauty, Health, and Strength. Upon this account *Cyrus* would not permit the *Perſians* to quit their own Country, which was rough and rocky, for another that was champaign and ſmooth; and the Reaſon he gave was, That ſoft and pleaſant Soils produce Effeminate People; and Fruitfulneſs in the Ground cauſes Barrenneſs in the Minds of the Inhabitants.

According to this Ground-work we may erect general Schemes of the World, by parcelling out

* Plaga Cœli non ſolum ad robur Corporum, ſed & animorum facit. Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo etiam acutiores Attici: craſſum Thebis, ideo pingues Thebani & valentes.

† Tales ſunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipſe
Jupiter auctiferâ luſtravit lampade terras.

the

the Countries of it into Three large Diviſions, and the Natives into as many Diſpoſitions. The Three general Diviſions to be made on this Occaſion, ſhall comprehend the Two Extremities of North and South, and the Middle Region between them both. Each Part or Diviſion ſhall conſiſt of Sixty Degrees. The Firſt ſhall be plac'd under the Line, and take in Thirty Degrees on each ſide of it; that is, All that part of the Globe contain'd within the Two Tropicks, and ſome ſmall matter more. In which part lie Thoſe that are commonly call'd the Hot and Southern Countries, and That which Aſtronomers and Geographers diſtinguiſh by the Title of the *Torrid Zone*: *Africa* and *Æthiopia* in the middle between Eaſt and Weſt; *Arabia*, *Calicut*, the *Moluques*, and *Java* Eaſtward; *Peru*, and the great Seas Weſtward. The Second or Middle Diviſion goes Thirty Degrees beyond the former on each ſide, reckoning from the Tropicks towards the Poles; and Theſe are the Moderate Climates, or *Temperate Zones*. This includes all *Europe* and the Mediterranean Sea, between Eaſt and Weſt; the greater and leſſer *Aſia* Eaſtward; and *China*, *Japan*, and *America* to the Weſtward. The Third extends it ſelf Thirty Degrees farther yet, which lie neareſt to each Pole; Theſe are the *Frigid Zones*, the Frozen Regions, and they that are call'd the Northern Nations, as *Tartary*, *Moſcovy*, *Eſtotilan*, *Magellan*, and all that Tract which, becauſe not hitherto fully diſcover'd, goes by the name of *Terra Incognita*.

According to this general Partition of the World, the Qualities and Diſpoſitions of the People are proportionably different: And that, whether we regard the Body, the Mind, Religion, or Manners; as this little Table here ſubjoyn'd will more diſtinctly repreſent the Matter.

For		
I. As to their Bodies.	The *Northerly* People are Tall and Big, Phlegmatick, Sanguine, White or light Tawny, their Voices strong, their Skin soft and Hairy, great Eaters and Drinkers, strong and robust.	The Temperate and middle Regions are in a Mean, and of a Nature between these two Extremes, Moderate and in a State of Neutrality, (as it were) in all these respects. Partaking in some measure of both Qualities, but most inclining to the Dispositions of that Division upon which they border nearest.	*Southern* People are Low of Stature, Small built, inclining to Melancholy, of cold and dry Constitutions, Black and Tawny, disposed to Solitude, their Voices small and weak, their Skin hard, little Hair, frizled and shaggy, abstemious and weak.
II. Their Minds.	Heavy, Dull, Stupid, Foolish, Credulous, easie to be imposed upon, inconstant in their Humors and Opinions.		Ingenious, Apt, Wise, Prudent, Subtle, Positive in their Opinions, Obstinate, Unpersuadable.
III. Their Religion	Not much addicted to Religion, cold and negligent in Devotion.		Given to Superstition, Studious, and Contemplative.
IV. Their Manners.	Warlike, Valiant, Hardy, Laborious, Chaste, not apt to be Jealous, Cruel, Inhumane.		Averse to War, Cowardly, Lascivious, Jealous, Cruel and Inhumane.

It

It is no difficult Matter to evince the Truth of theſe Characters, and aſſign very probable Reaſons, why the Perſons here mentioned ſhould thus differ from each other. As to thoſe Differences, which relate to the Body; we have Evidence of Senſe for them, and our Eyes ſupply the Place of a Thouſand Arguments. If there be ſome excepted Caſes from the general Rules, they may very eaſily be accounted for, (though indeed theſe Exceptions are but very few.) The mingling and promiſcuous Marriages of ſeveral Nations; the Winds, the Waters, and particular Situation of the Places where they dwell, may each of them contribute to it, and all together may make a conſiderable Alteration. Thus a very high and mountainous Country may vary remarkably, from a flat under the ſame Latitude; nay, this different Site may cauſe ſome Variation in the very ſame Countrey or City. *Plutarch* obſerves, that the Humours of Thoſe who were born and dwelt in the upper Town at *Athens*, were very diſtant from Thoſe of the lower Town, and by the Sea-Side about the *Piræean* Port. A high Mountain on the North-Side of a Valley, will render the Plain to the Southward of it, to all Intents and Purpoſes a Southern Climate; and by the ſame Reaſon a Mountain to the Southward, which intercepts the Sun, will give the Valley beyond it the Effects of a Northern Climate. 1. *Theſe Differences proved.*

As for thoſe Differences, which relate to the Mind; We know very well, that Mechanical Improvements, and moſt Laborious and Handicraft Arts come out of the North, where the People are remarkable for indefatigable Induſtry, and Toil. But Learning and Speculative Sciences, move with the Sun, and come from the South to Us. *Cæſar* and the Antients give the *Ægyptians* the Character of a moſt Ingenious, and exceeding Subtle People; and the Scripture takes Notice, as one Commenda- 2. *Their Mind*

tion and great Accompliſhment of *Moſes*, that he had been inſtructed, and was *well skilled in all the Wiſdom of the Ægyptians*. From thence firſt Philoſophy ſet forward into *Europe*; for the *Greeks* were beholding to *Ægypt* for the Fundamentals and Elements of Wiſdom. Greatneſs and State ſeems to have begun There, by reaſon of the Vigour and Subtilty of their Parts. The Guards of Princes, even of Them whoſe Dwellings and Dominions are in the South, are uſually compoſed of Northerly Men; as being look'd upon to have more Strength of Body, and leſs of Mind; fit for Fight and Defence, but not qualify'd for ſubtle Plots and ſecret Deſigns, nor diſpoſed to Treachery and Malice. What was ſaid of *Hanibal*, is true of theſe Southern Nations, They are of a Diſpoſition that will ſerve for Great Vices, and Great Virtues, and may be eminent in Either: That which is Chiefly Commendable in the Northern, is Good-Nature, and Plainneſs, and Undeſigning Honeſty. The intermediate Sciences, ſuch as are mix'd, partly Speculative, and partly Practical; Politicks (for Inſtance) and Laws, and Eloquence, and the like, are owing to the Middle Regions between thoſe Extremes, and moſt conſpicuous and improved there. For it is obſervable, that the Greateſt and moſt Flouriſhing Empires, and States, have been ſeated in this Part of the World.

Acts vii. 26.

3. *Religion.*

As to our Third particular: Moſt part of the *Religions* Practiſed in the World, came from the South; and what Mankind generally obſerve at this Day, is either what begun there, or Additions and Improvements upon it. *Ægypt*, and *Arabia*, and *Chaldæa*, have been their Teachers and Patterns; and *Africa* is obſerv'd to have more Superſtition in it, than all the World beſides. Witneſs the Frequency of their Vows, and the Incredible Magnificence of their Temples. As for the Northern Nations, *Cæſar*

ſar takes Notice, That they have but very little Regard to *Religion*, but employ and delight themſelves chiefly in *War* and *Hunting*.

4. For the *Manners* and *Diſpoſitions* of Men in general; look upon the Firſt in Regard to War, and it is moſt evident, that Numerous Armies, Military Arts and Diſcipline, Engines, and Inſtruments, and Inventions of this Kind, are Originaly deriv'd from the North. The Nations which ſet out from thence, *Scythians*, and *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Hunns*, and *Tartars*, and *Turks*, and *Germans*; Theſe have fought, and ſubdued all other Nations, and ravag'd the whole World. The Devaſtations they made, and the Barbarities they exerciſed, gave Occaſion to that Proverb, That *all Evil came out of the North.* Duels, and ſet Combats, are deriv'd from Them. *Solinus* ſays, the Northern Nations Worſhip the Blade of a Sword, ſtuck down into the Earth. Other People have not been able to Conquer them; Not even the *Romans*, who vanquiſhed the reſt of the World, but were Themſelves overcome and deſtroy'd by Them. It is remarkable, that the South Wind makes them Weak and Faint, and that in Proportion as they advance nearer the South, they Degenerate and grow Feeble; and ſo juſt contrary, The Southern Nations, when they move Northward, improve their Conſtitutions, and feel themſelves grow much more Hardy and Strong. Upon the Account of this Courage and Warlike Spirit it is, that the Northern People cannot endure to be Inſulted and Tyrannized over; They are Enemies to Arbitrary Power, and Abſolute Dominion; are great Lovers of Liberty; and ſubmit moſt willingly where the Governments are Elective. As for Chaſtity and Jealouſie; In the North One Man hath but One Wife, (as *Tacitus* obſerves) and he thinks One Wife ſufficient too; They are by no Means inclin'd to Jealouſie, (ſays *Munſter*)

as one may gueſs by Men and their Wives Bathing together in the Company of Strangers. Polygamy is practiſed all over the whole Southern Tract. All *Africa*, (ſays *Solinus*) is devoted to the Worſhip of *Venus*. Southern Men have a ſtrange Propenſion to Jealouſie, and even die with the Rage of it; and therefore they get Eunuchs for their Security, and ſet Them as a Guard upon their Women. Thus the *Grand Seignior* does in his Seraglio, where he keeps vaſt Numbers of Ladies, (like a Stable of Mares) to breed upon.

In *Cruelty* both Extremes reſemble one another; but though the *Effect* be the ſame, the *Cauſe* is not ſo; as will be explain'd preſently, when we come to conſider the Cauſes of theſe Differences. The moſt Barbarous Methods of Puniſhment, ſuch as Breaking upon the Wheel, and Impaling Men alive, came from the North. The Mercileſs Cruelties of the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, are abundantly Notorious; The *Germans* (*Tacitus* tells us) never puniſh Malefactors by Legal Proceſs, but fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces like Enemies. The Southern Nations too flay their Criminals alive; and their Deſire of Revenge is ſo Eager and Impatient, that ſometimes they run Stark-Mad, if they cannot find Means to ſatisfie it. Between theſe Moſt Diſtant Regions, the Nations are full of Kindneſs, and Good-Nature. The *Romans* uſually inflicted no greater Puniſhment, than that of Baniſhing their moſt grievous Offenders. The *Greeks* mingled a Stupifying Draught of Hemlock, and other Poyſonous Drugs, yet ſo that it ſhould be Sweet upon the Palate; and This they gave their condemned Perſons to drink, and die with. And *Cicero* ſays, That Humanity, and Courteſie, ſeem to be the Portion and peculiar Qualities of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and to have been from thence diffuſed over the reſt of the World.

Now

Now, the True Cauſe, from whence all theſe Differences, both in the Perſons and the Diſpoſitions of Men, proceed; is no other than the inward Natural Heat, being diſtributed among the People of theſe ſeveral Climates, ſo very unequally as it is: For each Country differs from the other, according as theſe Proportions differ. The Northern Nations have it in a very great Degree, by Reaſon of the great Coldneſs of their Air, which keeps this Heat, and ſhuts it up cloſe; as we find Cellars in Rocks and deep Wells, Hotteſt in Winter; and, to go no farther from Home, ſo are our own Breaſt and Stomach, becauſe of the Strength and Abundance of inward Heat at that Time. Now, This muſt needs be much Weaker in Southern People, becauſe the exceeding Vehemence of the Scorching Heat without, and the Force of the Sun-Beams ſcatters, and draws it outward. As our Stomachs and Places under Ground are cooleſt in Summer, and we feel our inward Burnings abated by Sweating. From this Difference, I ſay, and unequal Degrees of Natural Heat, ariſe the ſeveral Differences already mentioned; not ſuch only as the Body is concern'd in, for Theſe are Viſible and Obvious; but Thoſe that make a Change in the Minds of Men too: For the Southerly People, being Colder in their Conſtitutions, are from hence diſpoſed to Melancholy; and this makes them Staid and Solid, Conſtant, Contemplative, Ingenious, Wiſe, Religious, and Devout. For Wiſdom and Docility is moſt eminently Viſible in Beaſts of a Cold Temperament; as Elephants particularly, which are more Melancholick than any other Animals, and are manifeſtly the moſt Apprehenſive and apt of any, all which I impute to the Coldneſs of their Blood. From the ſame Superfluity and Predominance of Melancholy in their Temper, the Southern People ſeem to be more

5. *The Cauſe of theſe Differences.*

Laſcivious, and Luſtful than others, this being a ſharp, and fretting Humour, and apt to provoke ſuch Inclinations; as we ſee it in Hares particularly. From the ſame ſharp, fretting Melancholy, they are Barbarous and Cruel; for That Whets the Paſſions, and urges them to Blood and Revenge. Now The Northern People, in whoſe Conſtitution Phlegm is moſt predominant, and who abound in Blood and Spirits; are juſt oppoſite to the Former, and have the direct contrary Qualities; excepting that they agree in that ſingle Point of Cruelty. But This in theſe Parts of the World proceeds chiefly from a very different Reaſon; and that ſeems to be Want of Judgment; ſo that, like Beaſts, They are Strong in their Paſſions, and Weak in thoſe Faculties, that ſhould controul, and keep them in. The Countries of the Middle Diviſion, abound in Blood and Choler, and ſo are delivered from the Ill Effects of both Extremes, Phlegm, and Melancholy; and accordingly Theſe are Moderate in their Paſſions, Good-Humour'd, Cheerful, Nimble, and Apt, and Active.

It were Poſſible to repreſent the different Temper and Spirit of theſe Three Sorts of People, after a yet more Nice and perfect Manner, by making the Application and Compariſon to extend to all kind of Things whatſoever; A ſhort Scheme whereof this little Table will preſent you with; and by That you will perceive, what are the particular Qualities, Influences, Improvements, and Actions of each of them. For according to what hath been already obſerv'd upon this Head, we muſt aſſign to the

Qualities

	Northern.	*Middle Climate.*	*Southern.*
Qualities of the Soul.	Common Senſe.	Diſcourſe and Ratiocination.	Intellect.
	Force and Courage, like that of Bears and Beaſts.	The Reaſon and Juſtice of Men.	The Subtilty of Foxes, and Religion of Divines.
Planets.	*Mars.* War. *Luna.* Hunting.	*Jupiter.* Emperours. *Mercury.* Orators.	*Satur.* Contemplation. *Venus.* Love.
	Arts and Manufactures.	Prudence, and Knowledge of Good and Evil.	Speculative Wiſdow, and Knowledge of True and Falſe.
Parts and Offices in the Commonwealth	Labourers and Artiſans, and Soldiers.	Magiſtrates, diſcreet and provident Perſons.	Prelates, Divines and Philoſphers.
Qualities of different Ages.	Young Men, Aukward and Unapt.	Grown Men, good Managers, and Men of Buſineſs.	Old Men, Grave, Wiſe and Thoughtful.

Theſe

Theſe are the peculiar Excellencies, and moſt remarkable Diſtinctions, which may be attributed to this general Diviſion of North and South. The Nations that lie Weſtward, and the People that dwell upon the Mountains, approach, and have a great Affinity to the Northern Climates; becauſe of the Cold, to which thoſe Situations are more expos'd; which is alſo the Caſe of Them who live at a great diſtance from the Sea. They are Warlike and Fierce, Lovers of Liberty, and have more Honeſty and Simplicity in their Tempers. And ſo again, the Eaſtern Countries reſemble the Southern, as do alſo Thoſe that dwell in the Champaign and great Valleys, and the Borderers upon the Sea. They are more Tender and Effeminate, by reaſon of the Fruitfulneſs of their Soil; for Fertility inclines Men to Softneſs and Pleaſure. And your Iſlanders are commonly Subtle, and Cunning, and Deceitful, by reaſon of that Commerce and Correſpondence they hold with Men and Nations of different Tempers abroad.

From this whole Diſcourſe we may conclude in general, that the Privilege of the Northern Climates lies chiefly in the Qualifications of the Body; Strength, and a Robuſt Conſtitution is their peculiar Excellence and Portion. The Southern have the Advantage in the Mind; Subtilty, and Penetration, and Quickneſs of Parts, is Their Talent. The Middle Regions have ſomewhat of Both, and partake of all Theſe Excellencies; but of Each in leſs Degrees and moderate Proportions. From hence likewiſe we may underſtand, that the Manners and Original Diſpoſitions of Men, ſimply conſider'd, are not Vices or Virtues in their own Nature, but Neceſſary and Natural Effects. And the abſolute renouncing or deveſting our ſelves of Theſe; nay, the perfect Reformation of them, is ſomething more than difficult; it is in ſome Caſes out

out of our Power. But the sweetning, and moderating, and reducing these Natural Extremes to Temper, and a due Medium; the watching over them carefully, and restraining their Motions, This is properly our Duty, and the Business of Wisdom and Virtue.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Second Distinction, and nicer Difference, which regards the Souls of Men, or the Internal Qualifications and Capacities of their Minds.

1. *Three Sorts and Degrees of Men in the World.*

THis Second Distinction, which concerns the Minds of Men, and their inward Accomplishments, is by no means so manifest as the former: It is not obvious to Sense at all, nor does it fall within the compass of every one's Notice and Observation. The Causes of it are likewise compounded; for it depends partly upon Nature, and partly upon Industry and Art; and so extends to our Acquir'd Excellencies, as well as to Those that are born and bred with us. According to this Distinction, there are (as was observ'd before) Three sorts of Men, which divide them into Three Classes or Degrees of Souls.

In the First and lowest of these Ranks we may place those weak and mean Souls, which are almost of a Level with Body and Matter; of slender and narrow Capacities; almost perfectly passive, and such as Nature seems to have made on purpose to Endure and Obey; to live under Subjection and Management, and tamely to follow their

their Leaders; In a Word, ſuch as are *but juſt Men*, and *no more*.

In the Second and middle Row, are Thoſe of a tolerable Judgment and Underſtanding, and ſuch as make ſome Pretenſions to Wit and Learning, Management and Addreſs: Theſe Men know Something, but they are not ſufficiently acquainted with Themſelves; They are content to take up with Opinions commonly receiv'd, and ſtick faſt to their firſt Impreſſions, without troubling Themſelves, or indeed being judicious enough, to enquire into the Truth, and Bottom of Things; nay, were they capable of finding their deep and moſt abſtruſe Cauſes, they think this an unlawful Curioſity, and ſo make the Submiſſion of their Judgments a Principle of Duty and Conſcience. They look no farther than that little Spot of Ground where they ſtand Themſelves, and take it for granted, that Matters are, or ought to be, all the World over, exactly the ſame with what they ſee them at home; and all that differ from them in *Cuſtoms* or *Opinion*, they look upon with *Pity* or *Diſdain*; and allow no better Names to, than *Ignorant* and *Uncivilizd*, *Wild* and *Barbarous*. They live in perfect Slavery to local Laws, and the Vogue of that Village or City where they have dwelt ever ſince they were hatch'd; and this they do, not only in a quiet Complyance, and orderly Obedience to them, (which it is the Duty of every Man, even the ableſt and moſt judicious, to do) but they conform their Senſe, and their Soul to them; and are verily perſuaded, that what is believ'd and practis'd in their own Town, is the *infallible Standard of Truth*; the Only, or the Beſt Rule of Virtue; and that all Men's Notions of *Right* and *Wrong*, ought to be meaſur'd by Theirs. Theſe ſorts of Men belong to the School and Diſtrict of *Ariſtotle*; They are Poſitive and Peremptory, abounding

bounding in their own Senſe, and impatient of Contradiction: They look more at Convenience than Truth; and conſider what will make moſt for the Benefit of the World, and turn to beſt Account, rather than make it their Buſineſs to find Things as they really are, and recommend what is Beſt in it ſelf. This Claſs conſiſts of infinite Subdiviſions, great Variety of Attainments and Degrees; the Uppermoſt and moſt capable among them are ſuch as ſit at Helm, and govern the World; Thoſe that hold Empires and Kingdoms in their Hand, and either give Commands, or counſel thoſe that do.

In the Third and Higheſt Order, are the Men bleſt with a lively, clear, and penetrating Wit; a ſound, ſolid, and ſtable Judgment; that do not content Themſelves with bare Hearſay, nor ſet up their Reſt in general and receiv'd Opinions; that ſuffer not their Minds to be prepoſſeſt and won over by the publick Vogue, nor are at all kept in Awe, or afraid to oppoſe and diſſent from the common Cry, as being very well ſatisfy'd, how many Cheats there are abroad in the World; and that ſome Things, no better than Falſhood and Jeſt at the bottom, have been entertain'd, approv'd, extoll'd, nay even reverenc'd and ador'd. For ſuch were the greateſt part of the old Philoſophy and Phyſick, ſuch the Divinations, and Oracles, and all the Idolatry and Trumpery of the Pagan Worſhip; which prevail'd, even in the moſt refin'd Countries, for many Generations together, and kept Mankind in ſlavery to moſt wicked and miſerable Deluſions. Theſe Men therefore are for bringing every Thing to the Light, fathoming it to the Bottom, entring into mature and impartial Deliberation, without Paſſion or Prejudice; ſearching into its abſtruſeſt Cauſes, its moſt ſecret Motives and Springs, and tracing them up to their firſt Head.

They

They had much rather continue under the Uneaſineſs of Doubt and Diſſatisfaction, and ſuſpend their Aſſent for a while, than run themſelves into an Errour, and take up falſe Confidences, and ſtrong Perſuaſions of Things, which they have no ſufficient Ground to believe or affirm: For That is the effect of Lazineſs or Littleneſs of Soul; grudging the Pains, or wanting the Courage to examine fairly; of Eaſineſs and Credulity, of an unſettled Judgment, or a raſh and haſty Determination. Theſe, alas! are but very Few; and may be reckon'd *Retainers* to *Socrates* and *Plato*: They are grave and ſober, modeſt and reſerv'd; They have a greater reſpect to Truth, and the Reality of Things, than the Uſefulneſs and Convenience of them; and had much rather inform Themſelves and Others rightly, than entertain or propagate a Miſtake, which might tend to their Service and Advantage. Now if Theſe have good Moral Diſpoſitions withal; if all the Accompliſhments already mention'd, be crown'd with Integrity, and Probity, and Virtuous Living, They are then Wiſe indeed, The very Perſons whoſe Character we are now enquiring after, and ſuch as this whole Treatiſe is intended to make Men. But we muſt not expect the World ſhould pay them all that Deference which is their due. For they diſoblige Mankind by forſaking the common Road, diſſenting from their receiv'd Notions and Rules; making new and troubleſom Diſcoveries, and not ſwallowing all that is brought to them without Chewing. This makes the Vulgar look upon them with a very jealous Eye, as dangerous Perſons; and to diſtinguiſh them by the Titles of *Fanciful Men*, *Virtuoſi*, and *Philoſophers*, in a particular and Abuſive Senſe of the Word.

Now

Now the Firſt of theſe Claſſes is abundantly more numerous than the Second; and ſo likewiſe the Second proportionably than the Third. Thoſe of the Firſt, and thoſe of the Laſt Order, the loweſt and the ſublimeſt Souls, never trouble the World at all, nor make any Clutter or Diſturbance. The One are unqualify'd and unable, they are beneath, and want Strength to do it: The Other are as much above it, too wiſe, and too great, to deſcend to any Troubles of that kind. They have a ſufficiency and firmneſs in their own Mind, and are not concern'd for Things not worth their Care. Thoſe of the Middle Rank make all the Buſtle and Noiſe; The Diſputes, and Diſtractions, and Publick Commotions are all owing to Them. Their Condition and Temper diſpoſes them to it, which is poſitive and conceited, full of Vanity and Preſumption; always in action, and never ſuffering any thing elſe to be at reſt. Thoſe of the Loweſt Degree, are the very Dregs and Setling of Mankind, the Sink and Refuſe of the World; which, like the Lees, falls to the Bottom of its own accord; and may be compared to the Element of Earth, which hath nothing to do, but to receive all that comes, and bear all that is caſt upon it from Above. The Second Stage is like the Region of the Air, where all thoſe Meteors are form'd, which crack about our Ears, and produce the Changes of Seaſons and Weather, and all the Alterations that affect this lower World; and when they have terrify'd us with dreadful Noiſes and Expectations, at laſt diſſolve, and fall down upon the Earth. Thoſe of the Higheſt Quality are like the Firmament, thoſe Æthereal and Higher Regions, not far diſtant from Heaven it ſelf, which are always clear and ſerene, peaceable and pure.

This

This Difference between Some Men and Others, is in ſome degree owing to Nature, and the Original Diſpoſition; the firſt Compoſition and Temperament of the Brain; which makes a mighty difference according to the predominance of Moiſt and Hot, and the ſeveral Proportions, in which each of theſe Qualities are mixt: For the Minds of Men, and their Underſtandings, will vary wonderfully, and they will be Judicious, Smart, Valiant; or Weak, Dull, and Cowards, according to the laying of theſe Foundations at firſt. But then the Building upon that Groundwork is the Buſineſs of Inſtruction and Diſcipline; Experience, and getting acquainted with the World. So that theſe Diſtinctions are partly Artificial and Acquir'd too, and a Man's own Induſtry and Obſervation is of great Uſe, to diſabuſe his Mind, and bring it to a Manly Senſe of Things. I add upon this Occaſion, that we ſhall deceive our ſelves extremely, if we ſuppoſe any of theſe Claſſes confin'd to particular Profeſſions or Denominations of Men; for there are ſome of all ſorts in all Circumſtances and Characters; High and Low, Learned and Ignorant, Good and Bad; ſome of the Meaneſt Souls in the Gown, and ſome of the laſt and moſt exalted Spirits in High Shoes; ſome of ſlender Capacities, but entirely Virtuous; and ſome of wonderful Natural Endowments, who are Monſters of Vice. So that indeed, as the Differences themſelves admit of great Variety, That of the ſeveral Degrees under each Diviſion, and the Diſpoſitions of the Perſons ſo diſtinguiſh'd, is infinite and unconceivable.

2. *Another Diſtinction* There is alſo another Diſtinction ſometimes made between Men, with regard to the Abilities and Internal Accompliſhments of the Mind: For ſome are able to make their own Way, beat out a Paſſage where there was no Path, no Light before; and

and are ſo become their own Maſters in Virtue and Wiſdom. Theſe are happy Men indeed; Men of the largeſt Size; and there are but few to whom Nature hath been ſo partially bountiful. Others have need of Aſſiſtance; and of Theſe again there are Two ſorts. Some only want Information; if you do but light them, and ſhew them, it is ſufficient; They will follow readily of themſelves. But Others require more help; a Torch and a Guide is not enough for Them; They have need to be ſupported, and taken by the Hand: A kind Friend to draw and pull them forward, and a Spur ſometimes, to quicken them in their Pace. As for Thoſe, whom Nature hath furniſhed ſo ill, that they are incapable of Inſtruction and Amendment, (which is the Caſe of ſome in the Loweſt Claſs;) or Them who have corrupted Nature, and are grown reſtiff and intractable; (which is but too viſible in many of the Second Claſs,) I mention them not; for They (like Beaſts that will neither lead nor drive) can only be left to their own Ruine; deſperate, fool-hardy Wretches, of whom no Account at all is to be made, nor any Good to be expected.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Third Diſtinction and Difference between Men, which is Accidental, and relates to their Degrees, Conditions, Offices, and Relations.

THis *Accidental Diſtinction*, which regards the State of Life wherein Men are placed, the Offices they execute, and the Relations they mutually bear to one another, is grounded upon the Two great Principles, and Fundamental Supports of all Humane Society, which are, Commanding and Obeying, Power and Subjection, a Superiour and an Inferiour Station. * For *were it not for Government and Obedience, all this goodly Fabrick would fall to pieces.* This Diſtinction I ſhall firſt endeavour to repreſent to you in the groſs, by the following Table.

* Imperio & Obſequio omnia conſtant.

The

- The First and general Division
  - All Power and Subjection is either
    - 1. Private, which extends to
      - 1. Families and Household Government, and here the mutual Relations are contracted Four Ways; and the Authority is of Four Sorts.
        1. Conjugal, between the Husband and Wife; This Relation is the Source and Root of all Humane Society.
        2. Paternal, between Parents and Children; This is truly and properly Natural.
        3. Herile, and that of two Sorts.
           1. Of Lords and their Slaves.
           2. Of Masters over their Servants.
        4. That of Patrons and their Dependants, which is now out of Date, and scarce any where in use.
      - 2. Corporations and Colleges and Civil Communities, such as are call'd the lesser Communities, which relates to the several Members of that particular Body.
    - 2. Publick, and this again is either
      - 1. Supreme, which is of Three Sorts, according to the Three known Constitutions.
        1. *Monarchy*, or a Government vested in One single Person.
        2. *Aristocracy*, or that which is administred by a Few of the best Quality.
        3. *Democracy*, where the whole Body of the People have some Share in it.
      - 2. Subordinate, which lies between Persons that are both Superiours and Inferiours, when considered in Different Respects, and as Places and Persons may alter the Case; and this is a Power of
        1. Particular Lords in their several Jurisdictions, and admitting of many Degrees.
        2. Officers and Magistrates deputed by the Supreme Power, of which there is likewise great Variety.

2. *Supreme Power Subdivided.*

This *Publick Power*, whether the Supreme, or the Subordinate, admits of ſeveral Subdiviſions, very neceſſary to be attended to. The Supreme, which as I obſerv'd, is of Three Sorts, according to the different Conſtitutions, and Methods of Government, executes and exerts it ſelf in as many different ways, and each of Theſe according to the different Temper and Management, hath been diſtinguiſh'd by the Titles of *Kingly*, *Arbitrary*, and *Tyrannical*. *Kingly* is when the Supreme Power (be it lodged in one, or in more Hands) is it ſelf ſtrictly Obedient to the Laws of Nature, and preſerves and protects its Subjects, in their Natural Liberties, and Civil Rights. *All Power, in general, belongs to Kings, particular Properties to private Men. The King is Univerſal Lord, and hath a Right Paramount; Others have the Right of Lordſhip and Poſſeſſion.* *Arbitrary Government* is, when the Sovereign is Lord of Mens Perſons and Eſtates by Right of Conqueſt; and the Subjects are Governed without any Regard to Claims, or Laws, or Rights, but in an abſolute Way, as Lords uſe their Slaves. This is rather *Bondage* and Captivity; *Subjection* is too gentle a Name for it; where Lives are cut off, and Eſtates ſeized, and rack'd and taken away, at Pleaſure. *Tyrannical Government* is where the Sovereign deſpiſes and diſregards all the Laws of Nature, and Original Rights of Mankind; and ſo does not only make uſe of, but abuſes the Perſons and Poſſeſſions of the Subjects; and this differs from the former Arbitrary way, much after the ſame manner, that a Robber differs from a Fair Enemy in the Field.

Now, of theſe Three Different Conſtitutions, the *Monarchical*; but of the Three Tempers or Ways of Governing, the *Arbitrary*, hath been obſerved to be the moſt Antient, and beſt Calculated of any, for Grandeur, Continuance and Splendor. Thus it

it was with the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Ægyptian*, and at present that of *Æthiopia*, (the most Antient of any) *Moscovy*, *Tartary*, *Turkey*, and *Peru*. But the Best and most Natural Estate is, that manner of Government which we call *Kingly*, according to our late Distinction of it. The Famous *Aristocracies* were That of the *Locademonians* heretofore, and That of the *Venetians* and *States* of *Holland* at this Day. The *Democracies* were *Rome*, *Athens*, *Carthage*; but the Government of all These, as to its Temper and Method of Administration, was what we call *Kingly*.

3. *Of particular Lords.*

The *Publick Power*, which is Subaltern, or Subordinate, is lodg'd in particular Lords, and These are of several Sorts and Degrees, according to their respective Tenures and Capacities. But the most Considerable are Five.

1. *Lords Tributary*, who only owe Tribute, and nothing else.

2. *Feudatary Lords*, who hold their Lands in Fee.

3. *Simple Vassals*, who owe Fealty and Homage for their Fee: These Three may be Sovereign Themselves too.

4. *Liege Vassals*, that besides Fealty and Homage, owe Personal Suit and Service, and so cannot be truly Sovereign.

5. *Natural Subjects*, whether Vassals in Fee or in Cens, or in any other Tenure and Capacity; These owe Subjection and Obedience, and cannot be exempted from the Power of their Sovereign Lord, and yet are Lords Themselves.

4. *Officers.*

The *Publick Subordinate Power*, which consists, in Offices under, and Proper Officers employ'd by, the Supreme Power, is of several Sorts; but may be reduc'd to Five Degrees, with regard to the Distinctions of *Honour*, and *Power*, which belong to, or may direct us in the Consideration of them.

1. The Firſt and loweſt Sort is that of *Publick Executioners*; ſuch as give the laſt Stroke, and finiſh upon Criminals what the Courts of Juſtice have awarded and begun. Theſe, however neceſſary, have yet ſomewhat ſo ſhocking in their Employment, that it hath been generally look'd upon as Odious and Scandalous, and the Perſons in that Office, not ſuffered in many Places to dwell within the City.

2. The Second are Men, that are neither Honourable nor Diſhonourable upon the Account of their Poſt, ſuch as *Sergeants*, *Trumpeters*, and the like.

3. The Third Sort have Honour and Reſpect indeed by Virtue of their Office, but no Authority by way of Cogniſance, or Power; ſuch are *Notaries*, *Receivers*, *Secretaries*, and the like.

4. The Fourth have not an empty Honour only, but Power, and Cogniſance, and yet not any Juriſdiction, properly ſo call'd; ſuch are The *King's Counſel*, for Example; who may examine Publickly, but can determine, or give final Iſſue to nothing.

5. The Laſt have Juriſdiction, properly ſo call'd, and by Virtue of This, they have all the Reſt. And Theſe only, in Strictneſs of Speech, are *Magiſtrates*; which may be diſtinguiſh'd ſeveral Ways, particularly into theſe Five Sorts, each of which is Two-fold.

1. Mayors, Senators, Judges.
   Colonels, *&c.* Generals, Judges.
2. In Politicks or Civil Government.
   In Military Matters.
3. In Queſtions and Caſes of Property and Right.
   In Criminal Caſes, or Tryals of Offenders.
4. Offices Titular, fixt and Hereditary.
   Offices in Particular Commiſſion.

5. Officers

5. Officers Perpetual, of which Nature it is fit, that there ſhould be feweſt, and Thoſe only of the leaſt Conſequence.
Officers Temporal, or Removeable, ſuch as all of the Higheſt Importance ought to be.

Of the Conditions and Degrees of Men particularly, according to the foregoing Table.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is Neceſſary to obſerve upon this Occaſion, that the ſeveral Diviſions of this Table, and the Diſtinction of thoſe Powers, and their reſpective Dependencies, upon, and under them, (beginning at Thoſe, which are Private and Domeſtick) are mentioned here with no other Deſign, than to give a diſtinct View of the ſeveral States and Conditions of Men; It being the Intention of this Preſent Book, only to Know *Man in all his Capacities.* And therefore a great Part of what might be expected upon the Head of *Power* and *Subjection*, the Reader muſt be content to wait for, till we come to the Third and laſt Part of this Treatiſe: Where, under the Head of *Juſtice*, theſe ſeveral Chapters and Capacities will come under our Conſideration again; and the ſeveral Duties and Virtues required upon their Account will be ſpecified and explained. But, before we enter upon any of them in particular, it may not be amiſs to premiſe ſomewhat briefly, concerning *Command* and *Obedience* in general. Theſe being the Reciprocal Exerciſes of the Relations here mentioned. The Two Foundations and principal Cauſes of all that Variety of Circumſtances, in which Mankind have been already deſcribed.

CHAP. XLV.

Of Command and Obedience.

THeſe, as I ſaid, are the Ground-work, upon which all Humane Society is built; And the many different Conditions, Profeſſions, and Relations, that go to making it up, do all ariſe from, and depend upon Them. Theſe Two are *Relative Terms*; they mutually Regard, Produce, Preſerve and Support each other; and are equally neceſſary in all Companies and Communities of Men; but are notwithſtanding liable to Envy and Oppoſition, Miſrepreſentation and Complaint; All which are the Natural and Conſtant Effects, even of That, without which we are not able to Subſiſt. The diſcontented Populace would reduce their Sovereign to the Condition of a Car-Man; The Ambition of Monarchs would repreſent him greater than a God. In *Command* is imply'd Dignity, Difficulty (Theſe Two commonly go together) Goodneſs, Ability, and all the Characters and Qualities of Grandeur.

The *Command* it ſelf, that is, The Sufficiency, the Courage, the Authority, and other Qualifications of it, are deriv'd from above, and the Gift of God. * *Empire and Dominion are beſtowed by the Divine Appointment*, and *There is no Power but of God* (ſays the Apoſtle to the ſame Purpoſe.) From whence it was that *Plato* ſaid, God did not place ſome Men over others, that is, not Mere Men, and ſuch as were of the Common Sort and Vul-

* Imperium non niſi divino fato datur. Rom. xiii. 1.

gar

gar Qualifications; but the Perſons whom he ſet apart, and exalted for Government, were ſuch as exceeded others; were more finiſhed, eminent for ſome ſingular Virtue, and diſtinguiſhing Gift of Heaven; in ſhort, were ſomewhat more than Men, and ſuch as former Ages gave the Title of *Heroes* to.

Obedience is a Matter of Benefit and Advantage; of Eaſe and Neceſſity; The Obeying well, is of the Two, more conducive to the Publick Peace, and Safety, than the Commanding wiſely; and the Conſequences of withſtanding and refuſing the Commands of our Superiours, or the complying with them Imperfectly and Negligently, are much more Dangerous and Deſtructive, than Ill and Improper Commands Themſelves are, or want of Skill to Govern. Juſt as in the Caſe of a Married Life, the Husband and Wife are equally obliged to Conſtancy of Affection and Fidelity to the Bed; and the Words in which they Solemnly engage for This, are the very Same for both Parties; the ſame Ceremonies and Formalities to ſignifie and confirm it; but yet the Conſequences are by no means equal, but the Miſchiefs of Diſloyalty are incomparably More, and Greater in an Adulterous Wife, than an Adulterous Husband: So likewiſe *Commanding* and *Obeying* are equally Duties, and neceſſary in all manner of Societies which unite Men to one another; but yet the Diſobedience of the Subject draws much greater Inconveniences after it, than the Unskillfulneſs or the real Faults of the Governour. Several States and Kingdoms have held out a long Courſe, and been reaſonably Proſperous and Flouriſhing, under, not only Ignorant, but very Wicked Princes and Magiſtrates, by the mere Force of the Unity, and Compliance, and ready Obedience of the Subjects. Which agrees well with the Anſwer made by a Wiſe Man to that Queſtion,

"How

" How it came to paſs, that the Republick of " *Sparta* was ſo remarkably Flouriſhing? and Whe- " ther it proceeded from the Wiſdom and good " Conduct of their Governours? Nay, (ſaid he) I " impute it not to their Princes Commanding well, " but to the Subjects Obeying well. But when the People break their Yoak, or throw it off, and refuſe Obedience, there is no Remedy but ſuch a State muſt be ruin'd, and fall to the Ground.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of Marriage.

1. NOtwithſtanding the State of *Marriage* be antecedent to any other, of the greateſt Antiquity, and the higheſt Importance; The very Foundation and Fountain of all Humane Society, (for *Families* firſt, and then *Commonwealths* ſpring out of it; according to that Obſervation of *Cicero*, *The Firſt Union and neareſt Relation is between Man and Wife*; *This is the Beginning of Cities, the Nurſery and firſt Plantation of all Publick Communities*) yet it hath had the Ill-Fortune to be diſeſteem'd and run down by ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Wit and Character, who have traduc'd it, as a Condition beneath Men of Underſtanding, and drawn up ſeveral formal Objections againſt it, in particular Theſe that follow.

* Prima Societas in Conjugio eſt, quod principium Urbis, ſeminarium Reipublicæ. *Cic. de Offic. Lib.* 1.

Firſt

2. *Objections againſt Marriage.*

Firſt of all, They tell you, the Covenants and Obligations they enter into by it, are unreaſonable and unjuſt; we may call it a *Band of Union*; but it is no better than the *Chains* and *Fetters of a Captive*. For What Confinement can be more inſupportable, than That by which a Man ſtakes himſelf down; and becomes a Slave as long as he lives, to Care and Trouble, and the Humours of another Perſon? For this is the Conſequence, if the Couple are unſucceſsful, and unſuitable in their Tempers; That there is no Remedy, but a Man muſt ſtand by his Bargain, be it never ſo bad, and continue wretched without any other poſſible Cure but Death. Now what can be more contrary to Equity and Juſtice, than that the Folly of one half Hour ſhould poyſon the whole Term of all his Years to come? That a Miſtake in one's Choice, or perhaps a Trick, by which he was Trapann'd into this Condition, but, to be ſure, an act of Obedience many times to the Commands of a Parent, or Complyance with the Advice of a Friend; a ſubmitting one's Own Judgment and Inclination to the Pleaſure and Diſpoſal of Others: What Reaſon (ſay They) is there that any of theſe Things ſhou'd engage a Man to perpetual Miſery and Torment? Were not the other Nooſe about the Neck the wiſer Choice of the Two? and to end one's Days and Troubles immediately by leaping headlong from ſome Rock into the Sea, than thus to launch out into an Eternity of Pains; to have a Hell upon Earth; and always live and lie by a Storm of Jealouſie and Ill-nature, of Rage and Madneſs, of Obſtinacy, and Affectation, and intractable Perverſeneſs, and other vile Qualities in which the Sex abounds? Hence it was the Saying of one Author, "That whoever firſt invented the "Marriage-Knot, had contrived a very fair and "colourable, but withal, a moſt effectual Expedi-

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" ent for taking a ſevere Revenge upon Mankind:
" A Snare or Net to catch Fools and Brutes in,
" and then put them to a long and lingring Death.
And of another, " That for a Wiſe Man to mar-
" ry a Fool, or a Woman of Senſe a Coxcomb,
" was like tying the Living to the Dead; that ſo
" by the Extremity of Cold from the Carkaſs,
" the Body might chill and languiſh, till at laſt
" it expire; which is of all Capital Puniſhments
" the moſt barbarous, that ever Tyrants have been
" able to invent.

The Second Accuſation imports, That *Marriage* corrupts and adulterates Generous and Great Minds, by ſoftening and abating, nay utterly enfeebling and diſſolving their Life and Vigour, by the little Dalliances, and Flatterings, and Wheedles of a Perſon, of whom one is fond; by Tenderneſs for one's Children, Care and Management of Domeſtick Affairs, and Sollicitude to provide for, and raiſe one's Family in the World. What lamentable Inſtances of this Effeminacy are *Samſon*, and *Solomon*, and *Mark Anthony*? whoſe Falls ſtand in Story, like ſo many noble Ruines, to put us in mind of that Enemy, with ſome Indignation, that undermin'd and demoliſh'd what Nature had made ſo ſtrong. If then there muſt be Marrying, it is fit (ſay they) that This ſhould be left to Fellows that have more Body than Soul; let Them go on ſecurely, being ſo well qualify'd, and having ſo little to hazard; and the Cares and Burden of the World are indeed propereſt for Them; for ſuch mean and low Conſiderations are Employments juſt of a Size with Their Capacities. But as for Thoſe, whom Nature hath been ſo liberal to in another kind, and given them good Senſe, and noble Souls, capable of greater and better Things, Is it not pity to ſhackle and bind Them down to the World and the Fleſh, as you do Beaſts

Beasts to the Manger? Nay, even among Beasts, some Distinctions are made too; for Those among them that are most esteem'd for Service and Courage, (as among Dogs and Horses particularly) are kept up at a distance, and forbidden all Approaches of the other Sex; Others of less Value serving to breed upon very well. Accordingly among Mankind, Those that are Devoted to the most Venerable and Holy Professions, the Service of the Altar, and a Recluse Life, both Men and Women; such whose Stations oblige them to be the most excellent part of the World, the Flower and Ornament of Christian Religion, Clergy and Monasticks are forbidden by the Church of *Rome* ever to Marry at all. And the Reason most certainly is This, that *Marriage* obstructs Wisdom and Virtue, calls off the Mind, and gives it too strong and too frequent a Diversion, clips its Wings, and checks its noblest Flights. For the Contemplation of High, and Heavenly, and Divine Objects, is by no means consistent with the Clutter, and Hurry, and sordid Cares of Family-concerns: Upon which Account it is that the Apostle, who commands *Continency* even in *Marriage*, hath preferr'd absolute *Celibacy* before it. *Marriage* perhaps may have the Advantage in Point of Profit and Convenience, but the Honour and the Virtue (they tell you) is confessedly on the other side.

Besides; It confounds Men's Measures, and defeats noble and pious Intentions and Undertakings. St. *Augustin* gives an Account to this purpose, That He and some other Friends of his, some whereof were married Men, having formed a Design of retireing from the Town, and all Conversation with the World, into some Solitude, that so they might have nothing to employ their Thoughts but the study of Wisdom and Virtue; their whole Scheme was immediately interrupted, and utterly quash'd,

by

by the Interpoſition of their *Wives.* And another Wiſe Man hath given us his Opinion, "That if "Men could prevail with Themſelves to give over "all Converſation with Women, Angels would "certainly viſit and keep them Company.

Once more; *Marriage* is a great Hindrance to Men's Improvement; particularly it keeps them at home, and cuts them off from the Opportunities of Travelling, and converſing with Foreign Countries: Which is really a great Accompliſhment, and a mighty Convenience, to learn Wiſdom one's ſelf, and to teach it to others, and to communicate what we have ſeen and known, to thoſe who want the ſame Opportunities. In ſhort; *Marriage* does not only cramp up, and depreſs great Parts, and great Souls, but it deprives the World of many noble Deſigns, Works of Munificence, and Charity, and Publick Good; it renders a Man incapable of ſerving his Country, and attempting ſuch Things, as He can give no entertainment to the Thoughts of, in the Embraces of a tender Wife, and his Little ones round about him. For Theſe need and require the Care and Preſervation of Himſelf; and ſerve for an Excuſe, at leaſt they cool his Courage, to Actions that are Brave, if at the ſame time they ſeem Deſperate, or are manifeſtly Dangerous. And is it not a noble Sight now, to ſee a Man that is fit to be at the Helm, trifling away his Time at home, playing and telling Stories with his Wife and Children in the Chimney-Corner? Is it not Ten Thouſand Pities, that One who is capable of Governing and Directing a World, ſhould be entirely bury'd in Secreſie, loſt to the Publick, and taken up with the Concerns of a ſingle Family? Upon this Conſideration it was, that a Great Man, when his Friends moved a Match to him, made anſwer, *That he was born to Command Men, and not one pretty*

pretty little Toy of a Woman; to Adviſe and give Rules to Kings and Princes, and not to Boys and Girles.

To that part of theſe Objections, which carry any ſerious Argument, (for a great deal of them is Raillery only) we may anſwer as follows; That Humane Nature muſt be conſider'd, as it really is; A State not capable of Abſolute Perfection; nor was ſuch a Life here ever intended for us, as we ſhould have nothing in it to be found fault with, nothing that ſhould croſs, or give us cauſe to wiſh it otherwiſe. Our very Remedies muſt make us a little ſick, even when they are promoting our Health and Recovery; and every Convenience carries its Abatement, and is clogg'd and incumbred with ſome Inconvenience inſeparable from it. Theſe are *Evils*, allow it, but they are *Neceſſary Evils*. And if the Caſe be not well in all Points, yet this is the beſt of it; for there is no other way poſſible to be deviſed for the preſerving and propagating Mankind, but what would make the Matter infinitely worſe, and be liable to More and Greater Evils. Some indeed, (as *Plato* in particular) would fain have rooted out theſe Thorns, and refin'd upon the Point, by inventing other Methods for the Continuance of the Species; but after all their Hammering and Poliſhing, Thoſe Conceits at laſt prov'd mere Caſtles in the Air; Things perfectly impracticable, and ſuch as if once receiv'd could never have laſted; and beſides, it appear'd evidently, that tho' they had been practis'd and approv'd, yet even Theſe were loaded too with a great many Inconveniences, and ſore Difficulties. The Truth is, Men create their Own Uneaſineſs, and make all the Hardſhip to Themſelves; Their Vices and Intemperances, the Violence and the Contrariety of their Paſſions, are their Tormentors; and then they blame the State in

3. *Anſwer to them.*

in which they feel and ſuffer thoſe Torments. But That is clear, and free from Guilt, and ſo is every Thing but *Man* himſelf, who turns every Thing againſt Himſelf, and knows not how to uſe any Condition as he ought, and to the beſt Advantage. But Thoſe that are Philoſophers indeed, will go a great deal farther; They will tell you, Theſe very Difficulties recommend *Marriage* the more, as rendring it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeſhip to learn it, a daily and Domeſtick Exerciſe to perfect and render it familiar to us. And *Socrates*, that great Oracle of Wiſdom, when People reproached him with the peeviſh and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himſelf with Conſtancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad; and to make all the Uneaſineſſes of Fortune go down very glibly. But This, tho' it want not a great deal of good Senſe at the Bottom, and may be very uſeful to Men of good Diſpoſitions, and Capacity enough to ſerve themſelves of it, is yet ſuch an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that They who continue ſingle do beſt conſult their Own private Eaſe and Satisfaction: Admit it better and more prudent thus to reſerve one's ſelf for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all thoſe Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expoſe us to. (And it is in this Senſe, and for theſe Purpoſes only, that St. *Paul* prefers a State of *Celibacy*, which thoſe that make uſe of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to conſider) Yet after all, with what Face can any Chriſtian ſpeak in diſparagement of *Marriage*, who remembers at all, what the *Faith* he makes profeſſion of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it?

it? For, when all is done, these are unanswerable, and they ought to be esteem'd very Sacred Arguments, such as should command our highest Veneration and Respect, That it is of God's own Institution, That it was his first Ordinance, That he appointed it in Paradise, in a State of Innocence and Perfection, when Humane Nature was in all its Glory. These are Four weighty Considerations, and ought to recommend, at least to deliver it from diminishing Reflections, when they are not capable of a sober Reply. After this we find, that the Son of God himself was pleas'd to Honour and Approve it with his Presence, to work his first Miracle in favour of it, and the Persons engag'd in it; nay, that he hath condescended to make use of This, as a Figure of that most Sacred and Inviolable Union betwixt Him and his Church; and upon that Account, given it the Privilege of being styled a *Mystery*, a *Great and Divine Mystery*. Ephes. v.

4. *It is a Great Good, or a Great Evil*

It must be acknowledg'd indeed, that *Marriage* is by no means an Indifferent Thing: It admits of no Middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, and is generally the greatest Happiness, or the greatest Calamity of Humane Life; a State of much Tranquillity, or of insupportable Trouble; a Paradise or a Hell. If well and wisely undertaken, it is full of Sweetness and Pleasure; if ill and unsuccessfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter, and fatal, and most painful Yoke. For this Covenant and Coming together, does above any other Instance make good the Truth of that Proverb, That * *Men are either Gods, or Brutes to one another.*

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*Homo Homini aut Deus, aut Lupus.

5. *When Good, it is exceedingly ſo.*

Marriage is a Work compos'd of a great many Parts, and a great many Qualities muſt meet together, to render it Beautiful and Uniform. Abundance of Conſiderations are neceſſary in order to it, more than reſpect merely the Perſons of thoſe to be concern'd in it. For tho' it be commonly ſaid, *Men Marry for Themſelves alone*, yet there ought to be great regard had to Poſterity; the Family we go into, the Alliances we make, the Circumſtances and Condition of the People, are of great weight. And Theſe and other Reſpects muſt be carefully attended to: But above all, the Temper and the Virtues, which ought to be the principal Objects and Motives of our Affection. The want of proceeding in this manner, is the very Reaſon why we ſee ſo few happy Matches. And the extreme Scarcity of ſuch, is a ſign that *Marriage* is highly valuable: For it is a Fate common to all great Poſts, that they are difficult, and very ſeldom diſcharged as they ought to be. Kingly Power and Government is beſet with Cares and Difficulties, and very few that aſpire to it, are ſtrictly Virtuous and Succeſſful in the Adminiſtration. But the true Ground of Failing ſo frequently in this Point, is to be fetch'd from the Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery, the Unruly Paſſions and Exorbitant Humours of Mankind, and not from any thing in the State and Inſtitution it ſelf. From hence it is, that we find experimentally, Such as are of good, and quiet, and virtuous Diſpoſitions, plain and mean Perſons taſte more of the Comforts, and enjoy themſelves more in it, than others of higher Quality and Attainments. Senſual Deſires, and the Delights of the World have taken leſs hold of ſuch; they are leſs Nice and Curious, and have not ſo much leiſure to teaze and torment Themſelves. Men that are debauch'd, and love to live at large, corrupt in their Manners, troubleſome in their Converſation,

tion, whimsical and particular in their Humours, are not cut out for this Condition of Life, nor can ever expect to be tolerably Easie under it.

6. *A general Description of it.*

Marriage is a Wise and Prudent Bargain, a Holy and Inviolable League, an Honourable Agreement. If this Knot be well ty'd, there is not in the whole World any thing more beautiful, more lovely, more desirable: It is a sweet and noble Society, full of Constancy and mutual Trust; full of infinite good Offices and reciprocal Obligations; most excellent in their own Nature, most useful to the Parties Themselves, and of general Service and Benefit to Mankind. This is a Conversation, Amorous not of Love and Sensual Delight, but of chaste Affection and entire Friendship. For *Love* in these Two Senses is a very different Thing, and the One as distant from the Other, as the feverish and diseased Heat of a sick Man is from the natural Warmth of a good Temper and healthful Constitution. *Marriage* challenges to it self Affection and Advantage, Justice and Honour, Constancy and Pleasure. Call its Fruitions flat and insipid if you please, but yet they are solid and substantial, agreeable and universal: They must needs be so indeed, because they are Lawful and Innocent; free from the Censure of Others, and the Reproaches of one's Own Mind. What the World calls *Love*, aims at nothing but Delight; it hath perhaps somewhat of Sprightliness, and is of a quicker and more poignant Relish; but this cannot hold long; and we plainly see it cannot, by so few Matches succeeding well, where Beauty and Amorous Desires were at the bottom of them: There must be something more solid to make us happy. A Building that is to stand for our whole Lives, ought to be set upon firmer Foundations; and these Engagements are serious Matters, such

as deſerve, and it is Pity but they ſhould have our utmoſt Diſcretion employed upon them. That Hot Love bubbles and boils in our Breaſts for a While, but it is worth Nothing, and cannot continue; and therefore it very often happens, that theſe Affairs are very fortunately manag'd by a Third Hand.

7. *Another more particular one.*

This Deſcription is only Summary and in general Terms. But, that the Caſe may be more perfectly and particularly underſtood, it is fit we take Notice, that there are Two Things Eſſential and abſolutely Neceſſary to this State of Life, which, however contrary and inconſiſtent they may at Firſt Sight appear, are yet in reality no ſuch Matter. Theſe are *Equality*, and *Inequality*; the Former concerns them as Friends, and Companions, and upon the Level; the Other, as a Superiour and an Inferiour. The *Equality* conſiſts in that Entire Freedom, and unreſerved Communication, whereby they ought to have all Things in Common; their Souls, Inclinations, Wills, Bodies, Goods, are mutually from thenceforward made over; and neither of them hath any longer a peculiar and diſtinct Propriety excluſive of the other. This in ſome Places is carried a great deal farther, and extends to Life and Death too; inſomuch, that aſſoon as the Husband is dead, the Wife is obliged to follow him without delay. There are ſome Countries, where the Publick and National Laws require them to do ſo; and they are oftentimes ſo Zealous in their Obedience, that where Polygamy is indulged, if a Man leave ſeveral Wives behind him, they Try for it Publickly, and enter up their Claims, which of them ſhall obtain the Honour and Privilege of ſleeping with their Spouſe (that is the Expreſſion they ſoften it by) and upon this Occaſion, each urges in her own behalf, that ſhe was the beſt belov'd Wife, or had the laſt Kiſs of him, or brought

brought him Children, or the like, ſo to gain the Preference to themſelves.

Th' Ambitious Rivals eagerly purſue
Death, as their Crown to Love and Virtue due;
Prefer their Claims, and glory in Succeſs,
Their Lords firſt Nuptials are courted leſs:
Approach his Pile with Pomp, in Triumph burn,
And mingle Aſhes in one Common Urn.

In other Places, where no Laws enjoyned any ſuch Thing, it hath been reſolved and practiſed, by mutual Stipulation and voluntary Agreement, made privately between the Parties Themſelves, which was the Caſe of *Mark Antony* and *Cleopatra*. But omitting This, which in truth is a Wicked, Barbarous and Unreaſonable Cuſtom, The Equality, which is, and ought to be, between Man and Wife, extends it ſelf to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and Inſpection over the Family in common; from whence the Wife hath very juſtly the Title of Lady or Miſtreſs of the Houſe, and Servants; as well as the Husband that of Maſter and Lord over them. And this joint Authority of Theirs over their own private Family is a Picture in Little of that Form of Publick Government, which is termed an *Ariſtocracy*.

8. *Inequality.*

That Diſtinction of Superiour and Inferiour, which makes the *Inequality*, conſiſts in This. That the Husband hath a Power and Authority over his Wife, and the Wife is plac'd in Subjection to her Husband. The Laws and Governments of all Nations throughout the World agree in this Preeminence;

Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva ſequatur
Conjugium, pudor eſt non licuiſſe mori:
Ardent Victrices, & flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntq; ſuis Ora peruſta viris.

but the Nature and the Degrees of it are not every where the ſame: For Theſe differ in Proportion, as the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Place differ. Thus far the Conſent is Univerſal; That the Woman, how Noble ſoever her Birth and Family, how great ſoever her Fortunes, or any other perſonal Advantages, is not upon any Conſideration exempted from Subjection to her Husband. This *Superiority* and *Inferiority* may well be general, and be the Opinion of All, when it is ſo plainly the Condition of All. For in truth it is the Work of Nature, and founded upon that Strength, and Sufficiency, and Majeſty of the One Sex, and the Weakneſs, and Softneſs, and Incapacities of the Other, which prove it not equally qualified, nor ever deſigned for Government. But there are many other Arguments beſides, which Divines fetch from Scripture upon this Occaſion, and prove the Point indeed ſubſtantially by Them. For *Revelation* here hath backed and enforced the Dictates of *Reaſon*, by telling us expreſly, that *Man* was made firſt; that he was made by God alone, and entirely by Him, without any Creature of a like Form contributing any thing towards his Being. That he was Created on purpoſe for the Pleaſure and Glory of God, his Head; That he was made after the Divine Image and Likeneſs; a Copy of the Great Original above, and Perfect in his Kind: For Nature always begins with ſomething in its juſt Perfection: Whereas *Woman* was created in the Second Place; and not ſo properly Created as Formed; made after *Man*; taken out of his Subſtance; * Faſhioned according to that Pattern, and ſo His Image, and only the Copy

* *See* 1 Corinth. xi. 7. 8. *The Man is the* Image, *and* Similitude *of God, but the Woman is the* Similitude *of the Man. So* εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα *ought to be rendred in the Senſe of* δοκέω ſimilis ſum, *not* Glory, *as we read it, which is foreign to the reſt of the Words, and the whole Scope of that Argument.*

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of a Copy; made Occaſionally, and for particular Uſes, to be a Help, and a Second to the Man; who is himſelf the Principal and Head, and therefore She is upon all theſe Accounts *Imperfect*. Thus we may argue from the Order of Nature; But the thing is confirmed yet more by the Relation given us of the *Corruption* and *Fall of Man*. For the *Woman* was firſt in the Tranſgreſſion; and ſinned of her own Head; *Man* came in afterwards, and by her Inſtigation. The *Woman* therefore, who was laſt in Good, in order of Nature, and Occaſional only; but foremoſt in Evil, and the occaſion of That to *Man*, is moſt juſtly put in Subjection to Him, who was before Her in the Good, and after Her in the Evil.

9. *The Power of the Huſband.*

This *Conjugal Superiority* and Power hath been very differently reſtrained or enlarged. In ſome Places, where the Paternal Authority hath been ſo, This hath likewiſe Extended to Capital Puniſhment, and made the Husband Judge and Diſpoſer of Life and Death. Thus it was with the *Romans* particularly: For the Laws of *Romulus* gave a Man Power to kill his Wife in Four *Caſes*, (viz.) *Adultery*, *Putting Falſe Children upon him*, *Falſe Keys*, and *Drinking of Wine*. Thus *Polybius* tells us, that the *Greeks*; and *Cæſar* ſays that the old *Gauls* gave Husbands a Power of Life and Death. In Other Parts, and in theſe already mention'd, ſince thoſe Times, their Power hath been brought into a narrower Compaſs. But almoſt every where it is taken for granted, that the *Authority* of the Husband, and the *Subjection* of the Wife, implies thus much: A Right to direct and controul the Actions, to confirm or diſannul the Reſolutions and Vows of the Wife; to Correct her, when ſhe does amiſs, by Reproofs and Confinement; (for *Blows* are below a Man of Honour to give, and not fit for a Woman to receive) and the Wife is obliged to conform to

Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2.

the Condition, to follow the Quality, the Countrey, the Family, the Dwelling, and the Degree of her Husband; to bear him Company whereſoever he goes, in Journeys, and Voyages, in Baniſhment, and in Priſon, in Flight and Neceſſity; and, if he be reduc'd to that hard Fortune, to wander about, and to Beg with him. Some celebrated Examples of this kind in Story are, *Sulpitia*, who attended her Husband *Lentulus*, when he was proſcribed, and an Exile in *Sicily*. *Erithrea*, who went along with her Husband *Phalaris* into Baniſhment. *Ipſicrate*, The Wife of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, who kept her Husband Company, when he turn'd Vagabond, after his Defeat by *Pompey*. Some add, that they are bound to follow them into the Wars, and Foreign Countries, when they are ſent abroad upon Expeditions, or go under any Publick Character. The *Wife* cannot ſue, or be ſued in Matters of Right and Property; all Actions lie againſt the *Husband*, and are to be commenced in His Name; and if any thing of this Kind be any where done, it muſt be with the Leave and Authority of her Husband, or by particular Appointment of the Judge, if the Husband ſhall decline, or refuſe it; neither can ſhe, without expreſs Permiſſion from the Magiſtrate, Appeal from, or be a Party in any Cauſe againſt her Husband.

Tacit.

10. *Different Laws about it.*

Marriage is not every where alike, nor under the ſame Limitations; the Laws and Rules concerning it are very different. In Some Countries there is a greater Latitude, and more Liberties Indulged, in Others leſs. The Chriſtian Religion, which is by much the ſtricteſt of any, hath made it very cloſe and ſtrait. It leaves Nothing at large and in our own Choice, but the firſt Entrance into this Engagement. When once That is over, a Man's Will is made over too, and conveyed away; for the Covenant is ſubject to no Diſſolution, and we

we muſt abide by it, whether we are contented with our Terms, or not. Other Nations and Religions, have contrived to make it more Eaſie, and Free, and Fruitful, by allowing and practiſing *Polygamy* and *Divorce*; a Liberty of taking Wives and diſmiſſing them again; and they ſpeak hardly of Chriſtianity for abridging Men in theſe Two particulars, as if it did great Prejudice to Affection and Multiplication by theſe Reſtraints, which are the Two great Ends of Marriage: For Friendſhip, they pretend, is an Enemy to all manner of Compulſion and Neceſſity; and cannot conſiſt with it; but is much more improved, and better maintain'd, by leaving Men free, and at large to diſpoſe of Themſelves. And Multiplication is promoted by the Female Sex, as Nature ſhews us abundantly in that one Inſtance of Wolves, who are ſo extremely Fruitful in the Production of their Whelps, even to the Number of Twelve, or Thirteen at a Time; and in this exceed other Animals of Service and common Uſe very much, ſo many of which are kill'd every Day; and ſo few Wolves; And yet there are notwithſtanding fewer of the Breed, Breeders, becauſe fewer She-Wolves, than of any other Species. For, as I ſaid, the true Reaſon is, becauſe in all thoſe Numerous Litters, there is commonly but one Bitch-Wolf, which for the moſt Part ſignifies little, and bears very rarely; the Generation being hindred by the vaſt Numbers and promiſcuous Mixtures of the Males; and ſo, the much greater part of them die, without ever propagating their Kind at all, for want of a ſufficient Proportion of Females, to do it by ſucceſsfully. It is alſo manifeſt, what Advantages of this Nature *Polygamy* produces, by the vaſt Increaſe of thoſe Countries where it is allowed; The *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and other Barbarous Nations, (as all their Hiſtories inform us) very uſually bringing Armies into the

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the Field, of Three or Four Hundred Thouſand fighting Men. Now the Chriſtian Religion, on the contrary, allows but One to One, and obliges the Parties to continue thus together; though Either, nay ſometimes Both, of them be Barren; which yet perhaps, if allowed to change, might leave a numerous Poſterity behind them. But, ſuppoſing the very beſt of the Caſe, all their Increaſe muſt depend upon the Production of One ſingle Woman. And laſtly, they reflect upon Chriſtianity, as the occaſion of infinite Exceſſes, Debaucheries, and Adulteries, by this too ſevere Conſtraint.

But the true and ſufficient Anſwer to all theſe Objections is, That the *Chriſtian Religion* does not conſider Marriage upon ſuch Reſpects as are purely Humane, and tend to the Gratification of Natural Appetites, or promote the Temporal Good of Men: It takes quite another Proſpect of the Thing, and hath Reaſons peculiar to it ſelf, ſublime, and noble, and infinitely greater, (as hath been hinted already.) Beſides, common Experience demonſtrates, that in much the greateſt part of Marry'd Perſons, what they complain of as Confinement and Conſtraint, does by no means cool and deſtroy, but promote and heighten the Affection, and render it more dear and ſtrong, by keeping it more entire and unbroken. Eſpecially in Men of honeſt Principles, and good Diſpoſitions, which eaſily accommodate their Humours, and make it their Care and Study to comply with the Tempers of the Perſon to whom they are thus inſeparably united. And as for the Debaucheries and Flyings out alledg'd againſt us, the only Cauſe of Them is the Diſſoluteneſs of Men's Manners; which a greater Liberty, though never ſo great, will never be able to correct, or put a Stop to. And accordingly we find, that Adulteries were every whit

whit as rife in the midſt of Polygamy and Divorce; Witneſs the whole Nation of the *Jews* in general, and the Example of *David* in particular, who became guilty of this Crime, notwithſtanding the Multitude he had of *Wives* and *Concubines* of his own. On the contrary, Theſe Vices were not known for a long while together in other Countries, where neither Polygamy nor Divorce were ever permitted; as in *Sparta*, for Inſtance, and at *Rome*, for a conſiderable time after the Founding of that City. It is therefore moſt fooliſh and unjuſt, to aſperſe *Religion*, and charge That with the Vices of Men, which allows and teaches nothing, but exquiſite Purity and ſtrict Continence.

11. *Polygamy differently practiſed.*

This Liberty taken in *Polygamy*, (which hath ſo great an Appearance of Nature to alledge in its behalf) hath yet been very differently managed, according to the ſeveral Nations, and the Laws of thoſe Communities, where it was allow'd and practis'd. In Some Places, All that are Wives to the ſame Man, live alike, and in common. Their Degree and Quality, the Reſpect and Authority is equal, and ſo is the Condition and Title of their Children too. In Other Places there is one particular Wife, who is the Principal, and a ſort of Miſtreſs above the reſt; the Right of Inheritance is limited to the Children by Her; They engroſs all the Honours, and Poſſeſſions, and Pre-eminences of the Husband after his Death: As for the Others, they are lodg'd and maintain'd apart, treated very differently from the former: In ſome Places they are reputed *Lawful Wives*; in ſome they are only ſtiled *Concubines*; and their Children have no Pretenſion to Titles or Eſtates; but are provided for by ſuch annual Penſions, or other precarious ways of Subſiſting, as the Maſter of the Family thinks fit to allow them.

As

12. *Divorce differently practiſed.*

As various have the Practice and the Cuſtoms of Men been with regard to *Divorce:* For with ſome, as particularly the *Hebrews*, and *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, they never oblige Themſelves to alledge the particular Cauſe of Separation; nor are they allow'd to take a Wife to them a Second time, which they have once divorc'd; So far from it, that they are permitted to Marry again to others. But now in the *Mahometan Law*, Separation muſt be appointed by a Judge, and after Legal Proceſs, (except it be done by the free Conſent of both Parties) and the Crimes alledg'd againſt the Woman muſt be ſome of ſo high a Nature, as ſtrike directly at the Root of this Inſtitution, and are deſtructive and inconſiſtent with the State of Marriage, or ſome of the principal Ends of it; ſuch as *Adultery*, *Barrenneſs*, *Incongruity of Humours*, *Attempts upon the Life of the other Party*; and, after ſuch Separation made, it is lawful for them to be reconcil'd, and cohabit again, as oft as they think fit. The Former of theſe Methods ſeems much more prudent and convenient, that ſo there may be a cloſer Reſtraint both upon the Pride and Inſolence of Wives, when they lie at Mercy, and may be caſt off at Pleaſure; and alſo upon the Humourſome and Peeviſh Huſbands, who will be more apt to check and moderate their Reſentments, when there is no Return, nothing to be got by repenting, after once Matters have flown ſo high, as to provoke and effect a Separation. The Second, which proceeds in a Method of Juſtice, brings the Parties upon the Publick Stage, expoſes their Faults and Follies to the World, cuts them out from Second Marriages; and diſcovers a great many things, which were much better kept conceal'd. And, in caſe the Allegation be not fully prov'd; and ſo they continue oblig'd to cohabit ſtill, after all this mutual Complaining and Diſgrace, What a Temptation is here to Poyſoning or Murder,

der, to get rid that way of a Partner of the Bed, which in Courſe of Law cannot be remov'd? And many of theſe Villanies, no doubt, have been committed, of which the World never had the leaſt Knowledge or Suſpicion. As at *Rome* particularly, before Divorce came in uſe, a Woman who was apprehended for Poyſoning her Husband, impeached other Wives, whom ſhe knew to have been guilty of the ſame Fact; and They again others, till at laſt Threeſcore and Ten were all Attainted and Executed for the ſame Fault, of whom People had not the leaſt Jealouſie, till this Diſcovery was made. But that which ſeems the worſt of all in the Laws relating to a Married Life, is, that *Adultery* is ſcarce any where puniſh'd with *Death*; and all that can be done in that Caſe, is only *Divorce*, and ceaſing to cohabit; Which was an Ordinance introduc'd by *Juſtinian*, One whom his Wife had in perfect Subjection: And no wonder if She made uſe of that Dominion, (as ſhe really did) to get ſuch Laws enacted, as made moſt for the Advantage of her own Sex. Now this leaves Men in perpetual danger of *Adultery*, tempts them to malicious Deſires of one another's Death; the Offender that does the Injury is not made a ſufficient Example, and the Innocent Perſon that receives the Wrong, hath no Reparation made for it.

Of the Duty of Married Perſons, See Book III. Chap. 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of Parents and Children.

1. *Paternal Authority.*

THere are ſeveral Sorts, and ſeveral Degrees of Authority and Power among Men; Some Publick, and others Private; but not any of them more agreeable to Nature, not Any more abſolute and extenſive, than that of a *Father* over his *Children*, (I chooſe to inſtance in the Father rather than the Mother, becauſe ſhe being herſelf in a State of Subjection to her Husband, cannot ſo properly be ſaid to have her Children under her Juriſdiction.) But even this Paternal Authority hath not been at all Times, and in all Parts of the World equal and alike. In ſome Ages and Places, and indeed of Old almoſt every where, it was univerſal, and without reſtraint: The Life and Death, Eſtates and Goods, the Liberty and Honour, the Actions and Behaviour of Children was entirely at Their Will; They ſued and were ſued for them; They diſpoſed of them in Marriage; the Labours of the Children redounded to the Parents Profit; nay, They themſelves were a kind of *Commodity*; for among the *Romans* we find this Article, in that which was call'd *Romulus his Law*; * *The Right of Parents over Children ſhall be entire and unlimited; they ſhall have Power to abdicate and baniſh, to ſell, and to put them to death.* Only it is to be obſerv'd, That all Children under Three Years old, were excepted out of this Condition, becauſe they

Dion. Halicar. *lib.* 2. Antiq.

Rom. l. in Suiſ. ff. de lib. & poſth.

* Parentum in Liberos omne Jus eſto, relegandi, vendendi, occidendi.

could

could not be capable of offending in Word or Deed, nor to give any juſt Provocation for ſuch hard Uſage. This Law was afterwards confirm'd and renew'd, by the Law of the *Twelve Tables*; which allow'd Parents to ſell their Children Three times: And the *Perſians*, as *Ariſtotle* tells us, the Antient *Gauls*, as *Cæſar* and *Proſper* agree; the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, might do it Four times. There want not ſome probable Reaſons to perſuade us, that this Power had ſome Foundation, or Countenance at leaſt, in the *Law of Nature*; and that Inſtance of *Abraham* undertaking to ſlay his Son, hath been made uſe of, as an Argument to this purpoſe: For had This been a Thing againſt his *Duty*, and ſuch as the *Authority* of a Father could in no caſe extend to, he would not (they tell you) ever have conſented to it; nor have believed, that this Command had proceeded from God, but rather have imputed it to ſome Deluſion upon his own Mind, if it had been no way reconcilable with Nature, the Laws of which, God had eſtabliſhed in the Beginning, and could not be thought ſo to contradict Himſelf, as by any particular Order, to appoint a thing altogether inconſiſtent with his own General Inſtitution before. And accordingly it is obſervable, that *Iſaac* never went about to make any Reſiſtance, nor pleaded his own Innocency in Bar to what his Father went about to do; as knowing that he only exerted the rightful Power he had over him. What Force there is in this Argument, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. It is ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe to obſerve, That allowing all this, yet it does not in any degree take off from the Commendation due to *Abraham*'s Faith; for he does not pretend to *Sacrifice* his Son by Vertue of any ſuch *Inherent Right* over him, nor upon any Provocation, or Miſdemeanour, which *Iſaac* had given him occaſi-

Aul. Gel. *lib.* 20. Ariſtot. Ethic. *lib.* 8. Cæſar, *lib.* 6. de Bell. Gall. Proſper Aquit. in Epiſt. Sigiſm.

on

on to reſent or puniſh; but purely in obedience to the Command of Almighty God. The Caſe does not ſeem to differ much under the Law of *Moſes*; allowing only for ſome Circumſtances, as to the manner of exerciſing this Authority, which will be taken notice of by and by. Of This, and no leſs Extent the *Paternal Power* ſeems to have been formerly in the greateſt part of the World, and ſo to have continu'd till the Time of the *Roman* Emperours. Among the *Greeks* indeed, and the *Ægyptians*, it does not ſeem to have been altogether ſo abſolute; but even There, if a Father happened to kill his Son unjuſtly, and without Provocation, the Puniſhment inflicted for ſuch Barbarity was no other than being ſhut up with the Dead Body for Three Days together.

Diodor.

2. *The Reaſons and Effects of it.* Now the Reaſons, and the Effects of ſo great and unlimited a Power being allow'd to Fathers over their Children, (which no doubt was a great advantage for the Advancement of Virtue, the Improvement of Manners and Education, the reſtraining, preventing, and chaſtiſing Extravagance and Vice, and of great good Conſequence to the Publick too) ſeem to have been ſuch as Theſe.

I. Firſt, The containing Children in their Duty, begetting and preſerving a due Awe and Reverence

II. in their Minds. Then a Regard to ſeveral Vices and Enormities, which, though very grievous in Themſelves, would yet paſs unpuniſh'd, to the great Prejudice of the Publick, if they could be taken cognizance of, and animadverted upon by no other Ways and Perſons, but Legal Proceſs, and the Sentence of the Magiſtrate; For abundance of Theſe muſt needs eſcape ſuch Cenſure, partly becauſe they would be Domeſtick and Private, and partly becauſe there would be no body to inform and proſecute. The Parents Themſelves were not likely

likely to be ſo Officious; the Nearneſs of the Relation would render it odious, and the Intereſt of their own Family would reſtrain them from publiſhing their own Shame. Or, if they could be ſuppos'd to bring all they knew of this kind upon the Open Stage, yet we know there are many Vices, and Inſolencies, and Diſorders, which the Laws and Juſtice of Nations are not provided with Puniſhments for. To all which we may add, that there are many Family-Quarrels, between Fathers and Children, Brothers and Siſters, upon the account of dividing Eſtates and Goods, or ſeveral other Things, which, tho' fit to be canvaſs'd and corrected within a Man's own Walls, would by no means do well to be ript up, and expoſed to the World; and for Theſe, as the *Paternal Authority* is neceſſary, ſo it is ſufficient to compoſe and quiet all Parties, and put an End to Differences, that concern ſingle Families only. And it was reaſonable for the Law to ſuppoſe, that no Father would make ill uſe of this Power; that Men might very ſafely be entruſted with it, becauſe of that very tender Affection, which Nature inſpires all Parents with, ſuch as ſeems altogether inconſiſtent with Cruelty toward their own Off-ſpring: And this we ſee the effect of Daily, in the frequent Interceſſions made by Fathers, for the Releaſing or Mitigating thoſe publick Puniſhments, which they cannot but be ſenſible are moſt juſtly inflicted; there being no greater Torment to any Parent, than to ſee his Children under Pain or Diſgrace. And where Theſe abſolute Prerogatives were allow'd, we meet with very few Inſtances of the exerting their Power, and going to the Extremity of it, without Offences very heinous indeed; ſo that, in truth, if we regard the Practice, and compare That with the Power it ſelf, we ſhall have reaſon to look upon it as a uſeful Terrour, a

Bugbear to keep Children in Awe, and fright them into Obedience, rather than any Stretch of Rigour, that was actual, and in good earneſt.

3. *Its Decay.* Now this Paternal Authority was gradually loſt, and fell to the Ground as it were of it ſelf, (for the Decay of it is in truth to be attributed to Diſuſe, more than to any Law expreſly Repealing it, or Enacting the contrary) and it began moſt remarkably to decline, when the *Roman* Emperours came to the Government: For from the time of *Auguſtus*, or quickly after, it ſunk apace, and loſt all its Vigour. And upon this Decay Children grew ſo ſtubborn and inſolent againſt their Parents, that *Seneca* in his Addreſs to *Nero*, ſays, their Own Eyes had ſeen more Parricides puniſh'd in Five Years then laſt paſt, than there had been for the ſpace of Seven Hundred Years before; that is, from the firſt Foundation of *Rome* till That time. Till then, if a Father at any time *killed* his Children, he was called to no Account, nor had any Puniſhment inflicted upon him for the Fact; as we may gather evidently by the Examples of *Fulvius* the Senator, who ſlew his Son for being engaged in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy; and ſeveral other Senators, who proceeded againſt their Sons, and condemn'd them to Death by virtue of their own Domeſtick Power, ſuch as *Caſſius Tratius*; or ſentenced them to perpetual Baniſhment, as *Manlius Torquatus* did his Son *Syllanus*. There were indeed ſome Laws afterwards, which appointed, that the Father ſhould bring Informations againſt the Children that offended, and deliver them over to publick Juſtice: And the Judge in ſuch Caſes was oblig'd to pronounce Sentence as the Father ſhould direct; in which there are ſome Footſteeps of Antiquity. And theſe Laws, in abridging the Power of the Fathers, proceeded very tenderly, and

Lib. 1. de Clem.

Saluſt. in Bell. Catalin. Valer. Maxim.

L. inauditum ad leg. Corn. F. l. in ſuis de l. & poſth. l. 3. Cod. de pa. poteſt.

and did not take it away entirely and openly, but with great Moderation, and by halves only. Theſe later Ordinances have ſome Affinity to the Law of *Moſes*, which ordered the ſtubborn and Rebellious Son to be ſtoned, upon the Complaint of the Parents, without requiring any farther Proof of the Charge than their ſingle Depoſition; and provided the Preſence and Concurrence of the Magiſtrate, not ſo much for Examination and Tryal of the Cauſe, as to prevent the Privacy and Paſſion, which might attend Domeſtick Puniſhments, and ſo to render the thing more publick, and the Vengeance more exemplary, and full of Terrour to others. And thus, even according to the *Moſaick* Inſtitution, the *Paternal Authority* was more arbitrary and extenſive, than it came to be ſince the Time of the *Roman* Emperours. But if we deſcend a little Lower, and obſerve its Decreaſe under *Conſtantine the Great*, then under *Theodoſius*, and at laſt under *Juſtinian*, we ſhall find it almoſt totally extinct. Hence it came to paſs, that Children took upon them to decline, and peremptorily deny Obedience to their Parents; to refuſe them a Part in their Poſſeſſions; nay, not to allow them ſo much as convenient Maintenance and Relief in their Neceſſities. Hence they had confidence to enter Actions againſt them, and implead them in Courts of Judicature; and an indecent, a moſt ſcandalous Thing in truth it is, to obſerve how frequent ſuch Suits have been. Some have been ſo wicked, or ſo miſtaken, as to excuſe Themſelves from *Duty* upon pretence of *Religion*; and dedicate That to God, which their Parents had a Right to; as we find Our Bleſſed Saviour reproaches the *Jews* for doing; and the manner he mentions it in, ſhews plainly, that this impious kind of Devotion was a Practice cuſtomary among them before his Time. Since that ſome have acted after their

Deut. xxi.

Matt. xv.

Examples, even in the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and many have held it lawful to *kill* a *Father* in one's own Defence, or in caſe he became a Publick Enemy to the State. But ſure, if ſuch Relations deſerve Death, it ought to be inflicted by ſome other Hand; and heretofore it was receiv'd as a general Maxim, and admits of ſcarce any Exception, * *That no Wickedneſs could be committed by a Father, the Heinouſneſs whereof would juſtifie Parricide; to kill a Father is wicked, and no Wickedneſs can be reaſonable.*

Now the Generality of the World doe not ſeem duly ſenſible of how miſchievous Conſequence to Mankind, this Abatement and Abolition of the *Paternal Authority* hath prov'd. The Governments, under which it was kept up, and vigorouſly exerted, have flouriſh'd, and contain'd their Subjects in ſtrict Duty. If upon any Occaſion it had been found by Experience too ſharp and exorbitant, prudent Care might have been taken to regulate and bring it under convenient Reſtraints. But utterly to diſannul and deſtroy it, is by no means agreeable to Decency or Virtue, and leaſt of all to the Advantage of the Publick. For when once the Reins are let looſe, and Countenance is given to Diſobedience in private Families, it quickly grows to a general Spirit of Faction, and Diſorder, and Ungovernable Inſolence; and the caſting off the Yoke of the Natural Parents, is a bold and dangerous Step toward Rebellion againſt the Civil. The Effect whereof hath been abundantly ſeen in the many Inconveniences, which Governments have ſuffer'd upon the Relaxation or utter Reſcinding of this Authority; whereby in the Event they only

* Nullum tantum ſcelus admitti poteſt à patre, quod parricidio ſit vindicandum; & nullum ſcelus rationem habet.

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clipt their own Wings, and encourag'd Enemies and Inſurrections againſt Themſelves, as was ſaid juſt now.

The Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Children will be treated of Book III. Chap. 14.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of Lords and their Slaves; Maſters and Servants.

1. *The uſe of Slaves univerſal, but unnatural.*

THE making uſe of *Slaves*, and the Power of *Lords* or Maſters over them, tho' it hath been a thing receiv'd and practis'd in all Places and all Ages of the World, (excepting that it was conſiderably abated for about Four Hundred Years, but now it hath ſince revived and obtain'd again:) Yet I cannot forbear looking upon it as a Monſtrous Cuſtom, and highly reproachful to Humane Nature. Since Brutes have nothing of this Kind among Them; nor do They either compel their Fellows by Violence and Fraud, or voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to Captivity. This ſeems rather then to have been diſpens'd with, than approv'd by the Law of *Moſes*. But even this Indulgence, accommodated to the Neceſſities of that People, and the Hardneſs of their Hearts, was not ſo rigorous as the Practice of other Places; for neither was the Power ſo abſolute, nor the Slavery perpetual; but the One confin'd to Rules, and the Other terminated with the Seventh or Sabbatical Year. Chriſtianity finding the Uſage Univerſal, did not ſee fit to break in upon this Conſtitution, but left its Proſelytes at liberty in this Particular, as it did in a Permiſſion

of ſerving and dwelling under Heathen and Idolatrous Princes and Maſters. For This and many other Things could not be aboliſh'd and ſet aſide at once; but by giving ſome little Diſcountenance to them, Time hath worn them off gently, and by degrees.

2. *Several ſorts of Slavery.* *Slaves* may be diſtinguiſhed into Four ſeveral Kinds. 1. Such as are *Natural*, or born of Parents in that Condition. 2. Such as are *Slaves upon Force*, made ſo by Conqueſt, and the Rights of War. 3. *Adjudged Slaves*, ſuch as are made and awarded to be ſuch, either by way of Puniſhment for ſome Crime, or for the Satisfaction of ſome Debt, which gives the Creditors a Right to their Perſons, and of employing them to their own Benefit and Service. This Slavery was limited among the *Jews* only to a certain Seaſon, Seven Years at the moſt; the *Sabbatical* Year put an End to it all; but in other Countries it continu'd till the Debt was diſcharged. 4. *Voluntary Slaves*, or ſuch as are of their own making, as Thoſe who throw Dice for it, or who ſell their Liberty for a Summ of Money, as it hath been the Cuſtom to do in *Germany*; and is ſtill in ſome Parts even of the Chriſtian World; or elſe ſuch as freely ſurrender up Themſelves to the Service of another, and devote their Perſons to perpetual Slavery: And thus we read in the Law the Antient *Jews* did, whoſe Ears were appointed to be bored with an Awl, to the Door of the Houſe, in token of perpetual Servitude; and that they rather choſe this Condition of Life, than to go free, when it was in their Power. This laſt ſort of voluntary and choſen Captivity is, I confeſs, to Me, the moſt aſtoniſhing of all the reſt; and tho' all manner of *Slavery* ſeems to be an Incroachment and Violence upon Nature, yet ſure no Kind of it can be ſo unnatural, as that which a Man covets, and brings upon Himſelf.

Tacit. de mor. Ger.

Exod. xxi. Deut. xv.

That

That Thing which makes Men *Slaves* upon *Conſtraint*, is Avarice; and that which makes Men chooſe to be *Slaves*, is *Cowardice*, and baſe Degeneracy of Spirit; for *Lords* made Men *Slaves*, becauſe, when they had them in their Power and Poſſeſſion, there was more Profit to be got by keeping, than there could be by killing them. And it is obſervable, that heretofore one of the moſt valuable ſorts of Wealth, and that which the Owners took greateſt Pride in, conſiſted in the Multitude, and the Quality of *Slaves*. In this reſpect it was that *Craſſus* grew rich above all other *Romans*; for beſides Thoſe that continually waited upon him, he had Five Hundred *Slaves* kept conſtantly at hard Work, and all the Gain of their ſeveral Arts and Labours, was daily brought, and converted to his Advantage. And this, tho' very great, was not all the Profit neither; for after that they had made a vaſt Account of their Drudgery, and kept them a great while thus in Work and Service, their very Perſons were a Marketable Commodity, and ſome farther Gain was made in the Sale of Them to other Maſters. 3. *The Cauſe of it.*

It would really amaze one, to read and conſider well the *Cruelties* that have been exercis'd upon *Slaves*; and Thoſe not only ſuch as the Tyranny of an inhumane Lord might put him upon, but ſuch as even the Publick Laws have permitted and approv'd. They us'd to Chain and Yoke them together, and ſo make them Till the Ground like Oxen; and they do ſo to this Day in *Barbary*; lodge them in Ditches, or Bogs, or Pits, and deep Caves; and when they were worn and waſted with Age and Toil, and ſo could bring in no more Gain by their Service, the poor impotent Wretches were either ſold at a low Price, or drown'd, and thrown into Ponds to feed their Lord's Fiſh. They killed them, not only for the 4. *The Cruel Uſage of Slaves.*

ſlighteſt and moſt inſignificant Offence, as the Breaking of a Glaſs, or the like; but upon the leaſt Suſpicions, and moſt unaccountable Jealouſies: Nay, ſometimes merely to give Themſelves Diverſion; as *Flaminius* did, who yet was a Perſon of more than ordinary Character, and reputed a very Good Man in his Time. It is notorious, that they were forc'd to enter the Liſts, and combat and kill one another upon the Publick Theatres, for the Entertainment of the People. If the Maſter of the Houſe were Murdered under his own Roof, let who would be the Doer of it, yet all the *Slaves*, tho' perfectly innocent of the Thing, were ſure to go to Pot. And accordingly we find, that when *Pedanius*, a *Roman*, was killed, notwithſtanding they had certain Intelligence of the Murderer, yet by expreſs Decree of the Senate, Four Hundred poor Wretches, that were his Slaves, were put to Death, for no other reaſon, but their being ſo.

5. Nor is it much leſs ſurprizing on the other hand, to take notice of the *Rebellions*, Inſurrections, and Barbarities of *Slaves*, when they have made Head againſt their Lords, and gotten them into their Power. And That, not only in Caſes of Treachery and Surprize; as we read of one Tragical Night in the City of *Tyre*; but ſometimes in open Field, in regular Forces, and form'd Battles, by Sea and Land; all which gave Occaſion for the uſe of that Proverb, *That a Man hath as many Enemies as he hath Slaves.*

6. *How they came to leſſen.* Now in proportion as the *Chriſtian Religion* firſt, and afterwards the *Mahometan* got ground and increas'd, the Number of *Slaves* decreas'd, and the Terms of Servitude grew more eaſie and gentle. For the *Chriſtians* firſt, and afterwards the *Mahometans*, who affected to follow the *Chriſtians* Examples, made it a conſtant Practice and Rule,

Rule, to give all thoſe Perſons their Freedom, who became Proſelytes to their Religion. And this prov'd a very great Invitation, and powerful Inducement, to convert and win Men over. Inſomuch that about the Year *Twelve Hundred*, there was ſcarce any ſuch thing as a *Slave* left in the World; except in ſuch places only where neither of theſe Two Perſuaſions had gain'd any Footing or Credit.

7. *And the Poor to increaſe.*

But then it is very remarkable withal, that in the ſame Proportions, as the Number of *Slaves* fell away and abated, that of Poor People, and Beggars, and Vagabonds multiply'd upon us. And the Reaſon is very obvious; for Thoſe Perſons, who during the State of Slavery, wrought for their Patrons, and were maintain'd at Their Expence, when they were diſmiſt Their Families, loſt their Table, at the ſame time they receiv'd their Liberty; and when they were thus turn'd looſe into the World, to ſhift for Themſelves, it was not eaſie for them to find Means of ſupporting their Families, which, by reaſon of the great Fruitfulneſs of People in low Condition generally, were very numerous in Children; and thus they grew overſtockt themſelves, and filled the World with Poor.

8. *Return to Servitude.*

Want and extreme Neceſſity preſently began to pinch theſe kind of People, and compelled them to return back again to Servitude in their own Defence. Thus they were content to enſlave Themſelves, to truck and barter away their Liberty, to ſet their Labours to Sale, and let out their Perſons for Hire; meerly that they might ſecure to Themſelves convenient Suſtenance, and a quiet Retreat; and lighten the Burden which the Increaſe of Children brought upon them. Beſides this preſſing Occaſion, and the Servitude choſen upon it, the World hath pretty much relapſed into the Uſing of

of *Slaves* again, by means of thoſe continual Wars which both *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* are eternally engag'd in; both againſt each other, and againſt the *Pagans* in the Eaſt and Weſtern Countries particularly. And though the Example of the *Jews* be ſo far allow'd, as a good Precedent, that they have no *Slaves* of their own Brethren and Countrymen, yet of Strangers and Foreigners they have; and Theſe are ſtill kept in Slavery, and under Conſtraint, notwithſtanding they do come over to the Profeſſion of their Maſter's Religion.

9. The Power and Authority of common Maſters over their Servants is not at all domineering or extravagant, nor ſuch as can in any degree be prejudicial to the Natural Liberty of Them who live under it. The utmoſt they can pretend to, is the chaſtizing and correcting them when they do amiſs; and in This they are oblig'd to proceed with Diſcretion, and not ſuffer their Severities to be unreaſonable, and out of all Meaſure. But over thoſe who are hired in as Workmen and Dayſmen, this Authority is ſtill leſs; There is only a Covenant for Labour, and Wages in Exchange; but no Power, nor any Right of Correction, or Corporal Puniſhment lies againſt Theſe from their Maſters.

The Duty of Maſters and Servants is treated of Book III. Chap. 15.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of Publick Government, Sovereign Power, and Princes.

1. *The Nature and Neceſſity of Publick Government.*

AFter the Account already given of *Private Power*, the next thing that falls under our Conſideration, is the *Publick*, or that of the *State*. Now, the *State*, that is to ſay, *Government*, or a Determinate Order, and Eſtabliſhment, for Commanding and Obeying, is the very Pillar and Support of Humane Affairs, the Cement that knits and keeps them Faſt and Strong; the Soul that gives them Life and Motion, the Band of all Society which can never ſubſiſt without it; the vital Spirit of this Body Politick, that enables Men, ſo many Thouſands of Men, to breath as One, and compacts all Nature together.

2. Now, notwithſtanding the abſolute Neceſſity and unſpeakable Convenience This is of, for ſuſtaining the Univerſe, yet is it, really, a very ſlippery and unſafe thing, extremely difficult to manage, and liable to infinite Changes and Dangers. * *The Governing of Men, and their Affairs, is a very hard Undertaking, a heavy Burden, and expoſed to great variety of Chances.* It often declines and languiſhes; nay, ſometimes falls to the Ground, by ſecret Misfortunes, and unſeen Cauſes. And though its riſing to a juſt Height, is Gradual and Slow, a Work of much Time, and great Pains and Prudence; yet the Ruins and Decays of it are frequently ſudden

* Arduum & ſubjectum fortunæ cuncta regendi onus.

and

and ſurprizing; and the Conſtitutions, which took up Ages to finiſh and build up, are broken and thrown down in a Moment. It is likewiſe expoſed to the Hatred and Envy of all Degrees and Conditions. The High and the Low watch it curiouſly, and are Jealous of all its Proceedings, and ſet Themſelves at Work perpetually, to endanger and undermine it. This Uneaſineſs, and Suſpicion, and general Enmity, proceeds partly from the Corrupt Manners and Diſpoſitions of the Perſons in whom the *Supreme Power* is veſted, and partly from the Nature of the *Power* it ſelf, of which you may take this following Deſcription.

3. *What Sovereign Power is.*

Sovereignty, is properly a Perpetual and *Abſolute Power*, Subject to no Limitation, either of Time, or of Terms and Conditions. It conſiſts in a Right of conſtituting and giving Laws to all in General, and to each Perſon under its Dominion in Particular; and that, without conſulting or asking the Conſent of ſuch as are to be govern'd by them; and likewiſe in being above all Reſtraints, or having Laws impoſed upon it ſelf from any other Perſon whatſoever. 'For to Impoſe, and Com-"mand a Duty, argues Superiority, and That "which is *Sovereign*, can have no *Superiour*. And, as another expreſſes it, "It infers a Right Paramount "of making Reſervations and Exceptions from the "uſual Forms, (as the King in Courts of Equity corrects the Common Law:) For *Sovereignty*, in its higheſt and ſtricteſt Importance, implies the *Contrary to Subjection*, or the being bound by Humane Laws, either of others, or its own Appointment, ſo as not to repeal or alter them, as there ſhall be Occaſion. For it is contrary to Nature, for all Men to give Law to Themſelves, and to be abſolutely commanded by Themſelves, in Things that depend

depend upon their own Will. * *No Obligation can continue firm, none can lie there, where the Perſon that engages, hath nothing but his own Will to bind him:* And therefore *Sovereign Power*, Properly ſo call'd, cannot have its Hands ty'd up by any other, whether Living or Dead; neither its Own, nor its Predeceſſor's Decrees, nor the Received Laws of the Country can be Unalterable or Irreverſible. This *Power* hath been compared by ſome to Fire, to the Sea, to a Wild Beaſt, which it is very hard to tame, or make treatable; it will not endure Contradiction, it will not be moleſted, or if it be, it is a Dangerous Enemy, a juſt and ſevere Avenger of them that have the Hardineſs to provoke it. † *Power* (ſays one) *is a Thing that ſeldom bears to be admoniſh'd or inſtructed, and is generally very impatient of Contradiction or Reproof.*

4. *Its Properties.*

The Marks and Characters, which are proper to it, and by which it is diſtinguiſh'd from other Sorts of Power, are, the Giving Judgment, and pronouncing Definitive Sentences, whereby all contending Parties ſhall be concluded, and from whence there lies no Appeal. A full Authority to make Peace and War, Creating, and Depriving Magiſtrates, and Officers; granting Indulgences, and diſpenſing with the Rigour of the Laws upon particular Hardſhips, and extraordinary Emergencies; levying of Taxes; coining and adjuſting the Value of Money, ordering what ſhall be current in its Dominions, and at what Prices; Receiving of Homage and Acknowledgments from its Subjects, and Embaſſies from *Foreigners*; Requiring Oaths of Fidelity from the Perſons under its Protection, and adminiſtring them in Controverſies and Tryals of

* Nulla Obligatio conſiſtere poteſt, quæ à voluntate promittentis ſtatum capit.

† Poteſtas res eſt, quæ moneri doceriq; non vult, & caſtigationem ægrè fert.

Right

Right and Wrong. But all is reduc'd at laſt, and comprehended under the *Legiſlative Power*, the enacting ſuch Laws as it ſhall think fit, and by Them binding the Conſciences of Thoſe who live within its Dominions. Some indeed have added Others, which are ſo ſmall and trivial in Compariſon, that they are ſcarce worth naming after the Former; ſuch as the Admiralty, Rights of the Sea, Title to Wracks upon the Coaſt, Confiſcation of Goods in Caſes of Treaſon, Power to change the Language, the Enſigns of Government, and Title of Majeſty.

5. *Greatneſs* and *Sovereignty* is infinitely coveted by almoſt All. But wherefore is it? Surely for no other Reaſon ſo much, as that the Outſide is Gay and Glorious, Beautiful and Glittering; but the Inſide is hid from common Obſervation. Every body ſees the Plenty, the Pomp, and the Advantages of a *Crown*, but few or none at a diſtance are acquainted with the Weight, the Cares, the Troubles, and the Dangers of it. It is True indeed, *To Command* is a Noble and a Divine Poſt; but it is as True, that it is an Anxious, a Cumberſome, and a Difficult One. Upon the ſame Account it is, that the Perſons in that Dignity and Elevation, are eſteem'd and reverenc'd much above the Rate of Common Men. And very Juſt it is they ſhould be ſo, for this Opinion is of great Uſe to extort that Reſpect and Obedience from the People, upon the due Payment whereof, all the Peace and Quiet of Societies depend. But if we take theſe great Perſons apart from their Publick Character, and conſider them as Men, we ſhall find them juſt of the ſame Size, and caſt in the ſame Mould, with other common Men; nay, too often, of worſe Diſpoſitions, and not ſo liberally dealt with by Nature, as many of their Inferiours. We are apt to think that every Thing a *Prince* does, muſt needs

needs proceed upon great and weighty Reaſons, becauſe all they do is in the Event of great and general Importance to Mankind; but in truth the Matter is much otherwiſe, and They think, and reſolve, and act, juſt like One of Us; For Nature hath given Them the ſame Faculties, and moves them by the ſame Springs. The Provocation, which would ſet Two private Neighbours to Scolding and Quarrelling, makes a Publick War between Two States; and what One of Us would whip his Child or his Page for, incenſes a Monarch to chaſtiſe a Province, that hath offended him. Their *Wills* are as liable to *Levity* as Ours, but their Power and the Effect of what they will, is incomparably greater. But ſtill Nature is the ſame in the Fly, as in the Elephant, and both are actuated by the ſame Appetites and Paſſions. Nay, let me take leave to add, that, beſides thoſe Paſſions, and Defects, and Natural Qualifications, and Abatements, which they ſhare in common with the leaſt and meaneſt of their Servants and Adorers; there are ſome Vices and Inconveniences in a manner peculiar to Them alone; ſuch as the Eminence of their Condition, and the vaſt Extent of their Power inſpires them with a more than ordinary Tendency, with vehement and almoſt unavoidable propenſions to.

6. *The Manners and Diſpoſitions of Great Perſons.*

The Manners and Temper of Great Perſons have been commonly obſerved by the Wiſeſt and moſt Diſcerning Perſons to be, *Invincible Pride*, and *Self-conceit*. * *An abounding in their own Senſe, which is Stiff, and Inflexible, incapable of Truth, and diſdaining better advice. Licentiouſneſs* and *Violence*; † *which*

* Durus & veri inſolens: Ad recta flecti regius non vult tumor.

† Id eſſe regni maximum pignus putant, ſi quicquid aliis non licet, ſolis licet.

looks

looks upon a Liberty of doing what no body elſe may do, as the particular Diſtinction, and moſt Glorious Privilege of their Character. So that their Favourite Motto is, * *My Will is a Law.* *Suſpicion* and *Jealouſie*, for they are † *Naturally tender and fearful of their Power*; nay, fearful ſometimes even of their own Children and neareſt Relations; ‖ *The next in Succeſſion is always look'd upon with an Evil and Jealous Eye, by the Perſon in preſent Poſſeſſion of the Throne; ſo that any the leaſt Genius of Government, or intereſting themſelves in Publick Affairs, is very unacceptable in the Sons of Princes*; And hence it is that they are ſo often in Fears and mighty Conſternations, for * *it is uſual and natural to Kings, to live under continual Apprehenſions.*

7. *Their Miſeries and Inconveniences.*

The Advantages, which *Kings* and *Sovereign Princes* have above Thoſe of meaner Condition, ſeem indeed to be Marvellous Great, and Glorious; but when nicely conſider'd, they are in Truth but very Thin and Slight, and little more than mere Imagination. But, were they much above what really they are, it is certain they are dearly bought at the Expence of the many Weighty, Solid and Subſtantial Troubles and Inconveniences that conſtantly attend them. The Name and the Title of Sovereign, the Splendor and Formalities of a Court, and all the Pomp and Parade that draws our Eyes and Obſervation, carry a Beautiful, and Deſirable Appearance, ſuch as raiſes our Wonder, and kindles our Wiſhes and Deſires; but the Burden and the Inſide of all this Shining Pageantry, is Hard and Knotty, Laborious and Painful. There is *Honour* in Abundance, but very little

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* Quicquid libet, licet.

† Suapte Naturâ Potentiæ anxii.

‖ Suſpectus ſemper inviſuſq; dominantibus quiſquis proximus deſtinatur, adeo ut diſpliceant etiam civilia Filiorum ingenia.

* Ingenia Regum prona ad formidinem.

Joy

Joy or Eaſe; It is a Publick and an Honourable Servitude, an Illuſtrious Miſery, a Wealthy Captivity. The Chains are of Gold, but ſtill they are Chains. And it is worth our While to obſerve the Behaviour and the Reflections of *Auguſtus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Pertinax*, *Diocleſian*, upon this Occaſion; and the wretched End of moſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and many Others of their Succeſſors in the Empire. But, now in Regard theſe ſeem Words of Courſe only, ſuch as very few will give any Credit to, becauſe they ſuffer Themſelves to be impoſed upon by a gay and deceitful Face of Power, I ſhall think it worth while to clear this Matter, by giving a diſtinct and particular Account of ſome Inconveniences and Miſeries, with which the Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is conſtantly incumbred.

8. *In the Diſcharge of their Office.*

Firſt, The mighty Difficulty of acting their Part well, and acquitting Themſelves of ſo weighty a Charge. For if it be ſo very Hard a Thing, as we find by ſad Experience it is, to govern ones ſelf well, what infinite Hardſhip muſt we in reaſon ſuppoſe there is, in governing a Multitude of People? It is certainly much more Eaſie and Pleaſant to follow, than to lead; to have no more to do, than only to keep a plain beaten Road, than to beat out a Path for Others; to obey, than to direct and command; to anſwer for one's ſingle ſelf, than to be reſponſible for one's Self and a great many More beſides.

* *And thus 'tis better than proud Scepters ſway,*
To live a quiet Subject, and obey. Creech.

To all This we may add, that it is highly Neceſſary for the Perſon, whoſe Duty it is to Command, to be more excellent and exemplary, than Them who are commanded by him; as that

* Ut ſatius multo jam ſit parere quietum
Quam regere imperio res velle—— *Lucret.* lib. V.

Great Commander *Cyrus*, very truly obſerved. And this Difficulty we cannot be better made ſenſible of, by any Argument, than Matter of Fact; which proves to us Experimentally, how very few Perſons, Hiſtory makes mention of in this Character, who have in all Points been, what they ought to be. *Tacitus* ſays, that of all the *Roman* Emperours till that Time, *Veſpaſian* was the only true good Man; and another antient Author hath taken the Confidence to affirm, that the Names of all the *good Princes* that ever were, might be engraven within the *Compaſs of a Ring*.

9. *In their Pleaſures and Actions of their Life.*

The Second Difficulty may be fixed very Reaſonably upon their Pleaſures and Delights, of which Men uſually think, (but they think very much amiſs) that They have a greater Share, and more perfect Enjoyment, than the reſt of Mankind. For in truth their Condition, in this Reſpect, is infinitely Worſe than that of Private Men. The Luſtre and Eminence of great Perſons gives them great Inconvenience in the Fruition, of what it furniſhes them with Power and Opportunities for. They are too much expoſed to Publick View, move openly and in check, and are perpetually watch'd, controul'd, and cenſur'd, even to their very Thoughts, which the World will always take a Liberty of gueſſing at, and cenſuring, tho' they are no competent Judges, nor can poſſibly have any Knowledge of the Matter. Beſides this Reſtraint, there is likewiſe ſome Diſadvantage in the very Eaſineſs they feel of doing whatever their Inclination leads them to, and every Thing bending, and yielding to their Pleaſure; for This takes away all that Reliſh and pleaſing Sharpneſs, which is neceſſary to render a Thing Delightful; and Nothing is, or can be ſo to us, which hath no Mixture or Difficulty to recommend and heighten it. A Man that never gives himſelf time to be Dry, will never

never be ſenſible what Pleaſure there is in quenching one's Thirſt; and all Drinking will be flat and inſipid to him. Fulneſs and Plenty is one of the moſt troubleſome Things in the World, and, inſtead of helping forward, does but provoke us to nauſeate our Happineſs.

* *Groſs eaſie Love does like groſs Diet, pall;*
In ſqueaſie Stomachs Honey turns to Gall. Dryden.

The greateſt Interruption to our Enjoyments, and the moſt diſtaſteful Thing that can happen to us, is *Abundance:* To be cloy'd is to loſe All. And therefore we may ſay, that Princes are not capable of ſuch a thing as Action; for this cannot be lively and vigorous without ſome Degree of Difficulty and Reſiſtance: Other Men may be ſaid to live, and move, and act, who meet with Obſtruction and Oppoſition; but They who meet with none, may more truly be ſaid to dream, or walk in their Sleep, or to glide along inſenſibly thro' the whole Courſe of their Lives.

10. *In their Marriage.*

The Third Particular, in which they find Themſelves aggrieved above others, is in their *Marriage.* The Matches made by Perſons of inferiour Quality are infinitely more free and eaſie; the effect of Choice, the reſult of Affection, more void of Conſtraint, and full of Satisfaction. One great Reaſon, no doubt, of this Difference is, that Common Men have greater Choice, and may find great Variety and Numbers equal with Themſelves, to take a Wife out of; But Kings and Princes are but few; and therefore if They reſolve to marry ſuitably to Themſelves, there can be no great picking

* Pinguis amor nimiumque potens in tædia nobis
Vertitur, & Stomacho dulcis ut eſca nocet.
Ovid. Amor. L. 2. Eleg. 19.

and chooſing in the Caſe. But the other Reaſon is, and indeed the more conſiderable of the Two, That Private Perſons have nothing farther to aim at beyond their own particular Concerns; They conſult their own Comfort and Convenience; but Princes are often confin'd and ty'd up by publick Conſiderations. Their Marriages are vaſt Intrigues of State, and deſign'd to be inſtrumental in ſecuring the Happineſs and Peace of the World in general. Great Perſons do not Marry for Themſelves, but for the common Good of Nations and Kingdoms. And this is what they ought to be more in love with, and tender of, than of their Wife and Children. Upon this Account they are frequently obliged to hearken to Propoſals where there is neither Affection nor Delight to invite them; they often engage themſelves to Perſons, whom they are ſo far from being taken with, that ſometimes they never know nor ſee them, till it is out of their Power to retreat. There is no ſuch thing as *Love* or *Liking* between the Parties; but the ſhort of the Matter is, Such a great *Prince* marries ſuch a great *Princeſs*, which, if he had been in another Capacity, he would never have choſen or conſented to. But the Publick was concern'd, and is ſerved by it; and he is content to enſlave Himſelf for his whole Life, becauſe that Alliance was neceſſary to be contracted, for the ſtrengthening his Intereſt, and the ſecurity of his Kingdoms; and the mutual Benefit and Eaſe which Nations may receive by ſuch a convenient Union.

11. I may reckon this for a Fourth Diſadvantage, that They can have no part in thoſe Tryals and little Emulations, which other Men are continually exerciſed in towards one another, by the Jealouſie they expreſs of their Honour, or ſignalizing their Valour, their Wit, or their Bodily Strength; which after all, is one of the moſt ſenſible Pleaſures Men enjoy.

enjoy in Converſation with one another. The Reaſon is obvious; becauſe every Man thinks himſelf bound in good Manners to yield to Them, to ſave a Decency, and not ſuffer them to be outdone; and had rather balk their Own Honour, and abate of what they could do upon theſe Occaſions, than give Offence to a Prince, whom they know Ambitious of being thought the Conqueror of all that contend with him. Now the Bottom and Truth of all this Matter is, that upon pretence of Deference and Reſpect, ſuch Great Men are abus'd, and treated with great Scorn, and ſecret Contempt; which gave occaſion to a wiſe Man to ſay, that the Children of Princes were in a very ill way of Education, for they learnt nothing as they ſhould do, except the Art of Riding a Manag'd Horſe; becauſe in all other Caſes Men yield, and adjudge the Prize to them; but this Beaſt, who is not capable of Flattery, nor hath learnt the Arts of Courtſhip and Complaiſance, makes no difference between the Prince and his Groom, and throws either of them without diſtinction. Several great Men have therefore refuſed the Applauſes of Spectators, and ſcorn'd their formal Commendations, ſaying, *I ſhould take this kindly, and be proud of it, if it came from Perſons that durſt ſay otherwiſe, and who would take that generous Freedom of finding Fault with Me, when I gave them a juſt occaſion of doing ſo.*

12. *Incapacity of Travelling.*

The Fifth Inconvenience is, Their being debarr'd the Liberty of going Abroad, and the mighty Advantages of ſeeing the World. For they are perfectly *Impriſon'd* within their own Country, and generally cooped up within the Precincts of their Court: and there they are hedg'd in, as it were, with their own Creatures; expos'd to the View of Spectators, and the Cenſure of Impertinent Tattlers and Buſie-bodies, that watch and dog them every where, even in their moſt ſecret Actions.

Which made King *Alphonſo* ſay, that in this Reſpect *the very Aſſes had more Liberty, and were in a better Condition, than Kings.*

13. *As alſo of mutual and cordial Friendſhip.* The Sixth Topick of their Miſeries is, the being ſhut out from all *ſincere Friendſhip*, and mutual Society, which is the very ſweeteſt and moſt valuable Advantage of Humane Life; but ſuch a one as can never be enjoy'd, except among Equals, or ſuch at leaſt between whom there is no very great Inequality. Now the Elevation of a Prince is ſo high, and the Diſtance at which his Subjects ſtand below him ſo very great, that it makes any intimate, and free Correſpondence impracticable. All the Services, and Compliments, and humble Formalities paid them, come from ſuch Hands as muſt do what they do, and dare not do otherwiſe. They are by no means the effect of Friendſhip, but of ſervile Submiſſion, and Intereſt, and Deſign. All their zealous Profeſſions are not for His ſake, but their Own; to ingratiate and to raiſe Themſelves; or elſe they are a Matter of Cuſtom and Shew only. Which we ſee plainly they often are, from the vileſt and moſt wicked Kings being ſerv'd, and reverenc'd, and addreſt to, in the very ſame manner with the beſt, and moſt truly deſerving thoſe Honours; and even Them whom the People hate and curſe, with Thoſe whom they cordially love and adore. But ſtill, whether a *Prince* be the One or the Other of theſe, no body can make any Conjecture at all from outward Forms and Appearances; The Pomp, the Ceremony, the Complement, and the whole Face and Behaviour of a Court, is always alike: Which *Julian* the Emperour was ſo ſenſible of, that when ſome of his Courtiers commended his *Juſtice*, he made Anſwer, "That he indeed ſhould have ſome Temptation "to grow proud upon their Praiſes, but that he "conſider'd whom they came from; and they

"who

" who gave him good Words then, durſt not take " upon them to Chide him when he happen'd to " deſerve it.

14. *Being kept in Ignorance.*

The Seventh Particular, in which they exceed the Miſeries of common Men; and That which perhaps is of all others the worſt in it ſelf, and moſt deſtructive to the publick Safety, is, That they are not at liberty to uſe their own Diſcretion in the choice of Servants and Officers of Honour and Truſt; nor have Opportunities of attaining to a true and perfect Knowledge of Things. They are never ſuffer'd to know All; nor are they ever throughly acquainted what condition their Affairs are really in; ſome better Face put upon the good part, and ſome part conceal'd or colour'd over, which is unfortunate or ill-manag'd, and would be unacceptable, if rightly repreſented. As little are they let in to the true Characters of Men, and conſequently, who are fit to be employ'd and truſted. And what can be more miſerable than ſuch a State of Ignorance as This; when They, whoſe concern it is to know beſt, are far from underſtanding truly, either what is to be done, or who are moſt proper to do it? Alas! they are encompaſſed, and blockaded up, as it were, by People of the firſt Quality, whom there is no getting looſe from: Either ſuch as are their own Relations, or who, upon the Account of their Families, and Honours, and Places, or by long Cuſtom and Preſcription, are ſo fix'd in Authority, and have ſo great a Concern in the Management of Affairs, that it is not adviſable or ſafe to give them Diſguſt. They muſt be careſs'd, and preferr'd, and have no ground of Jealouſie or Diſcontent given them: If Offices of the higheſt Conſequence are to be diſpos'd of, Theſe Perſons muſt not be overlook'd; if, when they are thus employ'd, they prove incapable or unfit, the Retreat is difficult; All the

Nobility of their Alliance reſent their Slight, or their Diſgrace; and the mending an Improper Choice, or the making a Proper One, is ſometimes in hazard of bringing All into Confuſion. Now theſe Perſons, who make it their Buſineſs to keep their Prince conſtantly muffled up, and never let him ſee the World, take good care that nothing ſhall appear to him as it really is; and that all ſuch as are truly better and more uſeful Men than Themſelves, ſhall never gain free Acceſs to him, nor have their Abilities known. O! 'tis a wretched thing *to ſee* nothing but *with other Peoples Eyes*; and *to hear* nothing but *with other Mens Ears*; as *Princes*, whoſe Eminence will not admit of Freedom, and Plain-dealing, and promiſcuous Converſation, are under a neceſſity of doing. But that which makes the Miſery complete, and the very worſt that can be, is, that, commonly ſpeaking, Princes and Great Perſons are by a ſtrange ſort of Fatality, deſtin'd to, and in the poſſeſſion of Three ſorts of Men, who are the very Bane and Peſt of Mankind, (*viz.*) *Flatterers*, *Projectors for raiſing Money*, and *Informers*. And theſe under a ſpecious, but counterfeit Pretence, either of Zeal and Affection for their Prince, (as the Two former do) or of Integrity, and Virtue, and Reformation, (as the laſt) inſtead of improving or amending either, utterly deprave and ruine both *Prince* and *People*.

15. The Eighth Miſery is, That they are leſs *Maſters of their own Wills*, than any other Perſons. For in all their Proceedings, there are infinite Conſiderations and Reſpects, which they are bound to obſerve, and theſe captivate and conſtrain their Deſigns, and Inclinations, and Deſires. * *The greater*

* In maximâ fortunâ minima licentia.

any

any Man's Station and Capacity is, the leſs he is at his own Diſpoſal. This one would think ſhould prevail for fair Quarter at leaſt, and favourable Allowances for what they do; but inſtead of being pitied or lamented for this Hardſhip, they are the moſt barbarouſly treated, the moſt ſeverely cenſured, and traduced, of any Men living. For every bold Fellow ſets up for a Politician, and undertakes to gueſs at their Meanings, to penetrate *into their very Hearts and Thoughts.* * *To pry too curiouſly into the ſecret Intentions of a Prince, is unlawful*; or if it were not, yet it is but doubtful, and a Gueſs at beſt, what we cannot compaſs, and therefore ought not to attempt. The *Cabinets of Princes are Sacred*, and their Breaſts ought to be much more ſo. Theſe buſie Men cannot diſcern them, and yet they are eternally arraigning and ſentencing; They have a quite different Proſpect of Things; and ſee them under another Face, from what they appear to Thoſe at the Helm; or if they ſaw them both alike, yet both are not equally capable of underſtanding the Intricacies of them. Intrigues of State are Things above a Vulgar Capacity; but notwithſtanding, every Man expects his Prince ſhould do what He thinks moſt convenient, and blames his Conduct if he do otherwiſe; there is no Favour, no Patience to be obtained for any thing contrary to each Man's Private Sentiments, tho' it be in it ſelf never ſo fit, never ſo neceſſary, never ſo impoſſible to have been managed otherwiſe. In a Word, every Shop, every Coffee-houſe ſits in Judgment upon their Governours; and without hearing or knowing the Merits of the Cauſe, proceed to ſevere and ſawcy Condemnations of Them.

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* Abditos Principis ſenſus, & ſi quid occultius parat exquirere, illicitum, anceps, nec ideo aſſequare.

Laſtly,

16. *Their miſerable End.* Laſtly, It happens very often, that *Princes* come to a very untimely and unfortunate End; not only ſuch of Them as by Uſurpation and Tyranny provoke Men to bring it upon them, for this is not much to be wonder'd at, and ſuch have no more than their Due; but, (which is a miſerable Caſe indeed) Thoſe who are moſt Rightful in their Title, and moſt regular, and juſt, and gentle in the Adminiſtration of their Government. How frequent Inſtances of this kind does the *Roman* Hiſtory preſent us with, in thoſe Emperours that follow'd after the Civil Wars of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*? And not to go ſo far back, we know that *Henry* III. of *France*, was Aſſaſſinated by a little inſignificant Frier in the midſt of an Army of Forty Thouſand Men; and infinite other Examples of Poyſonings, Murders, and villanous Conſpiracies are to be found in all Ages.

* *Kings poſt down to the Shades in Blood; few ſtay*
For Common Deaths, and Nature's ſlow decay.

A Man would be almoſt tempted to imagine, that as Storms and Tempeſts, ſeem to wreek their Spight moſt upon the towering Pride of the loftyeſt Buildings, ſo there are ſome malicious Spirits, that envy, and make it their Buſineſs to humble and ruine, and trample down the Majeſty and Greatneſs of Thoſe, who ſtand moſt exalted here below.

† *And hence we fancy unſeen Powers in Things*
Whoſe Force and Will ſuch ſtrange Confuſion brings,
And ſpurns and overthrows our greateſt Kings. Creech

* Ad generum Cereris ſine cæde & ſangu ne p.uci
Deſcendunt Reges, & ſiccâ morte Tyran.i.
† Uſque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
Obterit, & pulchros faſces, fævaſq; ſecures
Proculcare, ac ludibrio ſibi haberi videtur. *Lucret. Lib. 5.*

To

To ſumm up all in a Word. The Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is above all Others incumbred with Difficulties, and expoſed to Dangers. Their Life, provided it be Innocent and Virtuous, is infinitely laborious, and full of Cares; If it be Wicked, it is then the Plague and Scourge of the World; hated and curſed by all Mankind; and whether it be the One or the Other, it is beſet with inexpreſſible Hazards; For the greater any Governour is, the leſs he can be ſecure; the leſs he can truſt to Himſelf; and yet the more need he hath to be ſecure, and not to truſt Others, but Himſelf. And this may ſatisfie us, how it comes to paſs, that the being betray'd and abus'd, is a thing very natural and eaſie to happen, a common, and almoſt inſeparable Conſequence of Government and Sovereign Power. 17.

Of the Duty of Princes, ſee Book III. Chap. 16.

CHAP. L.

Of Magiſtrates.

THere are great Differences, and ſeveral *Degrees of Magiſtrates*, with regard both to the Honour, and the Power that belongs to them: For Theſe are the two conſiderable Points to be obſerv'd in diſtinguiſhing them, and they are entirely independent upon one another; They may be, and often are each of them ſingle and alone. Sometimes Thoſe Perſons who are in the moſt honourable Poſts, have yet no great Matter of Authority or Power lodg'd in their Hands; as the King's Coun- 1.

Council, Privy-Counſellors in ſome Governments, and Secretaries of State: Some have but One of theſe two Qualifications; others have Both; and all have them in different Degrees; but thoſe are properly, and in ſtrict ſpeaking, *Magiſtrates*, in whom both Honour and Power meet together.

2. *Magiſtrates* are in a middle Station, and ſtand between the Prince and Private Men; ſubordinate to the One, but ſuperiour to the Other; They carry Juſtice home, and hand it down from above; but of this they being only the Miniſters and Inſtruments, can have no manner of Power inherent in Themſelves, when the Prince Himſelf, who is the Fountain of Law and Juſtice, is preſent. As Rivers loſe their Name and their Force, when they have emptied and incorporated their Waters into the Sea, and as Stars diſappear at the Approach of the Sun; ſo all the Authority of *Magiſtrates* in the Preſence of the Sovereign, whoſe Deputies and Vicegerents They are, is either totally ſuſpended, or upon ſufferance only. And the Caſe is the ſame if we deſcend a little lower, and compare the Commiſſions of Subalterns, and inferiour Officers, with Thoſe in a higher and more general Juriſdiction. Thoſe that are in the ſame Commiſſion are all upon the Level; there is no Power or Superiority There over one another; all that they can do, is to conſult together, and be aſſiſting to each other by concurrence; or elſe to obſtruct and reſtrain each other, by oppoſing what is doing, and preventing its being done.

3. All *Magiſtrates* judge, condemn, and command, either according to the Form and expreſs Letter of the Law; (and then the Deciſions they give, and the Sentences they pronounce, are nothing elſe but a putting the Law in execution) or elſe they proceed upon Rules of Equity, and reaſonable Conſideration, (and then this is call'd the *Duty of the Magiſtrate.*)

Magi-

Magiſtrates cannot alter their own Decrees, nor correct the Judgment they have given, without expreſs Permiſſion of the Sovereign, upon Penalty of being adjudged Falſifiers of the Publick Records. They may indeed revoke their own Orders, or they may ſuſpend the Execution of them for ſome time, as they ſhall ſee Occaſion. But when once a Cauſe is brought to an Iſſue, and Sentence given upon a full and fair Hearing, they have no Power to retract that Judgment, nor to mend or try it over again, without freſh Matter require it.

Of the Duty of Magiſtrates. *See* Book III. Chap. 17.

CHAP. LI.

Lawgivers and Teachers.

IT is a Practice very uſual with ſome Philoſophers and Teachers, to preſcribe ſuch *Laws* and *Rules*, as are above the Proportions of Virtue, and what the Condition of Humane Nature will ſuffer very few, if any at all to come up to. They draw the Images much bigger and more beautiful than the Life; or elſe ſet us ſuch Patterns of Difficult and Auſtere Virtue, as are impoſſible for us to equal, and ſo diſcourage many; and render the Attempt it ſelf Dangerous, and of ill Conſequence to ſome. Theſe are merely the Painter's Fancy, like *Plato*'s Republick, Sir *Thomas More*'s *Utopia*, *Cicero*'s Orator, or *Horace* his Poet. Noble Characters indeed, and a Collection of acknowledged Excellencies in Speculation; but ſuch as the World wants living Inſtances of. The Beſt and moſt perfect Law-giver, who in marvelous Condeſcenſion

ſcenſion was pleaſed himſelf to be ſenſible of our Infirmities, hath ſhewed great Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for them, and wiſely conſider'd what Humane Nature would bear. He hath ſuited all Things ſo well to the Capacities of Mankind, that thoſe Words of His are True, even in this Reſpect alſo, *My Yoke is eaſie, and my Burden is light.*

Now, where theſe Powers are not duly conſulted, the *Laws* are firſt of all Unjuſt; for ſome Proportion ought to be obſerv'd between the Command, and the Obedience; the Duty impoſed, and the Ability to diſcharge it. I do not ſay, Theſe Commands ſhould not exceed what is uſually done, but what is poſſible to be done; for what Vanity and Folly is it to oblige People to be always in a Fault, and to cut out more Work, than can ever be finiſhed? Accordingly we may frequently obſerve, that theſe rigid Stretchers of Laws, are the Firſt that expoſe them to publick Scorn, by their own Neglect; and, like the *Phariſees* of old, lay heavy Burdens upon others, which they themſelves will not ſo much as touch with one of their Fingers. Theſe Examples are but too obvious in all Profeſſions; This is the Way of the World. Men direct one Thing, and practiſe another; and That, not always through Defect or Corruption of Manners, but ſometimes even out of Judgment and Principle too.

Another Fault too frequent is, That many Perſons are exceeding Scrupulous and Nice in Matters which are merely Circumſtantial, or free and indifferent in their own Nature; even above what they expreſs themſelves in ſome of the moſt neceſſary and ſubſtantial Branches of their Duty, ſuch as the Laws of God, or the Light of Nature have bound upon them. This is much ſuch another Extravagance, as lending to other People, while

while we neglect to pay our own Debts. A *Phariſaical Oſtentation*, which our Heavenly Maſter ſo ſeverely expoſes the Jewiſh Elders for, and is at the Bottom no better than *Hypocriſie*; a mocking of God, and Miſerable deluding of their own Souls.

Seneca indeed hath ſaid ſomething concerning the Impracticableneſs of ſome Duties, which, if rightly obſerv'd, is of good Uſe; but then it muſt not be over-ſtrain'd, nor applyed to all Occaſions indifferently. * *When ever* (ſays he) *you have Reaſon to diſtruſt the due performance of the Precepts or Laws you eſtabliſh, it is neceſſary to require ſomething more than will juſt ſerve the Turn, to the intent, That which is ſufficient may be ſure not to be neglected. For all Hyperboles and Exceſſes of this kind are uſeful to this purpoſe, that Men, by having ſomething expreſſed which is not true, may be brought to juſt Ideas of that which is true.*

With this Quotation our Author ends his Chapter in the older Edition, which I thought convenient to add here; and not only ſo, but in regard I am ſenſible, what perverſe Uſe Licentious Men may make of the former Objection to the Prejudice of Religion, and in particular Vindication of their own Neglects and Vicious Lives; and alſo what Occaſions of Scruple and Diſquiet it may miniſter to ſome well meaning Perſons, when they compare their own Defects with the Perfection of the Divine Laws; I beg the Reader's Leave to inſert at large what a Learned and Excellent Writer of our own hath delivered to this purpoſe.

* Quoties parum fiduciæ eſt, in his, in quibus imperas, amplius exigendum eſt quam ſatis eſt, ut præſtetur quantum ſatis eſt. In hoc omnis Hyperbole excedit, ut ad Verum Mendacio veniat.

And

And this I hope, if well conſider'd, may both confute the Licentious, and quiet the Doubting and Diſſatisfied in the Point before us.

Dr. Barrow *Vol.* I. *Serm.* xxvi.

"Laws (ſays he) muſt not be depreſſed to our "Imperfection, nor Rules bent to our Obliquity; "but we muſt aſcend towards the Perfection of "Them, and ſtrive to conform our Practice to "Their Exactneſs. If what is preſcribed, be according to the Reaſon of Things, Juſt and Fit, "it is enough, although our Practice will not reach "it. For what remaineth may be ſupply'd by "Repentance, and Humility, in him that ſhould "obey; by Mercy and Pardon in him that doth "command.

"In the Preſcription of Duty it is juſt, that "what may be required (even in Rigour) ſhould "be preciſely determined; though in Execution of "Juſtice, or Diſpenſation of Recompence, Conſideration may be had of our Weakneſs: Where-"by both the Authority of our Governour, may "be maintain'd, and his Clemency glorify'd.

"It is of great Uſe, that by comparing the "Law with our Practice, and in the Perfection "of the One, diſcerning the Defect of the Other; "we may be humbled, may be ſenſible of our "Impotency, may thence be forced to ſeek the Helps "of Grace, and the Benefit of Mercy.

"Were the Rule never ſo low, our Practice "would come below it; it is therefore expedient "that it ſhould be high; that at leaſt we may "riſe higher in Performance than otherwiſe we "ſhould do. For the higher we aim, the nearer "we ſhall go to the due Pitch; as He that aimeth "at Heaven, although he cannot reach it, will "yet ſhoot higher, than He that aimeth only at "the Houſe Top.

"The

"The Height of Duty doth prevent Sloth and "Decay in Virtue, keeping us in wholeſom Exer- "ciſe, and in continual Improvement, while we "are always climbing towards the Top, and ſtrain- "ing unto farther Attaintment. The ſincere Pro- "ſecution of which Courſe, as it will be more "Profitable to Us, ſo it will be no leſs Acceptа- "ble to God, than if we could thoroughly ful- "fill the Law; For in Judgment God will only "reckon upon the Sincerity and Earneſtneſs of our "Endeavour; ſo that if we have done our Beſt, "it will be taken, as if we had done All. *Our "Labour will not be loſt in the Lord*; for the De- "grees of performance will be conſidered, and he "that hath done his Duty in part, ſhall be pro- "portionably recompenſed; according to that of "St. *Paul, Every Man ſhall receive his own reward "according to his own Work.* Hence ſometimes we "are enjoyned to be *perfect as our Heavenly Father "is perfect*; and to *be Holy as God is Holy*; other- "while to *go on to Perfection*, and *to preſs toward "the Mark*; which Precepts, in Effect do import "the ſame Thing; but the latter implieth the "former, although in Attainment impoſſible, yet "in Attempt very profitable. And ſurely he is "likely to write beſt, who propoſeth to himſelf "the faireſt Copy for his Imitation.

"In fine, if we do act what is poſſible, or as "we can, do conform to the Rule of Duty, we "may be ſure, that no Impoſſibility of *any Sublime "Law* can prejudice us.

"I ſay of *any Law*, for—many, perhaps every "one *Evangelical Law* are alike repugnant to cor- "rupt Nature, and ſeem to ſurmount our Ability.

Thus far that Reverend Perſon, whoſe Argu- ment I know not whether I ought to ask pardon for repreſenting ſo largely; but I was willing to

give it entire, for the greater Satisfaction of Them who think themſelves concern'd to conſider it: And likewiſe, that it might be of more Uſe, when apply'd, (as very appliable it is) to other *Laws* and Precepts, wherein *Religion* is not immediately concerned. In ſhort, a *Law-Giver* and a *Judge* are two very different Characters, and ſuch as require very different Methods, and Principles; for it is one Thing to Eſtabliſh, and Another to Execute the Law. And the want of obſerving this Diſtinction occaſions all the Complaints and Declamatory Strains we hear, againſt *Moral* and *Revealed Religion*, as if they impoſed Things merely Romantick, and Imaginary. To all which I add too, that though we none of us can attain to Perfection, yet moſt of us might go much greater Lengths towards it, than we do. And that This is often made an unneceſſary Pretence, a Cloak to our Folly, or Sloth, or indulged Vices; which, when they have all of them been wilful and affected, we palliate and excuſe, by taking Sanctuary very improperly, in the Infirmities of Humane Nature, the Imperfections and Failings of the beſt Men, and the Impoſſibility and Impracticableneſs of the Duties impoſed upon us.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

Of the Common People.

BY the *Common People*, here, we are not to underſtand all that have no Part in the Government, and whoſe only Buſineſs is to Obey; but I mean the Rout and vulgar Croud, the Dregs and Rubbiſh of the Common-Wealth; Men of a Mean, Slaviſh, and Mechanical Spirit and Condition, let them cover, or call, or ſet Themſelves off how they will. Now, This is a *many-headed Monſter*; ſuch as cannot be deſcribed in a little Compaſs; Inconſtant and Changeable, Reſtleſs and Rolling, like the Waves of the Sea; They are ruffled and calmed, They approve and diſapprove the ſelf-ſame Thing, in a Moment of Time: Nothing in the World can be more eaſie, than to manage and turn this Bawble which Way and into what Form you pleaſe; they Laugh or Cry, are Angry or Pleas'd, or in any other Paſſion, juſt as one would have them; They love not War for the Sake of its End, nor Peace for the Sake of the Quiet it brings, but they are fond both of the One and the Other; becauſe each is New, and always makes ſome Change. Confuſion puts them upon deſiring Order; and when they are compoſed, they hate Order and Regularity then, as much as they did Confuſion before. They are perpetually running from one Extreme to another; fond of Contraries; all Seaſons and Times are loſt to them, except what is not; for

they feed only upon the Future. † *Theſe* (ſays one) *are the Qualities, This the conſtant Cuſtom and Practice of the Common People, to hate and decry the Preſent, to be eager and deſirous of the Future; extravagantly to commend and extol Things and Times that are paſt.*

2. They are credulous and buſie, apt to entertain and pick up all manner of *News*, but eſpecially ſuch as is ill and diſaſterous; and whatever they hear reported, they take it for granted muſt needs be true; Let a Man but come provided with ſome freſh Story, and give it out that it is ſo, and he ſhall whiſtle them together as thick as Swarms of Bees at the tinkling of a Braſs-Pan.

3. They are Injudicious, Unreaſonable, Indiſcreet; All their Wiſdom and Judgment is perfect Chance, Croſs or Pile, Even or Odd; They ſpeak their Mind, and determine with great Poſitiveneſs and Fierceneſs; and are always ſtiff and peremptory in it. And all this while it is not any Opinion of their own, but that of other People; for they take all upon Truſt, follow the Vogue and common Cry, are born away by Cuſtom and Numbers, and run like Sheep; becauſe they are led, and others have gone before them; not becauſe the Thought is reaſonable, or the Thing true in it ſelf. Tacit. * *There is no ſuch thing as Judgment or Truth to be met with among the Vulgar; for they diſcern* Cic. *nothing. They are perſuaded frequently by common Opinion, but very ſeldom by the Truth of the Thing.*

4. They are envious and malicious, Enemies to good Men, Deſpiſers of Virtue; They look upon

† Hi vulgi mores odiſſe, præſentia, ventura cupere, præterita celebrare.

* Plebi non Judicium, non Veritas. Ex Opinione multa, ex Veritate pauca judicat.

the

the Wealth and Prosperity, the Successes and Advancements of others, with a jealous and an evil Eye. They always take the weakest and the worst Side; give countenance to Knaves, and hate Persons of Honour and Quality, without knowing any manner of Reason for it, except that One, that they are higher and better than Themselves, more esteem'd, and well spoken of.

They are treacherous, false, and disloyal; they magnifie every Report, enlarge and aggravate what is true, and make every thing Ten times more and greater than it really is: You never know where nor when to have them: The Promise or Fidelity of the Mobb, is like the Thought of a Child, born and gone in an Instant; They change, not only as their Interest changes, but are blown and carry'd about to every Quarter, with the next Blast of idle Report, or vain Surmise; and every Hour of the Day makes a new Alteration in their Opinions and Affections. 5.

They are eternally † *disposed to Mutiny and Faction, Troublesom, and fond of Change; mortal Enemies to Peace, and Order, and Concord*; but especially, when they get any Body to Head or Lead them on, for then they are insolent and insupportable. Like the Sea, which is smooth and calm by Nature, but when put into Agitation by the Winds, it swells, and curls, and foams, and roars; just so the Madness of the People is blown up, and bears down all with the impetuous Torrent. And again, Take off their Ring-leaders, and they fall flat before you, are all in Disorder and Confusion, and quite dead with Fear, and Terrour, and Astonishment; 6. Salust.

† Ingenio mobili, seditiosum, discordiosum, cupidum rerum novarum, quieti & otio adversum.

Tacit. * *Inconſiderate and Fearful, Cowardly and Diſpirited.*

7. They countenance and ſupport buſie troubleſome Fellows, and admire thoſe moſt who are ever blaming, and diſturbing the Adminiſtration of Affairs. Modeſty paſſes with Them for Cowardice, and prudent Caution for Stupidity and Heavineſs. On the contrary, Fierceneſs and blind Fury is commended and ador'd, under the ſpecious, but falſe Titles, of Courage and Bravery. Thoſe that have hot Heads, and itching Hands, are preferr'd by Them infinitely before Men of ſound Judgment, that weigh things nicely, and never proceed but upon mature Deliberations. And flaſhy prating Coxcombs take more with them, than plain, reſerved Perſons, of ſolid and ſober Senſe.

8. They have no regard at all for the publick Good, nor for Virtue or Decency, but all their Thoughts center in private and Perſonal Advantage; they look no higher nor farther than Themſelves, and take up unaccountable Piques at Thoſe that oppoſe their Profit. All their Diligence is mercenary, all their Zeal is ſordid; nothing is ſo vile, but Profit will reconcile them to it. † *Every Man hath a private Spur within, and the Honour or Benefit of the Publick is of no Regard or Concern with them.*

Tacit.

9. They are perpetually growling and repining at the Government; ready to burſt with Diſcontent, and venting their ſuppoſed Grievances in all manner of inſolent and baſe Language; aſperſing Thoſe that are ſet over them, and loading them with the moſt virulent Reproaches. Men of low Condition and ſmall Fortunes comfort Themſelves this

* Sine rectore præceps, pavidus, ſocors; nil auſura Plebs Principibus in oris.

† Privata cuiq; ſtimulatio, vile ſ decus publicum.

way:

way: It is almoſt the only Pleaſure they find to ſpeak ill of the Rich, and the Great; and This, not becauſe they have any juſt Provocation, or reaſon ſo to do, but purely out of Envy and Ill-nature, which never ſuffers them to reſt ſatisfy'd with their Governours, and the preſent Poſture of Affairs.

But they are all Talk and Froth; without Matter, without Reaſon; their Minds never advance, nor ſtir one ſtep; their Tongues are always in Action, and never lie ſtill. They are a ſort of Monſter, made up of nothing but Tongue; in at All, and know Nothing; prying into every thing, and yet blind, and ſee nothing; any thing pleaſes and makes them laugh, and any thing diſcontents and makes them cry. They are always in readineſs for Mutiny and Rebellion, bluſter, and ſwagger, and threaten; but theſe forward Men in Deſign and Diſcourſe, take care to ſleep in a whole Skin, and are the backwardeſt in Fight, and upon the Approach of Danger. For their Property is, to be always ſtruggling to ſhake off their Yoke, and much better at trying for Liberty, than keeping it when they have it. † *The Temper of the Mobile*, (ſay the *Roman* Hiſtorians very truly) *is Sawcineſs and Inſolence; their Tongues are fierce and talkative, their Courage when it comes to tryal, Tameneſs and mere Nothing*; and all the Bravery they put on, ends in empty Boaſts and Bullying. 10. Saluſt. Tacit.

They never know when to give over, but are always running into Extremes; abſolute Strangers to Moderation and Decency. Either you have them cringing, and fawning, and deſcending to the vileſt and baſeſt ſubmiſſion of Slaves; or elſe inſolent, and tyrannical, and domineering, beyond 11.

† Procacia plebis Ingenia, Impigræ Linguæ, Ignavi Animi.

all Meaſure, beyond all Patience. They cannot endure the Rein when gently manag'd; nor be content to enjoy a reaſonable Liberty, and ſuch Indulgences and Terms as are fit for them; but are eternally either flying out, or falling under their Rider: Too confident, or too diſtruſtful of their own Strength; too bold, or too tame; tranſported with Hope, or quite diſpirited with Fear. They always bring Matters to this Iſſue, that if you do not make Them ſtand in awe of You, they will make You ſtand in awe of Them. When once you have humbled and terrify'd Them ſoundly, you may give them a Bit and a Knock, put out their Eyes, trample upon their Necks; nothing is ſo reproachful, but they will bear it. But if you do not ſhew them the Rod, and make them ſenſible who is their Driver, they grow proud, and daring, and turbulent. There is no ſuch thing as Ingenuity, or a Senſe of good Uſage to be expected from them; and hence comes that Proverb, commonly apply'd to thoſe churliſh Wretches, that grow upon Them, who treat them gently, and would win them by Favour and Kindneſs. *Stroke Him and he'll ſpurn You; ſpurn Him and he'll ſtroke You.* Tacit. * *The Vulgar know no Mean; they affright unleſs they fear; and when they are in fear, they may be ſafely deſpiſed.* Livy. † *They are troubleſomly bold, when out of Apprehenſion of a ſtronger Hand; the humbleſt Servants, or the haughtieſt Maſters: But for Liberty and Moderation, they pretend to value them moſt, but know how to practiſe and enjoy them leaſt.*

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* Nil in vulgo modicum, terrere niſi paveant, ubi pertimuerint impune contemni.

† Audaciâ turbidum niſi vim metuat; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbè dominatur; libertatem, quæ media, nec ſpernere, nec habere.

They

They are ſcandalous more eſpecially for Ingratitude to their beſt and moſt generous Benefactors. The Thanks and Recompence which thoſe Great Men have generally met with, that expended their Blood, and Treaſure, and Labours in the Service of the Publick, and have deſerv'd moſt at their Hands, are Baniſhment, or Diſgrace; an open Accuſation, or a general Calumny; a Conſpiracy, or an untimely Death. Hiſtories both Sacred and Profane furniſh infinite Inſtances, and are more full of no One thing, than celebrated Examples of this kind. *Moſes*, and all the Prophets; *Socrates*, *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*, *Lycurgus*, *Demoſthenes*, *Themiſtocles*, and many other venerable Names in Antiquity, are laſting indelible Monuments of this baſe Diſpoſition. Nay, *Truth it ſelf* told the *Jews*, that not any of Them who made it their Buſineſs to promote the Happineſs and Salvation of that People, had eſcaped the Malice and Violence of Them or their Forefathers. But quite contrary, thoſe that oppreſs, and keep them under, they cheriſh and make much of; fear and admire all they do; when the loſs of Power and Freedom hath depreſs'd their Minds, and made them ſlaviſh too. 12. Matt. xxiii

In ſhort; The Mob is a ſavage Beaſt; all its Thoughts are Vanity, its Opinions and Aſſertions erroneous and falſe; the Good is commonly rejected and condemned, the Evil approved and applauded by them. The Commendations they give are infamous, and their Projects and Undertakings, Folly. For *Seneca* hath told us long ſince, that * *Matters are not ſo well with Mankind, as that moſt Voices ſhould be on the beſt ſide. For the common Crowd is a ſhrewd Argument that what is ſo liked is very bad.* In ſhort, the Rabble is the Mother of Ignorance, Injuſtice, In- 13.

* Non tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut meliora pluribus placeant; Argumentum peſſimi turba eſt.

conſtancy,

conſtancy, an Adorer of Vanity; and the ſtudying to pleaſe them can never turn to true Account. They give indeed for their Motto, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God:* But we may ſay very truly, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of Fooliſh and Miſtaken Men.* And one of the firſt Principles of *Wiſdom*, is to waſh one's Hands, and get quite diſpoſſeſt of all popular and general Opinions, and to proceed clearly, and without any manner of Byaſs or Prejudice, in our Enquiries after *Truth* and *Virtue.* This will be quickly illuſtrated in our *Second Book*; toward which we are now drawing on apace.

The

The Fourth Distinction of Men, taken from their different Professions, Circumstances, and Manner of Living.

PREFACE.

WE are now about to take another Difference between Some Men and Others, into Consideration; which depends upon their different Professions, Conditions, and Ways of Life. Some follow a Life of Business and Company; Others avoid This, and make their Escape out of the World, by running into Solitude. Some are fond of Arms and a Camp; Others hate and abhor them: Some have their Substance in Common; Others have their own distinct Properties. Some are fond of Offices and Employments, and would fain live in publick, and be conspicuous in the World; Others decline These when they might have them, and affect to live privately and unobserv'd. Some are absolute Courtiers to every Body, and upon all Occasions; Others regard and make court to nothing but Themselves. Some prefer the Diversions of the Town, and Others the Pleasures of the Country. It is not easie, nor is it indeed at all necessary and pertinent to our present Purpose, that I should take upon me to determine which of all these Men is most to be commended for the Wisdom of his Choice; for every one of these ways of Living hath its Advantages and Disadvantages;

advantages; ſome particular Good, and ſome Evil, that attends, and is not to be ſeparated from it: That which would be much more worth our Conſideration and Pains, is to inform each of Theſe in his Duty; for the main Point of all is, that this Choice be wiſely made, and ſo as may ſuit beſt with every one's Temper and Abilities; and then after he hath choſen, that the Man be inſtructed how to make himſelf the moſt eaſie under it, and to make the beſt Improvement of it that the Caſe will bear. This muſt be our Buſineſs hereafter; but at preſent we will ſay juſt one ſingle Word of each of theſe Conditions, and compare them a little with one another. Only permit in the firſt place, that I make ſome ſhort Obſervations upon That Life which is common to Men in all Capacities, and which may be diſtinguiſh'd into Three Sorts or Degrees.

CHAP. LIII.

The Three Sorts or Degrees of Life, as it is common to the Generality of Men, diſtinguiſh'd and compar'd together.

IT is eaſie to obſerve Three diſtinct Sorts, and as it were Degrees of Life, common to Men in general. One *Private*, in which every Man is unavoidably concern'd; for by this I mean only what paſſes with each Man's Self, within, and in regard to his Own Breaſt. The Second is *Domeſtick*, in one's Own Houſe and Family, with regard to what paſſes at Home, and in our ordinary Courſe of Affairs. The Third is *Publick*, and reſpects what is expoſed to the common View of the World. In the Firſt of theſe there is no manner of Reſtraint; in

in the Second no Pains or Study to recommend one's Behaviour, as being not accountable for our Own Management to Them that live under our Own Roof and Government; but all the Reſerve, and Artifice, and Diſſimulation is in a manner appropriated to the laſt of Theſe. Now it is much more difficult to be regular and exact in the firſt of theſe Degrees, than in either of the other; and the Examples of Perſons that are, or have been ſo, have been infinitely fewer; and ſo in proportion the Caſe ſtands with the Second too, in compariſon of the Third ſort. The Reaſon is obvious and evident. For where there is no body to judge, or controul, or countermand; nay, where there is not ſo much as a Spectator to obſerve our Actions; where we have no apprehenſion of Puniſhment for doing amiſs, no expectation of Reward for doing well, we are much more remiſs and careleſs in our Behaviour. Reaſon and Conſcience are here the only Guides we have to follow; and although Theſe may be ſome Check, yet that is not comparable to the Reſtraints we feel, when placed in open View, and made the common Mark of All, who muſt needs ſee, and will take a Freedom of cenſuring our Actions. Applauſe and Glory, fear of Scandal and Reproach, or ſome other Paſſion of the like Nature, are much more powerful Motives; theſe carry and manage us after a very different manner. (And indeed the greateſt part of Mankind are more govern'd by Paſſions of this Nature, than by any ſtrict Senſe of Duty, and regard to Virtue) Theſe put us upon our Guard, and teach us Prudence upon force. And from the Influence of Theſe it is, that many People have the Reputation of Holy and Excellent Perſons; and behave Themſelves as ſuch in the Eye of the World; who yet in reality, and at the bottom, are mere Hypocrites, ſtark nought, and rotten at the Core, and have not one commendable

Quality

Quality belonging to them. What paſſes before Men is all Farce and Counterfeit; we put it on for Convenience, and are concern'd to appear thus to the Spectators; but the Truth of us is conceal'd, and the Man can have no true Judgment made of him, but from what he does in private and alone. We muſt ſee him in his conſtant and every-day's Dreſs, and ſtrip him of thoſe Ornaments that ſet him off when he comes abroad: We muſt know his Temper and his uſual Deportment, for all the reſt is Fiction and Conſtraint. * *All the World are Actors, and play their Parts to pleaſe the Audience.* And it was well obſerv'd by a Wiſe Man, That none are good, except ſuch as are ſo inwardly, and by Themſelves: And that Virtue is always the ſame; as cautious, as prudent upon the account of Conſcience, as it is in Obedience to the publick Laws and Cuſtoms of the World; as fearful of offending one's own Self, and as careful to avoid the Condemnation of one's own Breaſt, when no Eye ſees us, as it is of the Obſervation and Reproaches of all Mankind. Publick Actions, ſuch as Exploits in War, delivering an Opinion in Senate or Council, diſcharging an Embaſſy, governing a Nation, or the like, are bright and loud; every body ſees, every body hears of them; and therefore Theſe are perform'd with all poſſible Diligence and Circumſpection; but ſuch Private and Domeſtick ones, as Chiding, Laughing, Selling and Buying, Borrowing and Paying, and Converſing with our own Families, and moſt intimate Acquaintance, are ſilent and dark; they make no Noiſe, fear no Diſcovery, and are therefore thought worthy very little, or not any Attention or Conſideration at all. Nay, we are ſometimes ſcarce ſo

* Univerſus mundus exercet hiſtrioniam.

much

much as ſenſible of them when we do them. And if in Theſe, Men be ſo unthinking, a little Reflection will ſoon convince us, that they are infinitely more ſo, in Thoſe yet more ſecret and merely internal; ſuch as Loving, Hating, Deſiring, of which none is or can be conſcious, but their own Minds.

There is one Thing more, fit to be obſerved upon this Occaſion, and a very ſad and wicked Thing it is (*viz.*) That Men, being depraved by a kind of Hypocriſie, natural to them, have taught Themſelves and Others to make a greater Conſcience, and be infinitely more Scrupulous and concern'd, for their outward Behaviour; (which conſiſts in Shew, and Form, and is perfectly free and at their own Diſpoſal, of no Conſequence in the World, but all over Set-Countenance and Ceremony, Things of no real Difficulty, and as little Subſtance and Effect) than they are for inward Miſcarriages, or private Actions; (ſuch as are buried in Secrecy, and make no Figure, but yet are highly Expedient and Neceſſary, very Valuable in Themſelves, and therefore very Difficult) For upon theſe Laſt, the Reforming of our Souls, the Moderating of our Paſſions, and the Regulating our whole Life and Converſation depends. And yet the Former are not only preferred before them in our Care and Concern, but the Matter is ſo ordered, that even They who find themſelves well diſpoſed, will by conſtant Study and Sollicitude to diſcharge thoſe outward Actions punctually, degenerate into Formality of courſe, and by inſenſible Degrees grow Cold, and Negligent, in their Regard for the others.

Now, of all theſe Sorts, it is plain, that the Men (as Hermits for Inſtance) who live in perfect Solitude, and have but One of theſe Three, That of the Internal and moſt private Life only to

take

take Care of, are upon better Terms, and have an eaſier Task to diſcharge, than Thoſe that have Two; and ſo likewiſe he that hath the Domeſtick Care added to the former, and ſo lies under a Duty in Two Capacities, is expoſed to leſs Difficulty than the Perſons of a Publick Life and Character, upon whom the Care of all the Three Degrees is incumbent.

CHAP. LIV.

A Life of Company and Buſineſs, compar'd with one of Retirement and Solitude.

THey that upon all Occaſions recommend and cry up a *Solitary Life*, are ſo far certainly in the Right, that it is an Excellent Means of Eaſe and Quiet; a ſure Retreat from the Hurry and Troubles of the World; a very proper and effectual Defence againſt the Vices and Extravagances of a profligate Age; which are commonly propagated by Infection and Example; and are very likely to Spread and Reign, where much the greater Part of thoſe we converſe with, are already tainted with the Diſeaſe. For not One in a Thouſand is Vertuous and Good; the Number of Fools is Infinite, and the thicker the Crowd, the greater the Danger. Thus far, I ſay, they have Reaſon on their Side; for ill Company is certainly one of the moſt fatal and enſnaring Things in the World; and that, not only in Regard of the Corruption, but of the Puniſhment and Vengeance it expoſes Men to. Accordingly we may obſerve how very careful Men that went to Sea, uſed to be, that no Blaſphemer or profane Perſon ſhould embark in the

the ſame Veſſels, no profligate, wicked Wretch to endanger their Safety, or render their Voiage Diſaſtrous or Unſucceſful. One ſingle *Jonas* you ſee, whom God was Angry with, had like to have loſt all the Ship's Crew: And *Bias*, when ſome wicked Wretches call'd upon their Gods in a Storm, made them this ingenious Reproof by way of Raillery, *Hold your Peace, that they may not diſcover ſuch vile Wretches as you are on board.* *Albuquerque*, who was Viceroy of the Indies under *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, when in extreme Danger, laid hold on a young Boy, and clung faſt to him, that ſo his Innocence might be a Shelter and Sanctuary to him, againſt the Wrath of God. So beneficial hath Virtue been eſteemed, and ſo deſtructive Vice, not only to the Guilty, or the Vitious Perſons themſelves, but to all that are concerned with them, or come within the Reach of their Influence.

But yet to eſteem a Life thus retired and at a Diſtance from Evil, abſolutely the Beſt, and moſt Excellent; to think it better qualify'd than any other, for the Exerciſe and Perfection of Virtue; to call it more Difficult and Unpleaſant, more Laborious and Painful than any other, as ſome who extol a voluntary renouncing the World, would fain perſuade us to believe, is a mighty Error in themſelves, or a groſs Cheat upon other People. For, quite contrary, it is the moſt effectual Expedient of throwing off the Cares and troubleſome Incumbrances of Life, and rendring it light and eaſie; and to ſay the very Beſt of it, is but a very mean and moderate Attainment, an imperfect Beginning, or rather a mere Diſpoſition to be Virtuous. It is, not to meddle with Buſineſs, to abandon Difficulties and Troubles; But how is this done? It is not by engaging with, and bravely overcoming them, but by cowardly running away, declining the Combate, and hiding ones ſelf from

them. It is to play leaſt in Sight, and be buried alive, for fear we ſhould not live well when we are ſeen. No Doubt is to be made, but a Prince, a Magiſtrate, or Parochial Prieſt, are more perfect, more valuable, when Good in their kind, than Monks and Hermits: For in truth, ſuch Societies and Seminaries were only deſign'd to prepare Men for Dignities and Buſineſs; to qualifie them for Society and the World. And Colleges and Cloiſters do not give, but only lead Men to Uſefulneſs and Perfection. He that maintains his Poſt in the World, and ſatisfies the Duty which the ſeveral Relations and Capacities he ſtands in require from him; that converſes with Wife, and Children, and Servants, and Neighbours, and Friends; that manages his own Eſtate, and engages in Buſineſs fit for his Condition; He, I ſay, that undertakes to act ſo many different Parts, and to anſwer the ſeveral Characters as becomes him, hath incomparably more Work upon his Hands, and is infinitely more Valuable, if he perform it, than the Recluſe, who is determined to one ſingle thing, and hath only the Duty to himſelf to take care of. For Company and Variety of Converſation is infinitely more hazardous, than Solitude; and Plenty much harder to manage than Want. In a State of Abſtinence, and Freedom from Buſineſs, a Man hath but one Paſs to guard; in the Uſe and Management of ſeveral Things, many Conſiderations muſt be attended to, many Duties diſcharged, and he lyes open to Attacks from ſeveral Quarters at once. And there is no Doubt in the World to be made, but a Man may much more eaſily conquer Himſelf to diſclaim and refuſe Riches, and Honours, great Offices and gainful Preferments, than he can govern himſelf in the Uſe, or come off with Virtue and juſt Commendation in the Diſcharge of them. It is no very difficult Matter to live without a Wife, but

but to live with a Wife, and behave ones ſelf in all Reſpects, as a Husband ought to do; to order and educate Children, and bear due Regard, and make fit Proviſions for a Family, and all its Dependencies; is a Task Men ſeldom give themſelves the trouble to conſider. But They that do, and make a right Judgment of it, will be very far from extolling Cælibacy, as ſome do, or think it an Argument of higher Virtue, or a State of greater Difficulty than Marriage.

2. Nor are Men leſs miſtaken, when they ſuppoſe that *Solitude* is a ſafe Shelter from all manner of Vice; and that He, who takes Sanctuary in it, and ſequeſters himſelf from the World, rides in Harbour, and is out of the Reach of Tempeſts and Temptations; for Theſe find a way to purſue, and overtake us even There. This is indeed a Convenient Retreat from the Corruptions of ill Company; from the Clutter and Crowd of Cares and Buſineſs, and the Miſchiefs that threaten and come upon us from Without; but there are other Enemies and Dangers from Within, which we always carry about us, and cannot run away from, Spiritual and Internal Difficulties, Domeſtick and peculiar Evils; and the Scripture takes expreſs Notice, that the *Wilderneſs* was the Place, where our Saviour was Aſſaulted, and *Tempted by the Devil.* Retirement is a dangerous Weapon in the Hands of Young Men; ſuch as are Hot and Imprudent, Raſh and Unskilful; and there is great Reaſon to fear, that, what *Crates* ſaid to a Young Man whom he found walking all alone, is generally true of ſuch Perſons; and that ſuch, when they are by Themſelves, are in very bad Company. This is the Place where Fools lay their wicked Projects; here they find Leiſure and Opportunities for contriving their own Ruine; here they cheriſh and indulge unlawful Deſires; file, and poliſh, and refine upon their own Paſſions, without Obſervation,

without Controul. A Man had need be very Wiſe, to know how to make the beſt Uſe of Privacy; watchful and well fortify'd, before he is fit to be truſted with Himſelf; For many times ones Own Hands, are the very Worſt he can be put into. It is an excellent Petition, which the *Spaniards* uſe, even to a Proverb, * *O Lord, I beſeech thee, preſerve me from My Self. Very few indeed, have diſcretion enough to be left to Themſelves, and nothing is ſo bad, but Secrecy and Solitude, are powerful Temptations to comply with it.* But for Men to take up their Heels, and skulk in a Corner, upon any Private and Perſonal Conſideration, though it be a lawful and commendable one in it ſelf, which yet is the beſt, and not always the Truth of the Caſe (for very often Cowardice, and Weakneſs of Spirit, Peeviſhneſs and Pets, or ſome other diſcontented or vicious Paſſion is at the Bottom of all this pompous and pretended Contempt of the World) is to turn Deſerter, and not dare to ſtand to our Arms. There is a mighty Difference between forſaking the World, and falling out with it; between conquering, and not hazarding our Perſons in the Engagement. And when Men are in a Capacity of becoming beneficial to Others, and may be Inſtruments of Great and General Good, to excuſe Themſelves from ſerving the Publick, and abandon all Society when they might adorn and be uſeful in it, is to betray their Truſt, to *bury their Talent in a Napkin*; to *hide the Candle*, which God hath lighted, *under a Buſhel*, when the ſetting it on a Candle-Stick, might *enlighten* others, and do great Service to *all that are in the Houſe*. It requires then much Deliberation, and many uncommon Circumſtances, to give Men a

* Guarda mi, Dios de mi.
Nemo eſt ex imprudentibus, qui ſibi relinqui debeat. Solitudo omnia perſuadet.

Right

Right thus to diſpoſe of Themſelves. And they who preſume to do it merely out of private Conſiderations, and make the Publick no part of their Concern, are ſo far from deſerving to be applauded for their Virtue and Reſignation, that they are guilty of a great Fault, and liable to very juſt and ſevere Cenſure.

CHAP. LV.

A Life in Common, compared with That of diſtinct Properties.

SOme Perſons have been of Opinion, that a *Life*, where all Things are *in Common*, and there is no ſuch Diſtinction as *Mine* or *Thine*, hath the greateſt Tendency to Perfection, and is beſt accommodated for the cheriſhing and maintaining of Charity and Concord, and Union among Men. But Experience ſhews us daily, that whatever Conveniencies it may really have of this kind, yet are they not ſo great, nor ſo effectual to the Purpoſes before-mention'd, as thoſe Perſons have imagined. For in the firſt Place, whatever Appearance there may be outwardly of Kindneſs and good Agreement, yet there is no ſuch Thing as an entire and hearty Affection, nor the ſame tender Regards for That which is in Common, as a Man finds where he alone is concern'd. To this purpoſe it is, that we have two Proverbs, *The College Horſe is always ill ſaddled*, and *Every Body's Buſineſs, is No Body's Buſineſs.* Men conſider, that Others are equally concern'd in the Care, and in the Damage; that the Loſs is not immediately their own, and that each Member of the Society ſtands in that reſpect equal-

ly related to them, and that begets a Coldneſs and Indifferency among them. But, which is a great deal worſe, this State does naturally produce Quarrels and Diſcontents, Murmuring and mutual Hatred; every Community is but too full a Demonſtration of it, and the very Holieſt and Beſt that ever was, the Primitive Church it ſelf, could not, you ſee, be exempted from the Misfortune. For, though the Inſtitution deſign all Things ſhould be equal, yet unleſs you could make the Deſires of the Perſons ſo too, they will always be full of Complaints, and Jealous, that ſome are preferred, and others neglected; like the *Grecians* and their Widows in the Daily Diſtributions. The Nature of *Love*, is like that of Great Rivers; which, while they continue united in one Stream are Navigable, and carry Veſſels of Vaſt Burden; but if you cut them into freſh Channels, and divide the Water, they are no longer Serviceable in that kind; and thus, when Men's Affections are divided, and parted, as it were among a great many Objects, not any one of thoſe Perſons or Things is of very tender Concern; for all the Force and Vigor of the Paſſion is ſcattered and broke to Pieces. Now, in a *Life of Community*, there are ſeveral Degrees; *To live*, that is, to eat and drink together at a common Table, is very decent and well, (Thus we find it practiſed in ſome of the beſt and moſt ancient Commonwealths, as *Lacedemon* and *Crete* particularly) ſuch publick Meals are very uſeful for the teaching Men to be Modeſt and reſerved, and keeping up Dicipline, Society, and Good Order; and they do alſo miniſter occaſion for great variety of very uſeful and improving Diſcourſe. But to think of pulling up the Fences and Incloſures, and lay all in Common, is a wild Imagination. *Plato* was once of this Opinion, but he thought better of it afterwards. And indeed the Project would

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would be ſo far from reconciling and uniting All, that the certain Conſequence of it would be to overturn and confound All.

CHAP. LVI.

A Town and a Country Life compared together.

THis is a Compariſon very eaſie for any Man who is a true Lover of Wiſdom, to make; for almoſt all the Advantages lie on one ſide. The Pleaſures and Conveniences both of Body and Mind, Liberty, Contemplation, Innocence, Health, and Delight. In the *Country* a Man's Mind is free and eaſie; diſcharg'd, and at his own Diſpoſal: But in the *City* the Perſons of Friends and Acquaintance, one's own and other People's Buſineſs, fooliſh Quarrels, ceremonious Viſits, impertinent Diſcourſe, and a Thouſand other Fopperies and Diverſions ſteal away the greateſt part of our Time, and leave no Leiſure for better and more neceſſary Employment. What infinite Perplexities, Avocations, Diſtractions of the Mind, and, which is worſt of all, what abominable Debaucheries, and Depravation of Manners does ſuch a Life expoſe Men to? Great Towns are but a larger ſort of Priſons to the Soul, like Cages to Birds, or Pounds to Beaſts. This Celeſtial Fire within us will not endure to be ſhut up, it requires Air to brighten and make it burn clear; which made *Columella* ſay, that a Country Life is Couſin-German to Wiſdom: For a Man's Thoughts cannot be idle; and when they are ſet looſe from the World, they will range and expatiate freely in noble and profitable Meditations. But how ſhall a

Man hope to command his Thoughts, or pretend to call them his Own, in the midſt of all the Clutter, and Buſineſs, the Amuſements, nay the Confuſions of the Town? A Country Life is infinitely more plain, and innocent, and diſpoſed to Purity and Virtue. In Cities Vice aſſembles in Troops; the very Commonneſs of it makes it unobſerv'd; it hardens and reconciles us to the Practice, Example, and Cuſtom; and the meeting with it at every Turn, makes the thing familiar; and thus the Diſeaſe ſeizes us ſtrongly and preſently, and we are gone all on the ſudden, by living in the midſt of the Infection. Whereas in the Country, thoſe things are ſeen or heard with Abhorrence and Amazement, which the Town ſees and does every Day without Remorſe or Concern. As for Pleaſure and Health, the clear Air, the Warmth and Brightneſs of the Sun, not polluted with the Sultry Gleams, and loathſome Stenches of the Town; the Springs and Waters, the Flowers and Groves, and, in ſhort, All Nature is free, and eaſie, and gay; The Earth unlocks her Treaſures, refreſhes us with her Fruits, feaſts every Senſe, and gives us ſuch Entertainment, as Cities know nothing of, in the ſtifling preſs of Houſes; ſo that to live there, is to ſhut one's ſelf up, and be baniſh'd from the World. Beſides all this, a Country Retirement is more active, and fit for Exerciſe; and this creates an Appetite, preſerves and reſtores Health and Vigour, hardens the Body, and makes it luſty and ſtrong. The greateſt Commendation of the Town is, Convenience for Buſineſs and Profit. It is indeed the Seat of Trade and private Gain, and therefore fit to be the Darling of Merchants and Artificers: And it is the Place accommodated to Publick Adminiſtrations; but this latter but a very ſmall part of Mankind are call'd to, or capable of. And Hiſtory tells us, that heretofore excellent Perſons were

were fetch'd out of the Country, to undertake Affairs of the greateſt Importance; and aſſoon as they had finiſh'd theſe, they retir'd again with wonderful Delight, and made the Town not a Matter of Choice, but Neceſſity and Conſtraint: This was the ſhort Scene of Labour and Buſineſs to them; but the Country was the Seat of their Pleaſure, and more conſtant Reſidence.

CHAP. LVII.

Of a Military Life.

THE Profeſſion and Employment of a *Soldier*, if we reſpect the Cauſe and Original Deſign of it, is very worthy and honourable; for it pretends to protect the Safety, and promote the Grandeur of one's native Country; to preſerve it in Peace, and guard it from the Inſults of Enemies abroad, and turbulent Spirits at home; than which nothing can be more juſt, nothing more univerſally beneficial. It is alſo noble and great in the Execution of this Deſign: For *Courage*, which is its proper Quality and Character, is the braveſt, moſt generous, moſt Heroick of all Virtues; And of all Humane Actions and Exploits, Thoſe of War are the moſt celebrated and pompous; inſomuch that the Titles and Enſigns of Honour, borrow their Names from, and are aſſign'd as Rewards to Them. It hath alſo many Pleaſures peculiar to it; the Converſation of Men of the firſt Quality, in heat of Youth, and full of Fire and Activity; the being familiarly acquainted with ſtrange Accidents, and wonderful entertaining Sights; freedom of Behaviour, and Converſe without Trick or Art; a Maſculine

culine and hardy way of living, above Ceremony or Form; Variety of Attempts and Succeſſes: The moving Harmony of warlike Muſick, which entertains the Ears, charms all the Senſes, warms the Soul, and inſpires it with Valour; the Gracefulneſs of Motion and Diſcipline, that tranſport and delight us with a pleaſing Horrour; that Storm of Shouts and Alarms, which the louder it grows, the more raviſhing and animating it is; and the roaring Ordinance of ſo many Thouſand Men that fall on with incredible fury and eagerneſs.

But when all Theſe, and as many more Excellencies as its moſt zealous Patrons can attribute to this *Calling*, have been allow'd, every reaſonable Man muſt acknowledge on the other hand, that the Plundering, Undoing, Murdering one another, and eſpecially the making Theſe a Matter of Art, and Study; a Science and a Commendation, ſeems highly unnatural, and the effect of Barbarity and Madneſs. Nothing is a ſtronger Evidence againſt Mankind, of their Weakneſs, and Imperfection, and foul Degeneracy; for it ſets us below the very Brutes themſelves, in the moſt ſavage of which the Original Impreſſions of Nature are not defac'd to this ſcandalous Degree. What an infinite Folly, what an execrable Rage is it, to create all this Diſturbance, and turn the World upſide-down, to encounter and run thro' ſo many Hazards by Sea and Land, for a Prize ſo very doubtful and full of Chance, as the event of a Battle? Why ſhould we make Campaigns abroad, and turn Volunteers to foreign Princes, to run with ſo much eagerneſs and appetite after Death, (which may be found, nay which of its own accord meets us at home, and offers it ſelf every where) and that without propoſing to our ſelves ſo much as decent Burial? To fall on, and kill Men that we have no Spite, no Reſentment againſt; nay, Men that are abſolute

lute Strangers, and whom we never ſaw in all our Lives? Why this mighty Heat and Fury, to one that hath done thee no hurt, given thee no provocation? What a Madneſs is it to venture Loſs of Limbs and Blood, Wounds and Bruiſes, which when they do not take Life quite away, make it ſubject to Remedies and Pains a Thouſand times more grievous and inſupportable than Death? Had you Obligations of Duty and Conſcience, it were another Matter; but to do this for Breeding and Fame; to ſacrifice and deſtroy one's ſelf for a Man that you never ſaw, who hath no manner of Tenderneſs or Concern for you; and only ſtrives to mount upon the dead or maim'd Body, that he may ſtand a little higher, and enlarge his own Proſpect; Nothing but very weighty Reaſons, and the neceſſary Defence of all that is dear to us, can make ſuch an Undertaking prudent and commendable: And in ſuch Caſes all perſonal Conſiderations ought to be deſpiſed as much as otherwiſe they are fit to be valu'd. And I hope too, the Reader takes notice all along, that I ſpeak of thoſe who chooſe the Trade for Mercenary Ends, or out of falſe Notions of Gallantry; and not with any intention to diſcourage the Duty of Subjects to their Prince, whoſe juſt Quarrels they ought always to account their Own.

The

The Fifth and Laſt Difference between Some Men and Others; taken from the Advantages and Diſadvantages, by which Nature or Fortune hath diſtinguiſhed them.

PREFACE.

THis Laſt Diſtinction is abundantly notorious, and viſible to every Eye; It hath indeed ſeveral Branches and Conſiderations included under it; but all I think may be conveniently enough reduced to Two General Heads; which, according to the vulgar way of Expreſſion, may be termed, Happineſs and Unhappineſs; being High or Low in the World. To that of Happineſs or Greatneſs, belong Health, Beauty, and other Qualifications and Advantages of Body and Perſon, Liberty, Nobility, Honour, Authority, Learning, Riches, Reputation, Friends. In Unhappineſs or Meanneſs of Condition are comprehended the Contraries of all Theſe, which, without naming particularly, we eaſily underſtand to be the privation or want of the forementiond Advantages. Now theſe Particulars are the occaſion of infinite variety in Men's Circumſtances and Conditions of Life; for a Man may be happy in the Enjoyment of One, or Two, or Three of theſe Qualities, and yet not ſo in the reſt; and even in Thoſe

Thoſe he hath, he may be happy in a greater or leſs Degree; and thoſe Degrees are capable of being ſo many, that it is not eaſie, if at all poſſible, to expreſs or conceive them. But upon the whole Matter, in the Diſtribution and Diſpoſal of our Fortunes and Affairs, Providence hath ſo ordered it, that Few or None ſhould be either happy or unhappy in every one of theſe Reſpects. He then that partakes of moſt, and particularly thoſe Three Advantages, of Nobility, Dignity or Authority, and Riches, is eſteem'd Great; and he that hath none of thoſe Three is reckoned among the mean Men. But ſeveral Perſons have only One or Two of the Three; and ſo they ſtand in a ſort of middle Capacity, between the two Extremes, and are neither High nor Low. We will ſpeak very briefly to each of them.

As for *Health* and *Beauty*, and other Advantages that relate to the Body and Perſons of Men, enough hath been ſaid of them already; and ſo likewiſe of *Sickneſs* and *Pain*, which are Diſadvantages contrary to them. Chap. VI Chap. X

CHAP. LVIII.

Of Liberty and Servitude.

Liberty paſſes in the Eſteem of many for a moſt eminent Advantage, and *Servitude* for a very grievous Evil; ſo exceeding great, that ſome have rather choſen to Die, and that after a very barbarous and painful manner, than to be made Slaves or Captives; nay, rather than come into any danger of ſeeing their own, or their Countrey's Freedom and Properties infringed, or uſurp'd upon. But as in all Other Caſes of the like Nature, ſo in This alſo, there may be a very Criminal Exceſs of Par-

Partiality, and a fanciful Fondneſs of what we deſervedly have a high eſteem for. There is in truth a *Twofold Liberty:* The true and proper ſort is That of the Mind; for This is in every Man's own Keeping and Diſpoſal, no body can wreſt it out of our Hands, nothing can impair or encroach upon it, not even the Tyranny of Fortune it ſelf. On the other ſide, The *Bondage of the Mind* is the heavieſt, and moſt wretched of all others; to live a Slave to one's Appetites and Luſts; to lie down in our Chains, and let our Paſſions prey upon us; to be led by the Noſe by Prejudice, and Error, and Superſtition: Oh This! This is a miſerable Captivity indeed. The *Liberty of one's Perſon* is really valuable, but ſtill that lies at the Mercy of Fortune. And as valuable as it is, yet (unleſs it be attended with ſome very uncommon Circumſtance to enhance its Worth) there can never be Juſtice or Reaſon in giving it the Preference above Life it ſelf; as ſome of the Ancients have done, who choſe to ſuffer, nay, to inflict Death, and make it the Work of their Own Hands upon Themſelves, rather than not die free: And even of this (to me ſeeming) Extravagance we find large Commendations, as if it were a more exalted Virtue than ordinary, ſo very dreadful Nôtions had they then of *Slavery.* * *It is* (ſays One of them) *the Obedience of an enfeebl'd and deſpicable Soul, that hath parted with its own Will.* And yet as vile as they repreſent this State, very great and very Wiſe Men have liv'd in it; as *Regulus, Valerian, Plato, Epictetus*; and have had the Misfortune too of very wicked, unjuſt, and barbarous Maſters; and yet they have never brought any diſhonourable Reflections upon their Virtues, or thought Themſelves one

* Servitus obedientia eſt fracti & abjecti Animi, arbitrio carentis ſuo.

whit

whit the worſe for it, becauſe in truth and very deed, they ſtill continu'd Free, and at their own Diſpoſal; much more ſo than the Maſters, who pretended to Dominion over them.

CHAP. LIX.

Of Nobility.

NO*bility* is a Quality or Diſtinction receiv'd and valu'd in all parts of the World: It is a Mark and an Attractive of Honour and Reſpect, inſtituted and brought into Uſe for very good Reaſons, and much to the Benefit of the Publick. 1.

It is not every where the ſame; but differently reputed, and taken in divers Senſes, according to the different Judgments of Men, and the Cuſtoms of the Countries where they live. From hence we find ſeveral Sorts or Species of it pretended to; but according to the common and moſt general Notion of the thing, it is the Quality of a Man's Family. *Ariſtotle* calls it, the *Antiquity of the Family, and the long Continuance of an Eſtate in it. Plutarch* terms it the *Virtue of the Family*; meaning by this, ſome certain Character, and particular good Quality, for which our Anceſtors were eminent, and which hath been propagated in Succeſſion, and is continu'd in the ſeveral Deſcendents of that Houſe. Now what this Quality is in particular, which ſhould merit ſuch a Diſtinction, hath not been agreed on all hands. Some, and indeed the greater part, will have it to be Atchievements in War; others add, or equal to this, Politick and Civil Prudence; whereby Men become neceſſary to the State by their Counſels, as the former do in the 2. *Deſcription of it.*

the Field: To Theſe have likewiſe been added Eminence in Learning, and particular Offices in the Courts of Princes, as Accompliſhments thought fit and ſufficient to diſtinguiſh a Man's Family, and derive Honour down upon Thoſe that deſcend from him. But I think it muſt be acknowledg'd by all conſidering Perſons, that the Military Honours have the Advantage, and deſerve a Preference above all the reſt, both becauſe the Qualities of this kind are moſt ſerviceable to the State in its greateſt Exigencies and Diſtreſſes; and becauſe it is the moſt painful and laborious, and expoſes Men's Perſons to the greateſt and moſt apparent Dangers. From whence it is, that a particular Veneration and Reſpect, a louder Applauſe and Commendation is allowed univerſally to Them; and that Theſe by way of Eminence and Privilege, have attain'd to that diſtinguiſhing Character of Valour or Worth. Now according to this Opinion, Two things are neceſſary, and muſt both contribute as Ingredients to the Compoſition of that which is the *True* and *Perfect Nobility*. Firſt, There muſt be the Profeſſion and Appearance of this Virtue or good Quality ſerviceable to the Publick, and this is as it were the Form; and then there muſt be the Family, in which, as in the Matter or proper Subject, this Quality is inherent; that is, there is requir'd a long uninterrupted Continuation of it, thro' ſeveral Deſcents, and Time out of mind. Hence, according to the vulgar Jargon, they are ſtiled *Gentlemen*, that is, Perſons who are Branches and Deſcendents of the ſame Blood, and Houſe; Bearing the ſame Name, and the ſame Profeſſion of this diſtinguiſhing Quality, for ſeveral Generations. That Perſon then is truly, properly, and entirely Noble, who makes ſingular Profeſſion of ſome Publick Virtue; that renders himſelf uſeful and remarkable in the Service of his Prince and his Country; and is ſprung

ſprung from Relations and Anceſtors, who have done the ſame before him, in the reſpective Ages when they liv'd.

Some, it is true, have ſeparated theſe two Qualifications, and conſider'd them apart; as being of Opinion, that One of theſe ſingly, that is, *Perſonal Virtue* and Worth, without any Advantages of *Birth*, is ſufficient to entitle a Man to this Honour. They think it hard that Men ſhould be excluded, merely upon conſideration of their Anceſtors wanting the Excellencies, which they have rendred Themſelves conſpicuous for. Now This is a *Perſonal* and *Acquir'd Nobility*; and very valuable it is; but yet the Vogue and Cuſtom of the World hath ſo far obtain'd, that They think it very hard too, for the Son of a Cobler, a Butcher, or a Plough-Man, to ſtart up Noble, and be rank'd among the moſt Ancient Honours, let his Service to the Publick have been never ſo great and valuable. But yet this Opinion hath got good Footing in ſeveral Nations, and particularly among the *Turks*. For they have no regard at all to a Man's *Blood*, the Nobility of his Anceſtors, or the Antiquity of his Deſcent; They look upon Theſe Conſiderations to be full of unreaſonable Partiality, Checks and Diſcouragements to Men's Bravery; and therefore, to cheriſh the Inclinations of doing Glorioufly, they lay the whole Streſs upon Perſonal Performances and Accompliſhments; and particularly upon Actual Courage, and thoſe Excellencies that are purely Military. The other part of this Diſtinction, is That which conſiſts in the *Antiquity* of a Man's *Family* only, where the Pretenſions to *Nobility* are merely upon the account of his *Progenitors*, without any Profeſſion of ſuch a Quality as was before mention'd and explain'd; and this is a *Nobility* which runs in the *Blood*, and is purely Natural.

3. *This diſtinguiſhed.*

4. *Of Natural Nobility.* If we would ſtate the Compariſon between Theſe Two Sorts thus divided, and each imperfect, when ſingle and by it ſelf, That which is purely Natural cannot but appear to any Man of ſound Judgment, the leſs worth and more defective of the Two, tho' a great many People think, or at leaſt expreſs themſelves, otherwiſe upon the Matter: But it is the effect of moſt egregious Folly, or inſufferable Vanity ſo to do. The *Natural* is an Accompliſhment entirely anothers, and not in any Degree one's own.

* *For Anceſtors Divine Original,*
And Deed not done by Us, we Ours miſcall. Sandys.

No other Perſon hath lived for our Honour; nor ought that to be reputed Ours, which was, long before we had a Being; And what can be more ſenſeleſs, than for a Man to look big, and to value Himſelf upon a thing which is none of His? This is what may happen to the moſt vicious and profligate, the moſt trifling and inſignificant Wretch alive; it may be the Portion of Fools, and Knaves, and Villains. Nor is it of any manner of Uſe or Advantage to Others; It is not capable of being communicated to the profit of thoſe with whom we have any Dealings or Converſation; It contributes nothing of Pleaſure or Satisfaction in Society, as Learning, and Juſtice, and Goodneſs, and Beauty, and Riches do, but is perfectly idle and fruitleſs. Thoſe who have nothing elſe to recommend Them to the Reſpect of Others, but only This *Nobility* of *Fleſh and Blood*, cry it up at a great rate, and have their

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* Genus & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco. *Ovid.*
Nemo vixit in gloriam noſtram; nec quod ante nos fuit, noſtrum eſt.

Mouths

Mouths perpetually full of it. They ſwell, and vapour, and you are ſure to hear of their Families and great Relations every third Word. And indeed they do wiſely, and as becomes them; for This is making the beſt of their laſt and only Stake. And by this Mark they commonly diſtinguiſh Themſelves; for you may depend upon it, there is no good Bottom, nothing of true Worth of their own, when they inſiſt ſo much, and reſt their Credit upon that of other Men. But alas! this is all Vanity and Shadow, and their Glory will be as fleeting and frail, as that which the Prophet reproaches *Ephraim* with, when it ariſes from ſuch mean and wretched Inſtruments, as *from the Earth, and from the Womb, and from the Conception*; and lies all bury'd in Duſt and Rubbiſh, underneath the Monuments of their Anceſtors. Theſe Men are like Criminals when they are hard purſu'd, that take ſanctuary at the Altars and Sepulchres of the Dead; and in ſome former Ages, laid hold on the Statues of the Emperours for Refuge; ſo when they are beaten out from all Pretenſions to true Merit and Honour, from any Qualifications properly their Own, they retreat behind the Banners and Atchievements of their Fore-fathers, and make their laſt Recourſe to *Monuments*, and *Pedigrees*, and *Coats of Arms*. But what Advantage can it be to a Blind-Man, that his Parents had good Eyes? Or how does it help the Infirmities of a Stammerer, that his Grandfather had a ſmooth and voluble Tongue? Does the former of Theſe ſee one whit the better? or is the latter ever the more eloquent or intelligible for This? And yet they are the Men of Infirmities and great Defects, that are commonly your vain Boaſters, haughty in their Deportment, inſolent in Converſation, and treating with Contempt Men better than Themſelves, becauſe ſome body who is long ſince rotten in their Grave, was good Hoſea ix. 11.

in his Generation: So extremely abſurd, and contrary to all the Rules of Equity and Common Senſe, is this extravagant Notion of *Nobility* by *Deſcent* only. A Father by his Frugality and Prudence raiſed the Family; and therefore the Prodigal Son, who ſquanders all away, and beggars the Family, values himſelf upon the Prudence of his Father. A brave General deſerv'd the firſt and beſt Promotion, and therefore his Great-Grandſon, though a rank Coward, ſhall not only inherit his Titles and Eſtate; (in which there may be reaſon, becauſe Men eſteem Themſelves rewarded by the Continuance of thoſe external Forms and Honours to their Poſterity) but this Coward ſhall really think himſelf a better Man than another brave Fellow with whom he converſes, becauſe his Great-Grandfather was brave. And yet, as extravagant as this Folly is in it ſelf, it will be, and always hath been Epidemical. For *Saluſt* obſerv'd even in his Time, * *That Pride and a Diſdainful Temper, was an Evil that uſually went along with Quality and good Birth.*

5. *Acquired and Perſonal.*

As for that other kind of *Nobility*, which is *Perſonal* and *Acquired*, the Condition of it is the very Reverſe of the Former. It hath very excellent Qualities and Effects; It is peculiar to the Poſſeſſor; he hath a full and indiſputable Title, and Merit hath made it all his Own: It cannot be diſpenſed promiſcuouſly, nor fall upon a Man that will be a Diſhonour to it; and it is of infinite Benefit and Advantage to all who converſe, or can any way come to be concern'd with it. Nay, if we examine the Matter, it will be found that This hath the Advantage, even in the darling and ſo much-boaſted Point of Antiquity too; and we are very ſure, by ſad Experience, that it is much

* Contemptor animus & ſuperbia commune nobilitatis malum.

more

more rare and uncommon than the Natural. For from This it was, that the *Natural* firſt took its beginning; the ſo much celebrated Anceſtors got their *Nobility* this way; and their degenerate Offſpring are beholding to it in the Perſons of Them, for all the Subject of their Vanity ever ſince. In ſhort; This is real and ſubſtantial, it conſiſts in Virtue, and Uſefulneſs, and good Conſequences to all Mankind; not empty, and dry, and a gay Idea; a Dream, and Creature of a deluded Imagination only: This proceeds from the Mind and the very Man, not from the Blood and Body; and Minds are the ſame; every whit as generous and great, and by Improvement and Induſtry frequently rendred more ſo in Others; tho' the Blood may differ, and not be Noble. * *Who* (ſays *Seneca*) *is a Gentleman? The Man, whom Nature hath diſpoſed, and as it were cut out for Virtue; this Man is well born indeed: For the Man wants nothing elſe to make him Noble, who hath a Mind ſo generous, that he can riſe above, and triumph over Fortune, let his Condition of Life be what it will.*

But theſe Two kinds dwell moſt amicably together, and often meet in the ſame Perſon, (as indeed there ſeems a great Aptitude and Diſpoſition for them to do) and when they center thus in one Perſon, then the *Nobility* is perfect and complete. The *Natural* is an Introduction, an Occaſion, a Spur to the *Perſonal*; for all things have a ſtrong tendency, and very eaſily revert to their firſt and natural Principle. And as the Natural firſt took its Origine and Exiſtence from the Perſonal, ſo it inclines and leads the Perſons ſo deſcended to imitate, nay, to emulate the Glories of their Noble

6. *Both together.*

* Quis generoſus? Ad Virtutem à Naturâ bene compoſitus, Animus facit nobilem, cui ex quâcunque conditione ſupra fortunam liceat ſurgere.

Progenitors. The Seeds of Virtue and Honour are in them already.

* *In Sons Their Father's Virtues ſhine,*
And Souls as well as Faces keep the Line.

This one Advantage is obſervable in being Nobly born, that it makes Men ſenſible they are ally'd to Virtue, and lays ſtrong Obligations upon them not to degenerate from the Excellencies of their Anceſtors. And ſure there cannot be a more forcible Motive to ſpur and quicken Men in the purſuit of Glory, and the attempting Great and Noble Actions, than the being conſcious to Themſelves, that they are come out of the Loins of thoſe very Perſons, who have behaved themſelves gallantly, ſerved their King and Country, and been eminent and uſeful in their Generations. Is it poſſible Men can pleaſe Themſelves with theſe Reflections to feed their Vanity, as it is manifeſt they do, and not think at the ſame time how vile and reproachful it is in Them, to baſtardize and bely their Race, to ſerve only as a Foil to their Forefather's Virtues, and caſt back Darkneſs and Diſgrace upon the Luſtre of their Memories?

Nobility granted by the particular Patent, and partial Favour of a Prince, without any Merit to give a Title to it, and neither perſonal Accompliſhments, nor an Antient Family to ſupport and ſet it off, is rather a Blemiſh and Mark of Shame, than of Honour. It is a poor, pitiful, Parchment-Nobility; bought to ſupply a needy King, or to feed a hungry Courtier; the Price of Silver and Gold, or the effect of Countenance and Acceſs; not the purchaſe of Blood and Sweat, as ſuch Honours ought to be. But if it be granted

* Fortes creantur Fortibus & Bonis, &c. *Horat. Ode* 4. *Lib.* 4.

for

for any ſingular Deſert, and ſignal good Services, then it falls not within the compaſs of this Notion; but is to be reputed perſonal and acquired, and hath a Right to all thoſe Privileges and Commendations, which were ſaid to belong to that ſort of Nobility before.

CHAP. LX.

Of Honour.

IT is the Notion of ſome, but a very miſtaken Notion ſure it is, That Honour is the proper Price and Recompenſe of Virtue. Others have a little corrected this Notion, by calling it, the Acknowledgment of Virtue in the Perſons to whom we pay it, or the Prerogative of a good Opinion firſt, and then of thoſe outward Reſpects, whereby we teſtifie that good Opinion; for it is moſt certainly a Privilege that derives its Eſſence and Nature Principally from Virtue. Others call it Virtue's Shadow, which follows, or goes before it; as the Shadow does the Subſtance and Body from whence it is reflected. But, to ſpeak more properly, it is the Splendor or Fame of brave and virtuous Actions, darted out from the Soul upon the Eyes of the World, and then rebounding back again upon our ſelves, by that Demonſtration it gives of what others think of us, and the mighty Satisfaction of the Mind reſulting from this Senſe of their Good Eſteem.

Now, *Honour* is ſo very highly eſteemed, ſo very eagerly ſought, that we generally balk no Difficulty to come at it. We endure any thing for its ſake, deſpiſe every thing in Compariſon of it; even Life it ſelf is not thought a Purchaſe too

Dear to compaſs it. And yet after All, This is but a thin, airy Buſineſs, uncertain and fickle; foreign and at ſome diſtance from the Perſon receiving it, and the things for which it is paid. It is not only not Eſſential to him, not any part or Appurtenance of his Perſon, and Subſtance, but it ſcarce ever comes home to him. For generally ſpeaking, this Deference is given to Perſons either Abſent or Dead; and if Living, it is not accounted good Manners to praiſe them to their Faces; ſo that it waits without, and belongs to a Man's Name only; which bears all his Commendations and Diſgraces, his Scandal, and his Reſpects; from whence one is ſaid to bear a *Good* or *Wicked Name.*

Now, the *Name* is no part of the *Nature of the Thing*, but only the Image which gives us a Repreſentation of it. A Mark of Diſtinction, to know it from other Things by: In a Word, ſomewhat that goes between the *Eſſence* of the Thing, and the *Honour* or *Diſhonour* belonging to it. For it is applied to the Subſtance, and whatever is ſaid of it, Good, or Bad, falls upon This; and is born by it. Now *Honour*, before it reſts upon the Name fetches a kind of Circular Flight; and makes ſome ſtay upon the Action, the Heart and the Tongue. Whatever gallant, commendable Action is Atchieved, is, as it were, the Root, the Source, the Parent which gives Birth and Being to Honour; for in truth, *Honour is nothing elſe, but the Luſtre and Reſplendence of ſome Glorious, or Beneficial, or otherwiſe, Noble Exploit.* Whatever Perfection a Thing hath in it ſelf, with Regard to its own Intrinſick Worth; yet if it do not produce ſome Effect, which is Excellent, it is not capable of Honour; but, to all Intents and Purpoſes of this kind, as if it had never been at all. The next Advance is made into the Mind, where it firſt begins to live, and is form'd into good Opinions, and

and Venerable Eſteem. Then it comes abroad in the laſt Place, and rides Triumphant upon Men's Tongues and Pens; and ſo reflects and returns back again, upon the Name of the Perſon, who did that Celebrated Action, from whence it firſt ſet out (As the Sun returns Daily to the Point from whence his Motion began,) and when it hath finiſh'd this Courſe, it from thenceforch carries the Name of *Honour*, Praiſe, Glory, Renown, or the like.

But to what Sorts of Performances this Recompence is due, hath been a Queſtion much diſputed. Some Perſons have delivered their Opinion, that Honour does not only, nor properly conſiſt in a Man's behaving himſelf well, where great and difficult Poſts are to be filled and managed by him (for every Man's Circumſtances will not furniſh him with Opportunities of weighty Adminiſtrations) but in the faithful Diſcharge of the Duties of each Perſon's particular Profeſſion, be the Capacity of the Man what it will. For all Commendation is the Effect and Reward of a Man's performing commendably, that which is his proper Buſineſs to do. Thus we find Reaſon and Common Senſe, determine us in publick Theatres, which are but ſo many Images in little of this Great Theatre of the Univerſe. The Condition and Splendor of the Character is not enquired into, nor weighs at all with our Judgments; but He, who upon the Stage, plays the Part of a Servant or Buffoon, if he do it well, and to the Life, meets with as much Applauſe, as if he had repreſented a General, or an Emperour. And he that cannot work in Gold, if he ſhew the Perfection of his Art, and carve the Poſtures and Proportions well, in Copper, or in Plaiſter, is reputed a good Statuary; becauſe this Excellence depends not upon the Fineneſs or Value of the Materials, but in the

the Skill ſhewed upon them. But yet it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that Honour is an Advantage for ſomething more Noble and Sublime than Ordinary; and that no Actions, but ſuch only, which have Difficulty or Danger in them, can make juſt Pretenſions to it. Thoſe that are but juſt what they ought to be, ſuch as our reſpective Stations require, and proceeding from a Senſe of Obligation and Duty, cannot aſpire to ſo great Worth, nor put in for ſo ample a Reward; a Reward which is diſparaged by being made Common or Ordinary, and not ſuited to all Degrees of Perſons and Performances. Thus every virtuous and chaſte Wife, and every Man of Integrity and good Conduct, is not therefore a Perſon of Honour. For there muſt go more than Probity to the denominating them ſo; there muſt be Pains, and Difficulty, and Danger; nay, and, ſome will tell you, there muſt be ſomewhat of general Good, and Advantage to the Publick, to juſtifie that Character in its full and true Extent. Let a Man's Actions be never ſo Good, never ſo Uſeful, if they be private and the Advantage redound to himſelf alone, another ſort of Payment belongs to them. They will have the Approbation of his own Conſcience; they will procure the Love, and Favour, and good Word of his Neighbours and Acquaintance; they will enſure his Safety, and put him under the Protection of the Law; but except the Influence and Advantage of them be large and diffuſive, they cannot come up to Honour; for Honour is a publick Thing, and implyes more of Dignity; and comprehends Splendor and Noiſe, Admiration, and Common Fame in the Nature and Notion of it. Others add farther, that an Honourable Action muſt not be a part of our Duty, but perfectly free and ſupererogating; for if Men were obliged to it, all Pretenſion to Honour is loſt.

The

3. The Desire of Honour, and Glory, and a Sollicitous seeking the Approbation and good Opinion of Others, is a very vicious, violent and powerful Passion. The Inordinacy whereof hath been sufficiently explained and proved already in the Chapter concerning Ambition. But as Bad as it is in it self, it does great Service to the Publick. For it restrains Mens Extravangancies, and keeps them within the Bounds of Decency and Duty; it awakens their sleeping Powers, shakes off Sloth, and kindles in them generous Desires, inspires great Thoughts, and Glorious Actions. Not that it is much for their Credit to be acted and invigorated by so corrupt a Principle; but rather a Testimony and strong Evidence of the Weakness and Poverty of our Nature and Condition; who are thus forced to use and accept clipt and counterfeit Money in Payment, when Standard and true Sterling cannot be had. But for the Determining precisely in what Cases, and how far this Passion is excusable, and where it is to blame, and must be rejected and disallow'd; and for the making it manifest, that Honour is not the proper Recompence of Virtue, I must refer you to those Distinctions and Discourses upon it, which will occur hereafter. Chap.xxii. Book III. *In the Virtue of Temperance,* Ch. XLII.

Of the Marks of Honour there is great Variety; but the most desirable and charming, are Those, where there are no Mixtures of private Gain and Interest; such as nothing can be drawn out of, nor any Share lie in Common, for the Advantage of a Vicious Man; or of such low and inferiour People, as shall pretend to serve the Publick by mean and dishonourable Offices. The less of Advantage they bring with them, the more Valuable they are. And accordingly we find the Ancients infinitely fond of, and with all their Industry and Pains, aspiring after those, which had nothing else to

to recommend them, but purely their being Marks of Diſtinction, and Characteriſtical Notes of Honour and Virtue. Of this Nature in the ſeveral Republicks of old, were the Garlands of Laurel and Oaken-Leaves, (and ſo are the particular "Bearings in Coats of Arms at this Day, added "to the former Charges of the Field, upon ſome "ſpecial piece of Service) diſtinct Habits, and Robes; the Prerogative of ſome Sirname, as *Africanus* to *Scipio*, and the like: Precedence and Place in publick Aſſemblies, and Orders of Knighthood. It may alſo fall out, that, when a Man's Deſerts are Notorious and Celebrated, it ſhall be more for his Honour, not to have theſe Enſigns and Marks, than to have them. And therefore *Cato* ſaid well, that it would make more for the Glory of his Name and Virtues, that People ſhould ask why the City had not erected a Statue to his Memory in the Forum, than that they ſhould enquire, why they had done it.

CHAP. LXI.

Of Learning.

LEarning is, without all Diſpute, a Noble and Beautiful Ornament; an Inſtrument of exceeding uſe, when in the Hands of one, that hath the Skill to uſe it aright. But what Place and Proportion it deſerves in our Eſteem, is a Matter not ſo generally agreed upon. And here, as in all Caſes of the like Nature, Men fall into Extremes, and are to blame in both; Some in overvaluing, and Others in diſparaging and undervaluing it. Some run it up to that Extravagant Height,

Height, that they will not allow any other Advantage to come near, or be thought comparable to it; They look upon it, as the Supreme Happineſs; a Ray and Efflux of the Divinity; they hunt after it with Eagerneſs and inſatiable Appetite; with vaſt expence, and indefatigable Labour and Pains; and are content to part with Eaſe, and Health, and every Thing in exchange for it. Others as much diminiſh and deſpiſe it; treat Thoſe with Scorn who make it their Buſineſs and Profeſſion. And when we have obſerved this of either ſide, I ſuppoſe my Reader will make no Difficulty to allow, that a Moderation between both is beſt, moſt ſafe, moſt juſt and reaſonable. I, for my own part, were I to execute the Herald's Office in this Diſpute, ſhould think that Place is without all queſtion due to Integrity and Prudence, to Health and Wiſdom, and Virtue, nay, I ſhould not ſcruple to give precedence to Skill and Dexterity in Buſineſs: But then for Dignity, and Noble Deſcent, and Military Valour, I ſhould think they might go together Hand in Hand, or leave them to diſpute the Priority out among Themſelves: But if I were preſs'd, and muſt deliver my Senſe freely and particularly, ſure it is equal in Honour to Theſe, or at leaſt the very next after them. *See* Book III. ch. 14.

Now, as Sciences differ from each other, according to the Subjects of which they treat, and the Matters they are employed about; and alſo in the Manner of acquiring, and attaining to a Maſtery in them; ſo do they likewiſe in the Uſefulneſs, the Reputableneſs, the Neceſſity, the Decency, the Fame, and the Gain of them. Some are purely Speculative, and aim at nothing farther, than merely Contemplation, the entertaining, informing, improving, brightening our Intellectual Faculties. Others are Practical, and lead us directly on to Action. Some again are Real, and

and Converſant in Things; they bring us acquainted with Matters that are without us, either Natural or Supernatural Objects; Others are Nominal, They concern Diſcourſe only, teach us Languages, explain Terms of Arts, help us to expreſs our ſelves properly, and to reaſon regularly and cloſely. Now, from this ſhort Account, we may boldly ſay, That upon a Review of the foregoing Diſtinctions, Thoſe Sciences, which are moſt Manly and Reputable, moſt Uſeful, moſt Neceſſary, and have leaſt of Glory, and Vanity, and ſordid mercenary Profit attending them, are infinitely Preferable to the reſt. By the ſame reaſon then it follows beyond all Contradiction, that the Practical Sciences are of all others the moſt excellent; ſuch as propoſe the Good and Happineſs of Man for their End, and direct all their Inſtructions thither; that teach us to live, and to die well; to command and govern, to ſubmit and obey as becomes us; and therefore Theſe are worthy our moſt Serious Application: Who ever pretends to Wiſdom, muſt lay out his Study and his Time here; and of ſuch, this Book is deſign'd to be a Compendious Summary and Abridgment: that is, of Morals, Oeconomicks, and Politicks; the Firſt for governing our Selves well; the Second for managing our domeſtick Affairs, and preſiding over our Families well; and the Third for diſcharging our publick Offices well, if we be call'd to any part in the Adminiſtration of the Government; or if we be private and ſubordinate only in both the laſt Capacities, then to conſider and make good the Duties incumbent upon any the meaneſt and moſt inferior Character. Next to theſe Practical Sciences, the Natural are to be regarded and eſteemed, which let us into the Knowledge of this Syſtem, and Fabrick of the Univerſe, and the infinite Variety of Creatures contained

tained in it; and that, both for our own Uſe and Benefit, ſo far as they can be ſerviceable to us, and alſo to excite our Wonder, and Praiſe, and moſt Humble Adoration of His incomprehenſible Majeſty, and Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, and Power, who is the Great Maſter-Builder, the conſtant Preſerver and Governour of All, and every Part of it. As for all the reſt, they are empty and frothy Things in Compariſon; and though we may call in upon them by the by, and for a little while, yet ought we not to ſet up our Reſt there, nor make them the Buſineſs of our Lives; becauſe the Uſe and Effect of them is of no great Conſideration, and they contribute nothing at all towards the making us one whit better Men. To what purpoſe then is all that Time, and Trouble, and Expence, and how can we think it otherwiſe than loſt, or miſemploy'd, which we ſee Studious Men ſometimes lay out ſo liberally upon them? It is true, they may ſerve to get Money, or to raiſe ſomething of a Reputation among the People, but it is where Men are Ignorant or ill-governed only: For otherwiſe they will ſeek and encourage ſuch Studies, as bring ſolid Comforts and Advantages, and are built upon a firm Bottom.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Of Riches and Poverty.

THeſe are the two Foundations and Beginnings, the Root and Source of all the Troubles and Calamities, the Diſorders and Diſturbances, that confound, and put the World out of Courſe: For exceſs of Plenty and Riches exalts and puffs up the Poſſeſſors, renders them haughty and inſolent, ſwells them with Pride and Diſdain, prompts them to Luxury and Extravagance, to Senſuality and all manner of unlawful Pleaſures; encourages them to uſe their Inferiours contemptuouſly, and to inſult over their Wants and their Miſeries; makes them bold and daring, and in confidence of their Power, puts them upon ſeditious and dangerous Attempts. The extreme Poverty of Others ſubdues and dejects their Spirits, poyſons them with Envy and reſtleſs Jealouſie, with Indignation and Spight, Diſcontent and Deſpair; and, ſince Matters, they think, cannot be worſe, provokes them to try their Fortunes, and make a deſperate Puſh, in hopes they may be better. *Plato* calls the Poor the *Bane and Plague of a Commonwealth.* So that both theſe ſorts of Men are very dangerous; but whether of the Two is more ſo, Conſidering People have not agreed. *Ariſtotle* is of Opinion, that *Abundance* is more formidable to the Publick, than *Want*; for the State hath not much to fear from Them who deſire no more than a bare Subſiſtence; but it hath reaſon to be jealous of Thoſe, whoſe Wealth makes them Ambitious and Aſpiring; and whoſe Intereſt and Authority, upon

upon the account of that Wealth, gives them Power and Opportunities to be very troubleſome. *Plato* thinks Poverty the worſe; for when Poor People are grown deſperate, they are furious and terrible Creatures; when they are irritated and enrag'd with want of Bread, and cannot live upon their Work; when Trading is dead, and they are overburden'd with Taxes; then Neceſſity, (which is a great Miſtreſs, and finds her Scholars very apt) teaches them That, which they would never have ventur'd upon in better and more eaſie Circumſtances; and this makes them bold as Lions: For tho' each of them ſingle can do little or no hurt, yet their Numbers are always great, and theſe give them Confidence. But whatever the Diſeaſe be, 'tis certain the Remedy is more ready at hand, and the Cure eaſier, for the Poor than for the Rich; this Miſchief is quickly reſtrain'd, and may be timely prevented. For ſo long as they have Neceſſaries, ſo long as they can carry on their Trades, and maintain their Families by them, they are generally contented. And therefore it highly concerns all Governours to preſerve and encourage Trade, becauſe in ſo doing they are ſure to keep good Order among the laborious, and hardy, and moſt neceſſitous; which to be ſure are generally the moſt numerous part of their Subjects. In the mean while, we may obſerve this very remarkable Difference between them, that the Rich have the Temptation within Themſelves, and are formidable upon the account of their own Perſonal Vices, and the Circumſtances they are in; but the Poor are not ſo from Themſelves, nor their Condition, but if ever They miniſter juſt cauſe of Fear, it is commonly thro' the Indiſcretion or the Cruelty of their Governours, who ſuffer them to be driven to the laſt Extremities; and when theſe pinch hard, and are no longer ſupportable, they are provok'd to play a deſperate Game in their own Defence.

2. Now ſeveral Lawgivers, and eminent Politicians have apply'd their Minds to contrive proper Methods for the keeping off, and ſecuring the States they formed,

med, or preſided over, from the Inconveniences attending each of theſe Extremes; and ſuch as ſo vaſt a Diſproportion of Eſtates and Fortunes will naturally expoſe the Publick to. They have been therefore deſirous to bring all nearer to a Level, to reduce the one, and raiſe the other; ſo that there ſhould be a kind of univerſal Mediocrity, and pretty near an equal Scantling: When Things ſtood upon this Foot, they promiſed Themſelves a ſure Foundation of Peace and Amity, and good Correſpondence, by removing all the Grounds of Contempt on the one hand, and of Envy and Jealouſie on the other, quite out of the way. Others have ſtretched this Project yet further; they are for introducing a common Stock, and leaving no peculiar Rights or Properties at all. But this is impracticable, and fantaſtical, and never can exiſt long any where, but in Men's own Brains and Imaginations. Nor is that other Deſign of Equality any more practicable, or indeed at all poſſible. For tho' Men's Income be alike, yet their Expences and Occaſions will be far from being ſo. Theſe may vary upon a Thouſand Accidents; but it is enough that every body is able to ſee and inſtance in one, which is perfectly unanſwerable; and that is the Number of Children, which we all know neither do, nor ever can increaſe in every Family alike. And therefore it muſt needs be inſufficient, and the Deſign loſt, where the Neceſſities are not, nor ever can be equal. All the Attempts that have been at any time made toward the putting in practice this Levelling Principle, have ſcarce ever been able to ſet it on Foot: It coſts more than the Thing is worth to come to it; and if Men could arrive at it, yet it is highly inexpedient, and not at all to their Purpoſe. The End they aim at is never thus to be compaſſed; for after all, this is at laſt but to open another Door, and let the very Miſchief in the back way, which we take ſo much Pains to keep out. For if Hatred and Contention be the Evils we are afraid of, where do we find Theſe more frequent

and

and fierce than between Equals? How can we indeed reaſonably expect it otherwiſe, where Men think Themſelves a Match for one another, where there is no Diſtance or Reſpect to Temper, no Fear to curb and bind them to the Peace and their good Behaviour? If Envy and Jealouſies ariſe againſt Superiours, ſo do they likewiſe among Equals; and this latter ſort is the Seed of Diſturbances and Confuſions, Seditions and Civil Wars. Some Diſproportion therefore is abſolutely neceſſary, but ſuch as is moderate, and may keep the Balance even and ſteady. Order is like Harmony; if all Sounds were the ſame, there could be no Muſick; but yet it is neceſſary theſe different Notes ſhould agree in general Cords, and retain ſome Proportion to make the Compoſition regular and ſweet. But a perfect Level is like a continu'd Uniſon; and nothing is more flat, * *nothing more unequal than an exact Equality.*

3. This ſo very great Diſparity of Eſtates and Poſſeſſions proceeds from ſeveral very different Cauſes; but more eſpecially from Two. The One is unjuſt Borrowings, and hard Loans; when Men are forced and content to take up Money at any rate, and ſubmit to all the unconſcionable Intereſts that Griping Uſurers put upon them; by which means thoſe Unjuſt Creditors eat into their Eſtates, gnaw out their very Heart and Bowels, and by degrees ſwallow all, and ſo grow fat upon the Subſtance of other People. To ſuch as Theſe may that Complaint of the *Pſalmiſt* not improperly be apply'd, *They eat up my People as they would eat Bread.* Pſal. liii. 5. The Other is by Diſpoſals of Eſtates, and that either by Men during their own Life-time, in Alienations, Dowries, and Portioning of Children when they Marry, or ſet up in the World; or elſe by laſt Will, and Bequeſt at the time of their Death. By all which Means, and by the Frugality and good Management of ſome, and the extravagant Profuſeneſs

* Nihil eſt æqualitate inæqualius.

of Others, it comes to paſs, that ſome Men's Fortunes are prodigiouſly increaſed, and others ſunk and crumbled into nothing. A Prodigal Heir makes all fly, and his Poſterity continue poor after him: A great Fortune marries with a vaſt Eſtate; and here one Heap is pil'd upon another: A rich Heireſs carries off the Eſtate and Paternal Seat, incorporates it into another Houſe, and ſo the Wealth and Name of her own Family is either dreadfully maim'd and enfeebl'd, or cut off and quite extinct at once. Theſe are plain and obvious Reaſons, why ſome Men gain ſuch mighty Advantages over Others; and ſhew us how ſome Families are reduced to nothing, and others again flouriſh as much, and are wonderfully ſtrengthen'd and exalted. Now all theſe things ſhould be taken into Conſideration, and other Meaſures taken to regulate and reform the Miſchiefs that grow from them. For tho' a perfect Equality be impracticable, yet a convenient Moderation is not: And if all be not Even, yet there is no neceſſity that all ſhould be in Extremes; we may, and it is reaſonable we ſhould bring Matters nearer together, and make ſome tolerable Approaches towards ſuch a Mediocrity as is reaſonable. Such an one as is reaſonable, I ſay; for an entire and thorough one is neither reaſonable, nor expedient, nor honeſt. This may be effected in ſome good Degree by private Perſons, in the management and diſpoſal of their Own Affairs: And it may be advanc'd higher by the wholſom Conſtitutions and Counſels of Thoſe in a publick Capacity: And both are concerned to have Regard to it. But of this we ſhall have ſome occaſion to ſpeak more at large, when the Virtue of *Juſtice* comes to be treated of.

The End of the Firſt Book.

OF

WISDOM:

THE

Second and Third Books.

Written Originally in *French*,

BY THE

Sieur *de CHARRON*

Made *English*

By GEORGE STANHOPE, D. D. late Fellow of *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, from the Best Edition, Corrected and enlarg'd by the Author a little before his Death.

LONDON:

Printed for *M. Gillyflower*, *M. Bently*, *H. Bonwick*, *J. Tonson*, *W. Freeman*, *T. Goodwin*, *M. Wotton*, *J. Walthoe*, *S. Manship*, and *R. Parker*. 1697.

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To the HONOURABLE

Sir WILLIAM ELLYS,

BARONET.

SIR,

WERE it merely for the Pomp, or the Protection of an Honourable Name, that I take the Liberty of prefixing Yours before this Work, thoſe purpoſes of doing it had been abundantly anſwered. But I confeſs an Ambition higher than either of Theſe, and deſign this Addreſs, as a means to know a Perſon more intimately, whoſe Character creates Honour and Reſpect in all that are acquainted with it. An Ambition excuſe-

able

able at leaſt, in One whoſe Happineſs it is, to have ſome ſort of Pretenſion to be gratified in a Deſire, which he cannot but entertain and indulge.

Where Providence confers the External Advantages of Life only, the Greater and moſt valuable part is ſtill behind. Very few are more than half-bleſt; and of Them who are, or call themſelves unhappy, the Generality are miſerable, not from real Want of what they need, but from an Incapacity of enjoying what they have. Hence it is ſtill accounted a Moot-point in Philoſophy, whether Proſperity or Adverſity, Plenty or Penury, require greater management and addreſs. * One of ſome Name, we know, among thoſe Sages durſt not ſo much as truſt himſelf with the Temptation of Riches. You, Sir, very juſtly reproach his behaviour with Raſhneſs and Folly, by ſhewing, that not the Sea, but a Soul large and diffuſive as the Sea rather, is neceſſary to deliver a man from the danger of a plentiful Fortune. This does not only ſecure, but render Him and It a publick Bleſſing, by Acts of Goodneſs, Munificence, Hoſpitality; By cultivating thoſe Social Virtues whereby Mankind are ſuſtained, cemented, endeared to one another, and all thoſe important and beneficial Ends accompliſhed, to which the *Giver of* theſe *Good Gifts* deſigns they ſhould be ſerviceable.

* *Crates.*

The

The Difficulties, under which moſt Men miſcarry, are not avoided by abandoning the World, but by uſing it in ſo maſterly a manner, as always to keep above it. Ambition and Avarice ſometimes inhabit the moſt retired Cloiſters; and are (no doubt) ſometimes too abſolute Strangers to Quality, and Buſineſs, and Fortune. Every one is valuable in proportion as he is Uſeful; but Uſeful They can be but very little, who induſtriouſly decline the occaſions of being ſo. The Man of Converſation and Civil Society is therefore that Pattern of Wiſdom, deſigned and drawn by this Author. And to the ſame purpoſe, all perfect Syſtems of Morality enlarge upon the different Capacities of Men; becauſe the Offices reſulting from thence make the chief part of Chriſtian, as well as Human Prudence. Theſe are the Talents peculiar to each perſon, and his proper Buſineſs diſtinct from the reſt of the World.

Now, Sir, when *Charron* accordingly treats of The true and genuine Uſe of Riches, of a Mind capable of Stemming a full tide of Plenty; of the Integrity of Magiſtrates in Diſtribution of Juſtice, of the Fidelity and Vigilance of Wiſe and Worthy Patriots in the Service of their Country, and Defence of its juſt Rights; of the Tenderneſs and Prudence of Parents, and the affectionate Deference and Duty of Children; when, I ſay, Theſe and other Deſcriptions paſſed through my hands, there needed

but

but little reflection, to bring to a Relation's remembrance, a very eminent Inſtance of theſe ſeveral Civil and Domeſtick Virtues.

Be pleaſed therefore, Sir, to aſſert your own Excellencies: And what Your Example already recommends to the World, proceed yet more to enforce, by accepting a Treatiſe intended to draw Men to theſe Reſemblances of Your ſelf, as an Argument of that reſpect, with which I am,

SIR,

Your moſt Obedient, Humble Servant,

George Stanhope.

THE PREFACE.

HAVING in the former Book explained and inſiſted upon the ſeveral Methods, by which Man may be let into a competent knowledge of Himſelf, and the Condition of Humane Nature; which is the firſt part of our Undertaking, and a very proper Introduction to Wiſdom: The next thing in order, is to enter upon the Doctrines and Precepts of Wiſdom it ſelf. Now That ſhall be done in this Second Book, by laying down ſome General Rules and Directions, reſerving for the buſineſs of our Third and Laſt, thoſe that are more Particular, and appropriated to ſpecial Perſons and Circumſtances, according to which their Duties vary in proportion to their reſpective Conditions. It was a very neceſſary Preamble in the mean while, to call Mens thoughts home, and fix them upon themſelves; to exhort and inſtruct them to handle, probe, and nicely to examine their Nature; that ſo being thus brought to a tolerable knowledge and ſenſe of their Infirmities and Defects, and ſadly convinced of the miſerable Condition they are by nature in, they may be put into a better Capacity of having thoſe healing and wholſome Remedies applied, which are neceſſary, in order to their Recovery and Amendment. And theſe Remedies are no other than the Inſtructions and Exhortations, proper for the attaining true Wiſdom.

But alas! It is a prodigious, and a melancholy thing to conſider, how ſtupid and regardleſs Mankind are of their Happineſs and Amendment. What a ſtrange Temper is it for a Man, not to be at all ſollicitous, to have the very Errand and Buſineſs he was ſent into the World about, well done? Every body is infinitely fond and covetous of Living, but ſcarce any body is concerned, or takes any manner of Thought, for Living as becomes him. This is the very Art which ſhould be our Chief, our only Study; and yet it is that which we are leaſt Maſters of, leaſt diſpoſed to learn. Our Inclinations, and Deſigns, our Studies, and Endeavours are (as Experience daily ſhews) vaſtly different, even from our very Cradles, or as ſoon as we began to be capable of any. They vary according to the Temper and Conſtitution of our Bodies, the Company we keep, the Education we are inſtituted by, the infinite Accidents and Occaſions of our Lives; but ſtill none of us caſts his Eyes that way, none makes it his Endeavour to manage theſe to the beſt Advantage, none attempts heartily to improve in Wiſdom; nay, we do not at all lay this moſt neceſſary Matter to heart, we ſcarce allow it ſo much as a ſingle Thought. Or if at any time it comes in our way, accidentally, and by the by; we hear and attend to it, juſt as we would to a Tale that is told; or a piece of News, that in no degree concerns us. The Diſcourſe perhaps is pleaſant and entertaining to ſome (and but to ſome neither, for many will not endure, nor give it a patient hearing) but even thoſe who are contented, nay delighted to hear it, yet hear to very little purpoſe. The words and ſound tickle their Senſes, and that's all they do. For as to the thing it ſelf, That makes no impreſſion, gains no eſteem, kindles no deſires, at leaſt in this ſo univerſally Corrupt, and Degenerate Age of ours. In order to the being made duly ſenſible of the true worth of Wiſdom, and how much it deſerves from us, there ſeems to be ſome particular Turn in our firſt Frame, ſome Original Aptitude and Air in our

Nature

Nature and Complexion. If Men must take pains, they will much more willingly employ their time, and exert their Strength and Parts in the pursuit of Things, whose Effects are gay, and glittering, external and sensible, such as Ambition, and Avarice, and Passion, propose to them; But as for Wisdom, whose Fruits are silent and gentle, internal, and unseen, it hath no Attractives at all for them. O wretched Men! what false Measures do we take, and how fatally are we deluded? We prefer Winds and Storms for the sake of their Noise, where there is nothing but Air and Emptiness, before Body and solid Substance, which is calm and still; Opinion and Reputation, before Truth and Real Merit. Surely Man (as was said in the First Book) is no better than Vanity and Misery, when so averse from, so uncapable of Wisdom. Every Man is tainted with the Air which he breathes and dwells in, goes in the beaten Road, and lives like his Neighbours; and when this is made a Rule, how can it be expected he should take another Course? We follow the Track, and hunt by the Scent; nay we urge our own Vices upon other People, we are eager and warm in propagating them; we dissemble our Passions, dress and trick them up, and then put them upon our Companions. None calls after us to stop our Career; we are not to expect it. We are all out of the way, and likely never to correct our Error, without the special favour of Heaven, and a great and generous strength and firmness of Nature at the same time, discerning enough to observe the common Error in which all are intangled, but scarce any are sensible of it; daring enough, to be singular in minding that which no body else minds; and hardy and resolute enough to judge and to live in a method quite different from the rest of the World.

There have been indeed, some, though very few such brave Men: I see them still, their Memories and Names are sweet to this day; and I smell their Ashes like a rich Perfume, with incredible Admiration and Delight. But what

what hath been the effect of this uncommon Judgment? and how have they behaved themſelves with it? Truly they are for the moſt Democritus, *or* Heraclitus *revived. Some ſee the Errors and Follies of Mankind, and when they have done, they only make a Jeſt of them; They divert and entertain themſelves and others, by a Comical Repreſentation of a very Tragical thing; as if no more were neceſſary to teach Men Truth and Virtue, than merely to expoſe Falſhood and Vice. They laugh at the World; and the World is but too ridiculous; but while they make themſelves merry and good Company, they quite forget to be good-natur'd and charitable. Others are feeble and poor-ſpirited, they mince the matter, and dare not ſpeak out; they ſoften and diſguiſe their Language, mingle and ſweeten their Propoſitions to render them palatable, and make men ſwallow them before they are aware, and in a Maſs of other things, where they ſhall not taſte, or ſcarce ever be ſenſible of them.*

They do not ſpeak home, diſtinctly and fully; but expreſs themſelves, like the Oracles of old, in Terms ambiguous, and ſubject to Evaſions. I, for my part, come long after them both in Time, and Merit; but I am blunt and downright, and deliver my ſenſe plainly and clearly. I give an Idea of Wiſdom, and Inſtructions for attaining it, ſuch as the World perhaps hath not been uſed to; and I ſhall not be ſurpriſed, if the newneſs of my Matter and Method expoſe this little Tract to the Cenſures of ſuch Perſons, as have neither Temper, nor Ability to judge calmly and maturely of the Matter, but accuſtom themſelves to condemn and run down every thing which does not hit their Humour, or agree with the Notions they have imbibed already. But who can help that, or ſecure himſelf from their Cenſures and Diſpleaſure? Let Them take their courſe; I queſtion not in the mean while, but the meek and tractable, and honeſtly diſpoſed, and likewiſe the Sublime and Celeſtial Spirits will paſs an equitable conſtruction upon my Writings. Theſe two Extremes are

are the Seats of Quiet and Serenity; The middle Region is the place where all the Diſorders, and Storms, and Meteors are formed, as was obſerved before; and therefore thoſe angry Men act in agreement with their Principles, and do nothing but what their Capacity and Condition diſpoſes them to.

Now in order to give a rough and general Draught of Wiſdom, and particularly of that part, which is the Subject of this preſent Book; we may divide the Matter of it into four Points, or general Conſiderations.

The Firſt conſiſts of ſuch things as are Preparatives or proper Prediſpoſitions to Wiſdom; and They are Two. 1. *Firſt a diſentangling the Mind from all thoſe Obſtructions that prevent, or retard its Improvement; and of theſe ſome are External, ſuch as the Errors and Vices of the World, which we derive and ſuck in from abroad; and others Internal, which have their Birth and Beginning from our Selves; of which Nature are our own Appetites and Paſſions;* 2. *The Other is a full, entire, and univerſal Liberty of the Mind; whereby it thinks and judges freely.*

The Second is concerned in laying the Foundations of Wiſdom firm and durable; and Theſe are alſo Two; 1. *True and Eſſential Integrity, and* 2. *The Fixing to our ſelves ſome certain End firſt, and then chalking out a convenient Rule for our Lives and Actions, by the keeping cloſe to which, we may be conducted to, and arrive at that End.*

The Third contributes to the raiſing this Building upon thoſe Foundations; that is, laying on and finiſhing the ſeveral Functions and Duties of Wiſdom, which are Six. Three whereof principally regard our ſelves, and concern every man conſidered ſingly, and as a Man; and theſe are 1. *Piety;* 2. *an Inward and due Maſtery over his Thoughts and Deſires; and* 3. *a decent deportment and equal Temper of Mind, in all Accidents, whether of proſperous or adverſe Fortune; The*

other

other Three regard him as a Member of Society, and extend to others as well as himself; which are, 1. *A Due observance of Laws, and Customs, and Ceremonies;* 2. *A modest and obliging Conversation with others; and* 3. *Prudence in the management of all kind of Business.*

The Fourth is made up of the Fruits, and good Effects of Wisdom, which are Two, 1. *The being constantly fit, and in a readiness to die; and* 2. *The maintaining a true and uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit; which is indeed the Crown and Glory of Wisdom, and the very Supreme Good and Happiness, of which Humane Nature is Capable. These taken all together make Twelve Points in the whole, and each being allowed a distinct Consideration by it self, this Book will accordingly contain just so many Chapters.*

OF

Of WISDOM.

The Second BOOK.

Containing General Rules and Instructions for the Study and Attainment of Wisdom.

CHAP. I.

The first Disposition to Wisdom; Exemption from the Errors and Vices of the World, and from one's own Passions.

THE first step towards the Knowledge of any thing being a distinct and adequate Idea and Comprehension of the Subject to be Treated of, I should, according to this Rule, lay down for the first Rudiment of Wisdom, the Knowledge of a Man's Self in particular, and of the Condition of Human Nature in general. But This, having been the Subject of the entire First Book, I have Reason to hope is sufficiently

provided for already. All therefore which I think neceſſary to repeat upon this occaſion, is, That every Perſon who makes Wiſdom his Aim and End, ought in the firſt place to be throughly well acquainted with Himſelf, and with Mankind. The true Knowledge whereof is a very important and beneficial Study, of wonderful Efficacy and Advantage. For Man is the Subject proper for the Philoſophers Conſideration; none but the Wiſe underſtand it, and every man that does really underſtand it, is Wiſe. But at the ſame time it is a matter of great Intricacy and Difficulty; for Man is extremely addicted to fallacy and diſguiſe; ſo full of it, as to impoſe very often, not only upon other People, but upon Himſelf too. Every one takes a pleaſure in cheating himſelf, is induſtrious to flatter his own Conſcience, ſolicitous to hide and extenuate his own Failings, and diligent to magnify his few commendable Actions and Qualities; ſhutting his Eyes, and fearful to ſee the worſt of himſelf; and therefore, ſince Sincerity, even at home, is ſo very little regarded, we cannot reaſonably think it ſtrange, that Wiſdom is ſo very rarely to be met with. For how can we expect it ſhould be otherwiſe, when ſo very few are perfect, ſo few indeed give any attention to the very firſt Leſſon in this Science, and Men are ſo far from undertaking to Inſtruct others, that they are wretchedly Ignorant and take no care of informing themſelves! How many profeſs'd Maſters, how many zealous Learners do we ſee in other matters, which are foreign, and of little or no moment, while every body neglects the buſineſs which moſt nearly concerns him; and while he is taken up with other matters abroad, is abſolutely in the dark at home! What an Unhappineſs! What an exquiſite Folly is this! How great a Reproach to the Generality of Mankind!

Now

Now in order to the being competently skill'd in this point, we should get acquainted with all sorts of Men, Those of the most distant Countries and Climats, the most differing Tempers and Ages, Conditions and Professions; (in which History and Travelling are very considerable Helps) we should observe their Motions, their Inclinations, and their several Dealings and Behaviour, not only in publick, (for these are full of Artifice, and consequently less improving) but their most secret and reserved Actions, the most natural and freest from Constraint, such as may let us into the dark and mysterious part of Human Nature, and discover some of the hidden Springs by which Men are moved. And particularly, great regard should be had to those Passages wherein Mens Interests, or particular Humours come to be nearly touch'd; because there the Man will be sure to shew himself in his own true Colours.

When these Remarks are made, a man must draw them together, and form some general Notions and judicious Reflections from them. But particularly one must be very careful to descend into Himself, to try and sound his own Breast to the bottom; that no lurking Deceit escape him there; but every Thought, and Word, and Action, be justly and nicely weighed.

The Result of such Observations would certainly be, a sad but serious Sense, how miserable and weak, how defective and poor a Creature Man is, on the one hand; and yet how vain and arrogant, how proud and presumptuous, how bloated and big with Air and Wind, what a mere Tumour, a Bladder, a Bubble he is, on the other. The former of these Representations will move our Compassion; the latter will raise our Horrour and Indignation. Now the former Book hath done him right in all these respects, by taking him to pieces, and examining every part

and feature by it ſelf; viewing him in all the different Lights, and taking every Proſpect the Picture was capable of being drawn in. So that I ſhall trouble my Reader no further with any account of this nature at preſent: But hope he make a good Proficiency in the buſineſs of this Second Book, by the Aſſiſtances given him in the Firſt. And in order to it, we will proceed to warn him of the chief Obſtructions in his way to Wiſdom, as They, who build, muſt firſt clear the Ground, and remove the Rubbiſh out of the way.

1. The Man, who deſires to become Wiſe, muſt at the very firſt entrance into this deſign, ſeriouſly ſet about, and ſtedfaſtly reſolve upon delivering, preſerving, and guarding himſelf effectually from two Evils; which are directly oppoſite, and irreconcilable Enemies to Wiſdom; and ſuch abſolute impediments to our progreſs in the ſtudies of it, that till They be got over, or taken out of the way, no Advances can poſſibly be made. One of theſe is External, conſiſting of the Vices, and the Opinions in common Vogue, which, by the advantage of being Popular, ſpread, and propagate Folly, like a contagious Diſeaſe; the other Internal, and conſiſts of a man's own Paſſions; ſo that in ſhort, the Two great Adverſaries we have to fear, and are moſt concerned to defend our ſelves againſt, are the World, and our Selves. And after ſuch an Advertiſement, there needs no more be ſaid to ſhew, how hard this undertaking is: What courſe ſhall we take to get quit of theſe two, or how ſhall we run away from them? Wiſdom indeed is difficult and rare; but it is upon this account chiefly, that it is ſo; This is the troubleſome part of it; This in a manner the ſole Conflict, we have to fear; when once This Combat is won, all the reſt is eaſy, and the Day our own. For the firſt thing, that can fit, or put us into any Capacity for Wiſdom,

Wisdom, must be to get clear of that Evil, which obstructs our whole Design, and will not admit Wisdom to dwell with, or grow near it. Now this is the Benefit my Reader is expected to reap from the First Book, which, as I said, may furnish him with sufficient Instructions for the getting throughly acquainted with the World and Himself; and this Knowledge will possess him with so just a Character of Both, as cannot but assist and lead him on, to Consideration and Care, and teach him to stand upon his guard, and diligently beware of both. Thus there is a strict and natural Connection between the two parts of this Treatise; for the Beginning and First Step of the Second Book, is the End and Fruit of the Former.

2. *Popular Error.*

Let us first then say somewhat to that Hindrance, which is External. Now we have heretofore given a large and lively Description of the Temper of the Common People; the strange unaccountable Humours of That, which is by much the most numerous part of Mankind; and it can be no hard matter to make a Judgment from thence, what monstrous effects those humours must in all reason be expected to produce. For since the Vulgar are so bewitched with the love of Vanity, since they abound with Envy and Malice; since they are so totally void of Justice, and Judgment, and Discretion; since they are perfectly strangers to Moderation and good Temper; what sort of Deliberations, and Opinions, and Judgments, and Resolutions, can we suppose them taken up with? How indeed is it possible that they should think, or speak, or act, according to Truth, and good Sense? We have likewise before, in that Chapter which undertook to represent the Misery of Human Nature, given several remarkable, and but too notorious instances of the Faults and Failings, which the generality of the World are guilty of, both in point of Judgment and Choice;

Book I. Ch. LII.

Book I. Ch. xxxix.

how miſerably their Underſtandings are darken'd, and their Wills depraved; which may very eaſily convince us, how fix'd, and deeply rooted they are in Error and Vice. To this purpoſe are thoſe Sayings common among Wiſe men, That *the Greater part is always the worſe part of Mankind*; *There is not one of a Thouſand Good*: That *the Number of Fools is infinite.* And that *there is very great Danger of Infection in the Croud.*

3. Upon theſe accounts their Advice is not only to keep one's ſelf Clear and Free, and have nothing at all to do with ſuch Opinions, and Deſigns, and Affections, as are popular and in vogue; but, as if all this Reſtraint were too little, not ſo much as to venture your perſon among the Mob, to decline all manner of Converſation and Familiarity with the Vulgar; ſince it is impoſſible ever to approach that diſeaſed part of Mankind, without ſome taint, ſome peſtilential vapours, ſuch as will certainly bring danger and detriment to our own Health. So contagious is the very Breath and Company of the People; ſo little ought even the wiſeſt and perſons beſt eſtabliſhed in Virtue and Wiſdom, to truſt themſelves among them. For who indeed is ſtrong enough to ſuſtain the Attack of Vices, when they march up in form of Battel, and charge by whole Troops at once? We ſee what a world of Miſchief one ſingle Example of Avarice or Luxury does; The Converſation of One Effeminate Man ſoftens by degrees and enervates the Minds of them that live with him; One Rich Neighbour kindles our Deſires of Wealth; One Lewd Companion ſtrikes as it were his Extravagance and Debauchery into us ſo forcibly, that we may even feel the Impreſſion; it eats like a Canker, and nothing is ſo ſolid, ſo clean, to be free from the Ruſt of it. And if this be the Caſe of particular Inſtances, what do we think muſt the Condition and the Power be, of thoſe Vices and Diſpoſitions

tions that are become General, and such as all the world run into with full Cry, and wild Career?

And yet after all, as necessary as this keeping aloof off from Infection is, the thing is exceeding difficult, and but seldom put in practice. For to follow the beaten Track is something very plausible, and carries a great Appearance of Justice and Goodness, Humility and Condescension in it. The Road is plain and large, and Travellers are easily seduced into it. Singularity is a By-path, and none but fanciful or conceited men are thought to take it. We go on after our Leaders, like Beasts in a Herd: The Reasonableness, and Worth, and Justice of a thing is rarely examined; but Example and Custom are the moving Arguments; and thus we hurry on, and stumble at the same Stones, and fall upon one another in heaps; we press and push forward, and draw whole multitudes upon the same Precipice; and there we fall and perish, merely upon the Credit of those that go before us. Now the Man that would be wise indeed, must take quite contrary Measures. He must receive nothing upon Content and Example only; but be very jealous and considerate, and suspect every thing which he finds the generality of Mankind agreed in, and fond of; and instead of counting Numbers, and practising by the Poll, he must weigh the Goodness of the thing; not suffering himself to be deluded with fair Appearances, with general Approbations, or common use, or doing as the rest of the world do, but nicely examine the real intrinsick worth of Things and Actions, and resolve to stand alone, where this will not justify his Compliance. *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil*, is a just, a prudent, a necessary Precept; and a most vicious and mistaken Modesty That is, which prevails with us to disobey it. When therefore any one would cut us short, and thinks to knock all our Arguments on the head, by saying, *All the world is* 4.

of this Opinion, or all the world does thus, a conſiderate Man will anſwer to himſelf at leaſt, *I like it ſo much the worſe for that; this is but a very ſcurvy Caution,* for *their Approbation makes me ſuſpect it the more.* Thus the Wiſe *Phocion,* when he ſaw the whole Auditory highly applaud ſomething he had ſpoken, turned about, and asked his Friends that ſtood by, What was the matter; whether he had let fall ſomewhat which ought not to have been ſaid, or been guilty of ſome egregious Impertinence, that all the People were ſo mightily pleaſed with him. The wiſeſt method then, is to decline, as much as poſſibly we can, any Familiarity or frequent Converſation with the People, who are generally fooliſh, ignorant, and a very odd Medley of Men: But, if our affairs will not permit that, yet at leaſt it muſt be our conſtant Care to avoid their received opinions, not to be born down with their Judgments, nor conform our ſelves to their Temper and Complexion, nor be corrupted by their vicious Diſpoſitions and Practices: But at the ſame time we live in the world, we muſt not be of the world. And This indeed is the Reaſon why Solitude is ſo much and ſo earneſtly recommended by Philoſophers and Wiſe men; a Solitude, that conſiſts in ſetting the Soul free, and diſcarding all popular Opinions, and reigning Vices; delivering the Mind from the Bondage and Confuſion, which Cuſtom, and Example, and the Common Cry ſubject it to; that ſo it may have leiſure to retire into it ſelf, and take its full Range without Interruption or Reſtraint.

Second Thing, Exemption from Paſſions.

¶. The other Inconvenience, and fatal Obſtruction of Wiſdom, is Internal; and as ſuch threatens more imminent Danger, and requires a greater portion of our Care. And This is that Slavery and Perplexity which our own Paſſions and diſorderly Affections put us into. And againſt Theſe there ought to be a ſtrict and ſtrong guard, to prevent their Tumults and

and Insurrections; or rather indeed we ought, if that were possible, to dispossess them quite, that so our Mind might be clean, and open, and unsullied, like a Blank Paper, ready to receive any Inscription, any Tincture of Wisdom, against which the Passions are formal and declared Enemies, by the Stains and Prejudices they leave upon it. This gave occasion for that Saying of some Wise Heathens, That it was not possible, even for *Jupiter* himself to be in Love, or to be angry, or affected strongly with any other Passion, and yet to be Wise at the same time. And accordingly both Reason and Revelation in the Ideas they teach us to form of God, represent him void of all Passions, Body, or Bodily Affections; as Infirmities by no means consistent with the Excellencies of an Absolutely Good and Perfect Being. Wisdom is a regular conduct of the Soul; it proceeds in number, and weight, and measure; it is an evenness and smoothness, a sweet and pleasing Harmony of our Judgments and Wills, and well-proportioned Dispositions. A constant health and soundness of the Mind; whereas the Passions quite contrary, are the Ague-fits of a distempered Soul, the Boundings and Reboundings of Folly; the wild Skips, and wanton Sallies, and impetuous Emotions, and rash unguided Flights of the Man, without any Aim, or Order, or Measure.

6. *General Remedies against them.*

The Colours, in which the former Book painted our Passions are so black and hideous, that they cannot but shew us their Deformity, and may create in us a just horror and detestation of them. The Remedies and Means for subduing each of these in particular, will come in more properly in the Third Book, under the Topicks of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. But of those which are general, and our present Business, there are several, and of different kinds, some Good, and some Evil. I do not here reckon that Happiness of Constitution and Natural Blessedness, which

which renders the Man ſo well tempered, as to preſerve him calm and ſerene; not ſubject to any ſtrong Paſſions, or violent Emotions of Soul; and keeps him in a conſtant, ſmooth, even, uniform compoſure of Spirit, harden'd and impenetrable, and proof againſt all Attacks. This indeed is an uncommon Excellency; but it is not ſo properly a Remedy againſt Evil, as an Exemption from it; it is not a Medicine or an Inſtrument of Recovery, but it is an effectual Prevention of Sickneſs, and the State of Health it ſelf. This therefore falls not within the compaſs of our Subject and Deſign in this place, which is to preſcribe Remedies truly ſo called; and of Them I ſhall propoſe Four to the Reader's Obſervation.

7. *Stupidity.* The Firſt, which in truth is not at all adviſable, nor hath any real Goodneſs to recommend it, is a ſort of Stupidity or Inſenſibility of Mind, which does not feel, nor apprehend at all. A Brutiſh Apathy, incident to mean Souls, ſuch as are either perfectly ſeared and dead, or have their Apprehenſions in great meaſure blunted and dulled; a ſort of Calouſneſs and Cruſt upon the Senſitive parts; a Spiritual Lethargy, and conſtant Heavineſs, which though it have ſome Air of Health and Eaſe, yet what we think ſo is in effect its Diſeaſe. For there can be no ſuch thing as Wiſdom and Conſtancy, where there is no Knowledge, no Senſe, no Activity at all. And therefore this does not cure the Diſtemper, but only render the Patient inſenſible of his Illneſs. But yet This, as bad as it is, is better, and much rather to be choſen, than the knowing, and feeling, and ſuffering ones ſelf to be vanquiſhed and preyed upon by the painful Impreſſion: What *Horace* ſays of his Writings, is thus far applicable to the Affections and Follies of Mankind;

I had

* ——*I had rather be a little Wit,*
So my dull Verse my own dear Self delight,
Than know my Faults, be vex'd, and dye with Spight.
Creech.

The Second Remedy is very little or nothing better than the Disease it self, and yet it is more used, and oftner applied, than any other. This is, when a man vanquishes one Passion, and stifles it by the more prevailing Force of another. For the Passions are never equally poized, but one or other of them will always cast the Scales. Now we are frequently guilty of a great Error, in attributing things to Virtue and Wisdom, in which They never had the least hand or concern, but they are purely the Effects of Passion. And it happens very well for Persons under these Circumstances, when those which ride highest, and have got the Dominion in their Souls, are not of the worst sort of Passions. 8. *A Counter-Passion.*

The Third, which is indeed a Good Remedy, though not the very Best, is a matter of Prudence and Artifice, by which a Man steals out of the way, runs, hides himself, and keeps at a distance from the Occasions and Accidents, which he knows, or hath found by Experience, apt to provoke and put him out of Temper; such as wake the sleeping Lion, and give Fire to his Passions. This is a Study, and a Knack men have of putting themselves upon a posture of Defence; or rather of keeping good Out-guards; upon the alarming whereof they may have leisure to retreat, or so to secure the Passes and Avenues, that the Approach of Evils may be intercepted 9. *Prevention.*

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* Prætulerim Scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere & ringi. *Horat. Epist. 2. Lib. 2.*

and

and prevented. Of this kind is that common Story of a Prince, who immediately broke a Rich Cup that was preſented to him, for fear it ſhould provoke his Anger, if by Chance or Negligence it ſhould happen to be broken by another hand. The proper and conſtant Prayer of theſe men is, *Lead us not into Temptation.* Thus it is, that Men reſolve againſt Gaming, who feel themſelves unable to command their Temper, and cannot play without Paſſion. And thus Men of nice Honour, and prone to Anger, decline Diſputes in Company, and cruſh the very firſt motions to Strife in the birth. For when a man is once engaged, it is difficult to make a good Retreat; and the After-Game of Wiſdom and Diſcretion is very hard and hazardous to play. In the Beginning we manage things as we pleaſe, and have them at our mercy; but when once the fire is kindled, and we are grown warm, they manage and carry Us how and whither they will. It is certainly much eaſier wholly to decline a Paſſion, than to keep it within juſt bounds and meaſures; and that which few can moderate, almoſt any body may prevent. And the Reaſon is plainly this; Becauſe all things in their infancy and at firſt, are ſmall and feeble, flexible and tender. But the misfortune is, that while they are weak we are not ſenſible of the Danger; and when they are grown ſtubborn and ſtrong, we are not capable of a Remedy. This any man may obſerve in common Converſation. How many inſtances could every one of my Readers recollect of perſons, who upon every ſlight occaſion fall into Quarrels, commence Law-ſuits, engage in Diſputes and Controverſies, and are at laſt forced to give out with Diſgrace; come to ſhameful and diſhonourable Accommodations; take Sanctuary in mean and equivocating Interpretations; belye and contradict themſelves; betray their want of Honeſty; go againſt their own Senſe; palliate, and diſguiſe,

disguise, and colour over matters of Fact; which are all of them miserable Refuges, and Remedies ten thousand times worse, than the Disease they would cure? In all these cases it were much better not to begin at all, than to bring matters to such a Conclusion. For, for want of timely Prudence and good Conduct, they fall into want of Integrity and Good Sense. And so in all their Proceedings they run directly counter to that wise Advice of *Bias*, which is to set out and undertake things coolly and considerately; but, when we are well satisfied of the Justice and Reasonableness of our Enterprize, then to prosecute it warmly and vigorously. It is in this manner, that those fooliſh Men expose themselves, who out of a vicious Easiness and Complaisance, are ashamed to deny any request made to them; but after this mighty Liberality in promising, are every whit as apt and easy to break their word again, and prostitute that Honour vilely, which was engaged with so much Levity. And therefore in all our Affairs, in all our dealings and Conversation with men, nothing is more requisite, than to look before us, to make true steps at first, and be well advised, before we begin.

The Fourth, and infinitely the Best Remedy of all is a stanch and Vigorous Virtue; a Resolution and Firmness of Mind, by which a man is qualified to look any Accidents in the Face; to meet and come up close to them, without Starting, or Disorder, or Confusion; to enter into the Lists, and encounter them gallantly. This is a brave, a noble, a glorious Impassibility indeed; which sets the Mind above Trouble, directly contrary to the first of these Remedies, which consisted in an impenetrable Temper, a heavy, sottish, senseless Stupidity. And there is nothing will Contribute more to the working us up into this generous Gallantry of Spirit, than the furnishing and forming our Judgments with good Instructions; 10. *Virtue.*

Inſtructions; digeſting them thoroughly, and applying them Seaſonably; but eſpecially the fortifying our ſelves with Thought and Deliberation, that ſo we never fall under the Terrors of Surprize; but be prepared to defend our Poſt, whenever they attack us. For Reaſoning and Diſcourſe maſters the Paſſions, and Premeditation is the thing, which hardens the Soul, and renders it proof, againſt all the Evils that would ſoften and ſubdue it. And one great help towards the preſerving us impregnable, will be a ſerious Reflection upon what hath already been delivered in the foregoing parts of this Book; For the proper method of calming and ſweetning the Paſſions, is to get well acquainted with the nature of them; to examine them nicely, and know exactly, what Influence they have upon Us, and what Command we have over them. But eſpecially we ſhould guard our ſelves againſt too eaſy a Credulity, and not ſuffer any raſh Surmiſe or Opinion, to foment or inflame our Paſſions; for Falſhood, and Folly, and Uncertainty, tranſport Fools only; a Wiſe Man will weigh things calmly, and coolly, and ſuffer himſelf to be carried no farther than mature Judgment, and meaſured Truth lead him: For Reaſon is his only Guide, and every Impreſſion is brought to this Standard, and ſtrictly examined by it. But of This, beſides the light given us already, we ſhall be more fully and particularly qualified to make a Judgment, both from what follows in this Second Book, and from the Inſtructions to be added in the Third, when we come to enlarge there upon the Virtues of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*.

11. But above all other Paſſions, That of Self-Love, and Preſumption, and inordinate Fondneſs of our own Imaginations, Opinions, and Actions, requires a ſtrict and watchful Eye, and the ſtrongeſt guard we can poſſibly ſet over it. For this is the very Peſt of Mankind; the moſt mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to Wiſdom;

Wisdom; the very Corruption and Gangrene of the Soul, by which it mortifies, and grows absolutely incurable. This swells us with vain Conceits, and false Satisfactions and Confidences; we make undue estimates of our selves, and are marvellously pleased with our own supposed Sufficiency; nay we perfectly Idolize, fall down and worship our Selves, and neither believe, nor hear, any body but our Selves. Now indeed we can never be in worse hands than our own, and that Prayer of the *Spaniards* is a very significant and sensible one, *O God preserve me from my self.* Such Presumption and foolish Self-Love proceeds from mistake; and Ignorance, is not so truly the Mother of any Devotion, as of this. Were men but duly sensible, how weak and wretched, how impotent and little, how full of Infirmities and Errors, Human Nature is in general; and were each Man duly so of his own personal Defects and Frailties in particular, that Divine Counsel of *not being wise in our own Conceits*, would be much better obeyed: And obeyed it is necessary it should be; for till we are free of this Vanity, we can never arrive at true and sound Wisdom. It stops our Ears against all Advice and Instruction, and suffers us not to see our own Wants, nor the Abilities of others to direct and improve us. Honesty and Integrity, Modesty and Diligence, a meek and teachable Temper, a serious, and hearty, and humble acknowledgment of our Deficiency; These are not only the first and surest Steps to Virtue, but the greatest Evidence of a solid Judgment, a clear Understanding, a rightly-disposed Will, and unbiassed Affections; and consequently, a most hopeful and promising, as well as it is an indispensably Requisite Preparation, to the Study and Attainment of Wisdom and Goodness.

Rom. 12. 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

An entire Liberty of the Mind; The Second Prediſpoſition, requiſite in order to Wiſdom.

1. THE other Diſpoſition to Wiſdom, which is in truth a natural Conſequence and Improvement of the former, is (after we have delivered our ſelves from the Bondage and Captivity of Popular Opinions from without, and our own Paſſions from within) to attain to a full, entire, and generous Liberty of Mind; and this is of two ſorts, according to the two great Faculties concerned in the Purſuit of Wiſdom, implying Firſt, a Liberty of Judgment, and then a Liberty of the Will.

The Former of theſe, which regards the Judgment, conſiſts in conſidering, judging, and examining all things; yet not Tying ones ſelf up to any, but remaining ſtill free, and at ones own diſpoſal; of a large univerſal Spirit, open and ready to hear any thing that ſhall be offered. This is the higheſt pitch of Soul, the moſt peculiar and diſtinguiſhing Priviledge of a truly Great and Wiſe Man; but ſuch a one I confeſs it is, as all People are not capable of underſtanding, and much leſs ſtill of attaining to it. Upon which account I think my ſelf obliged to eſtabliſh this Point, againſt the Objections of thoſe Vulgar Souls, which are not of Capacity large enough for true Wiſdom.

And firſt of all, to prevent all Miſtakes and unreaſonable Cavils upon Words, I will explain the Terms made uſe of here, and give the true meaning of

of them. Now this Deſcription conſiſts of Three things, which mutually Produce, and Support one another. And theſe are, *Judging every thing, being Wedded or tied up to Nothing*, and *preſerving a Largeneſs of Soul, and being ready to hearken to any thing that ſhall be offered.*

By *Judging* in the firſt of theſe Particulars, it is plain I cannot mean Reſolving, Determining, or Poſitively Affirming; becauſe this would imply a direct Contradiction to the Second Branch of the Deſcription. And therefore no more can poſſibly be underſtood by it, than Examining and Weighing all matters that come before us; putting the Arguments for either Side of the Queſtion into the Balance, to ſee which Scale Preponderates, and where the Merits of the Cauſe lie; that by this means the Truth may, after long and diligent Diſquiſition, at laſt be clearly made out.

Then again, *By not eſpouſing, or being bound up to any thing*, I do not intend ſtopping ſhort of the Truth, affecting Uncertainty, and floating in the Air; ſometimes talking and acting one way, and ſometimes the direct contrary; and ſo never proceeding or reſolving any thing after ſuch Deliberations as are requiſite for a Man of Conſtancy and Prudence, nor venturing to Act, becauſe he cannot be poſitive, that his Judgment is right; For I would have my Philoſopher conform to the Cuſtoms of the World, and in all the external and common Paſſages of Human Life, act like other Men. The Rules preſcribed here have nothing at all to do with any Man's Commerce or outward Behaviour; their Buſineſs is only to regulate the Mind; and to ſet the Thoughts and Judgment right within. Nay, and even in this Inward Regulation too, I am content, that Men ſhould readily aſſent to probable Evidence; That they ſhould ſtick to that ſide, where they find the greateſt Appearance, of Honeſty and Juſtice,

of Convenience and Advantage. But ſtill that This ſhould be done with ſome ſort of Modeſty and Reſerve; avoiding all Poſitiveneſs, and Stiffneſs; all indecent Cenſures and Contemptuous Uſage of thoſe who think otherwiſe: Treating the Contrary Opinions, be they never ſo diſtant, be they New, or Old, with Candour and Caution; diſdaining nothing that can be offered, but ready and content to hear the Arguments of thoſe that oppoſe us. Nay, not only content, but deſirous, that they ſhould oppoſe us, and alledge whatever they have to ſay againſt our Notions; Becauſe This will put us upon a more Accurate Exerciſe of the Firſt of theſe Qualifications, and oblige us to conſider and weigh things more cautiouſly.

Now theſe Three Qualities I affirm to preſerve, and mutually to ſupport each other; For He that examines things carefully and without Paſſion, will find ſomewhat of Reaſon and Probability on every ſide; ſo much at leaſt as will preſerve him, not only from Raſhneſs and Precipitation, but from Peremptorineſs and Obſtinacy; and this puts the Mind in that State of Ingenuity, and Indifference, which I mean by Openneſs, and Univerſality of Soul. Whereas on the contrary, the Man who fixes abſolutely, hath cut himſelf out from farther Examination, he is faſten'd down to the Notions already entertained by him; and makes himſelf of a Party, reſolved to maintain his Opinion, in deſpight of all Senſe and Reaſon to the Contrary.

Simple and Credulous and Fooliſh Men are defective in the Firſt of theſe Qualifications; Opiniaters, and Dogmatical Arguers are faulty in the Second Point; and both the one and the other Sort, when they turn factious, and eſpouſe a Party, offend againſt the Third. But a Philoſopher indeed, whoſe only aim is Truth, and whoſe Purſuits of it are regular and diſcreet, is Wiſe, and Modeſt, and Moderate,

derate, and ſo an exact Obſerver of all theſe Rules.

It is farther neceſſary, for the giving a true State of the Matter I am now upon, to add, that by the *All things* to be nicely examined, and the *No one thing* to be reſolutely eſpouſed, I mean ſuch Objects only, as are merely humane, and Matters proper for a Philoſophical Enquiry. So that This Direction muſt by no means be thought to concern Revealed and Divine Truths. For Theſe we are obliged, not in Duty only, but by the ſtricteſt Reaſon too, to receive, with an entire ſubmiſſion and moſt profound humility. Theſe are not Matters for Diſcuſſion and Controverſy; we have nothing to do here, but to bow down the Head and Worſhip; to reſtrain the Inſolence of Reaſon, when it would ſawcily pry into the Ark; to check and captivate our Minds, and reſign our Underſtandings to the Obedience of Faith. But, theſe Religious and Sacred Objects excepted, none of the reſt need diſdain to come within thoſe Conditions, and ought not to be received upon eaſier terms.

This ſhort Explanation of the Terms might perhaps ſuffice for Men of Equity and Good Senſe, and ſave me the Trouble of any farther Enlargement; but becauſe I ſee plainly that there are a Party of Men in the world, of a poſitive, fierce and domineering Spirit, who are for leading all Mankind after them in a very Magiſterial manner; and, having firſt inviolably engaged in ſome particular Principles and Opinions themſelves, take the Confidence to expect, that every Body elſe ſhould come in upon Their Authority; and for that reaſon will not endure any thing that looks like aſſerting Liberty of Thinking; In oppoſition to theſe ſtiff, aſſuming Gentlemen; and to prevent, or at leaſt to defeat their Outcries upon this Occaſion, I think my ſelf under ſome neceſſity to prove, and confirm what

hath been here advanced; and will therefore conſider each Branch of this Propoſition diſtinctly, as the parts lye before us.

2. The Firſt of Theſe is *Judging every thing*; which is the peculiar Character of the Wiſeſt and moſt exalted Underſtandings, The proper Office of a Man; the moſt natural, moſt becoming employment of a Rational Soul. To what purpoſe, I would fain know, were thoſe Noble Faculties of Diſcourſe given us; why have we that penetrating Wit, that Diſcerning and Acute Spirit? Is it to build Caſtles in the Air with, and feed our ſelves with Extravagant Fancies, or to laviſh it away upon uſeleſs Vanities, and Trifles, as the greateſt part of Mankind do? Eyes certainly were made to take Advantage of the Light; and theſe Powers to exert themſelves in that Judicial Authority, which this Superintendant of the lower world, hath over the Works of Nature and Providence. To entrench upon this Prerogative, were to maim his very Eſſence; to unman, and to degrade him into Beaſt. And to exerciſe this Right is the Property of a Man, and to do it in an Eminent and Uncommon Manner, is the very Mark and Diſtinction of a Wiſe Man. If then the Neglect of this Power be ſo great a Violation of the Nature and Privileges of Mankind in general, the giving up an Original Right, which ought not by any means to be parted with; how much more inexcuſable is it in a Wiſe-man, who is ſo much better qualified for it, and hath ſtronger pretenſions to that Authority, than thoſe of meaner Abilities can have? It is therefore, in my Apprehenſion, a moſt amazing thing, that ſo many perſons, even among thoſe, who either have, or at leaſt ſet up for Learning and Good Senſe, ſhould of their own accord give up ſo juſt a Right, and tamely ſubmit to what comes next; nay, approve whatſoever hath the leaſt Colour of a Probability; or perhaps

haps nothing but Cuſtom and common Credit to keep it in Countenance; without ever going about to call the Cauſe, and examine whether there be any Merits in it or no. Nay, not only to ſubmit, but to think themſelves bound to do ſo; and that they are not at liberty to ſatisfy their own Reaſon. What a Horrible Indignity, what a Degradation of Humane Nature is This? In other Caſes we find them bold and aſſuming, extremely jealous of their Honour, and tenacious of their Privileges: But here they are deſpicably tame, and poor-ſpirited, which is the juſteſt, the moſt indiſputable, the moſt inherent Property of any that belongs to them.

'Tis certain, that there can be but One Truth, but Falſhood is infinite: A Thouſand differing Judgments upon the ſame Thing, and but One of all theſe in the right; and ſhall I in the midſt of all this Doubt and Confuſion, be forbidden to uſe the Means God hath put into my hands, for the finding out which That is? Shall it be thought Taking more upon me than becomes me, if I endeavour to diſcover the beſt Appearance of Truth, or Equity, or Profit, or Convenience, for a Rule and Meaſure to my own Actions? Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that among the many diſagreeing, nay oppoſite Laws and Cuſtoms of the World, none but Ours ſhould be good for any thing? Are all Mankind out of their Senſes, and hath every other Nation taken wrong Meaſures? Who can have the Confidence to aſſert this? Or who makes any Queſtion, but other Countries are even with us, and think every whit as meanly of Our Conſtitutions, as we do of Theirs? Nay, there is no diſpute, but this very Perſon, whoever he be, that is ſo blindly fond of his Native Manners, would have had the ſame partial Liking for thoſe of any other place, where it had been his Fortune to have been born and bred: He would have been as warm in preferring Thoſe, above ſuch as

he now thinks beſt, for no other reaſon 'tis plain, but becauſe he hath been uſed to them.

If any Man ſhall venture to aſſert the Contrary, I muſt beg leave at leaſt to anſwer him; that This Liberty of Judging is a good Rule however for all Foreigners to make Uſe of; that ſo They by the Practice of it may convince themſelves, how much Our methods of Living excel Theirs. This he muſt grant me ſure; and if he do, it will follow, that a Wiſe Man will think it adviſable to do this upon All Occaſions; and paſs Sentence upon nothing, till he have allowed it a fair hearing, and weighed the Matter impartially. To be led thus like Oxen, and follow the Herd, is fit for none but Brutes, or Men but one Remove above them. I would by all means have a man behave and expreſs himſelf, and make his Figure in compliance with the reſt of the World; but I would not have him conform his Judgment to Theirs, nay I would have him even ſit in Judgment upon Theirs. What Privilege do you leave the greateſt Philoſopher above the moſt ignorant Clown, if the nobleſt part of him, his Mind, ſhall be enſlaved to common Vogue? Methinks the World ſhould be very well ſatisfied with a Man's Compliance in outward Behaviour: But all Within is *my Own*; And what hath the World to do with my Thoughts? They ſhall give Rules if they pleaſe to my Tongue, and my Hand; but my Mind, by their good Leave, is out of their Juriſdiction, and is accountable to another Maſter. *The Liberty of the Mind* is what no body can actually take away; and if any Attempt it, they are of all Tyrants and Uſurpers, the moſt unreaſonable, the moſt inſupportable. Every Wiſe Man will be ſure to be tender of it, and offend in neither Extreme, for he will neither endure to part with his own Freedom, nor offer to invade any other Man's.

Now

Now I own, that while a Wiſe Man aſſerts this Liberty to himſelf, it cannot be expected, that he ſhould be always of a piece: For at this rate his Hand and his Opinion, his Body and his Mind will be frequently put upon contradictions to one another; and there is no avoiding it: becauſe Prudence governs his outward Actions, and private Judgment the Sentiments of his Soul. So that here are two different Characters to be maintained, and he muſt play both, or be unjuſt either to the World, or to himſelf. The Common Remark, that all Mankind act a part upon this Stage of the World, is as ſtrictly true of the Wiſeſt Men, as of any others whatſoever: for they are quite other ſort of perſons within than they appear to the Spectators; and if they ſhould not play thus, but ſhew themſelves without any manner of diſguiſe, the difference would never be endured, all their Behaviour would be ſo particular: And yet at the ſame time were their real Opinions in agreement with their Practice, this would involve them in ſo many Errors and Corruptions, that they would not be able to endure themſelves. Many Compliances muſt be indulged out of Reſpect to the Opinion of the World, and the Laws and Cuſtoms, which prevail abroad; and particularly, in the places where we dwell: But then a man owes it to himſelf too, not to make Theſe the Standard of his Opinions, but form Them upon the Dictates of Nature, and the Rules of Univerſal Equity and Reaſon. And he who does thus, muſt content himſelf with many things which he does not ſtrictly approve; and while he lives among Men, muſt act as They do, but with this Reſerve to himſelf, that theſe things are not done by him, in the Quality of a Wiſe Man, but merely under the general Character of a Man, and a Member of Society. Thus He in his Actions, will be like *Cicero* in his Expreſſions; who declared he referred the Uſage of Words to the People,

3.

ple, but the proper meaning of them he reſerved the right of judging in to himſelf.

To inſtance now in a few particulars; and thoſe ſome of them very frivolous, and of little or no Conſequence. I make no Scruple to pull off my Hat in Civility and Deference to a Man of Quality, becauſe this part of the World expreſs their Reſpect that way; but at the ſame time I am free to think, the *Eaſtern* Cuſtom better, who expreſs their Reverence by laying their hand upon their Breaſt; and never hazard their Health, nor expoſe themſelves to any of the other Inconveniences incident to frequent Uncovering of the Head. So again, were I an Inhabitant of the Oriental parts of the World, I would eat my Meals upon the ground, or leaning, or lying along, as they do, and as great part of the World did heretofore, particularly the *Jews*, as we find by the Deſcription of our Lord's laſt Supper; but ſtill I could not forbear in my own private judgment, preferring the ſitting upright at Table, as our preſent manner is, for the much more commodious way of Eating. Again, to mention a Matter of ſomewhat greater Importance, I am ſatisfied, that the Dead Bodies of my Friends ſhould be interred, and given as a Prey to the Worms; but ſtill I cannot but think the old way of burning, and preſerving their Aſhes in Urns, much more cleanly, and more noble; that Fire is more reſpectful than Putrefaction and Stench; an Element, which even Religion hath given ſome Countenance to, by commanding the Remainders of the Paſchal Lamb heretofore to be burnt: But what can we do worſe than to caſt our Friends to rot in the ground, and be eaten by Vermine and Inſects; an Indignity, which to Me ſeems fit to be offered, only to thoſe Scandalous Wretches, who dye by the Hands of Common Executioners; but the Remains of Perſons of Honour and Virtue (in my poor Apprehenſion) ſhould be otherwiſe treated.

ed. For of the five ſeveral ways by which dead Bodies are capable of being diſpoſed of, (the committing them to the mercy of the four ſeveral Elements, or ſuffering them to be devoured by Beaſts;) that of Burning ſeems to me much the moſt eligible.

Once more. I am well enough pleaſed to have the Wiſe Man of my forming look out of Countenance, and take care to decline and conceal every thing that paſſes for Immodeſt in the Eſteem of the World; and muſt have a very ill Opinion of him, ſhould he do otherwiſe: But then I deſire he ſhould be ſatisfied, that this is due from him in regard to the Cuſtoms and common Sentiments of other people; not to any ſhame in the Nature of the Things themſelves. For Nature, that is, the God of Nature, never made any thing which was reproachful, and theſe Ignominies are purely accidental; the product of Sin, which is the Greateſt Enemy and Corrupter of Nature. Even Religion it ſelf, which is much more Chaſte and Reſerv'd than Philoſophy, aſſures us, that while Man continued in his Original Innocence and Perfection, there was no ſuch thing as Shame; but That and Guilt entred the World at once.

I comply with the Mode of my own Countrey, in point of Cloaths and Dreſs; and ſo I would have gone Naked too, if my Lot had caſt me in a Countrey where it is uſual to do ſo. But to Me both theſe Faſhions appear ſo inconvenient, that, were I left to my own Choice entirely, I ſhould do neither. The manner of thoſe Nations, which uſe ſome One ſlight Garment, plain and light, without Conſtraint, or Ceremony, or Great Expence, is much the beſt in my apprehenſion. For the multitude of Cloaths, and the different Sorts of them, but eſpecially the Vanity and abominable Extravagance the World is guilty of in them, is a thouſand times worſe than going Naked. Theſe Inſtances I content my

my ſelf with the mention of at preſent; my Reader may multiply them to himſelf at pleaſure, upon Occaſion of the infinite Variety of Laws and Cuſtoms, and Modes, and Matters of Fact; and the as great Variety in Opinions too, and conteſts in Matter of Right, and what is fit to be done, as well as what is actually done.

4. If any ſhall ſuppoſe me in the wrong, as to the foregoing Inſtances, or object againſt this Liberty in general, as an Indulgence of dangerous Conſequence; That by this means mens minds will never ſettle, but they will be eternally loſt in a Wood, and fill their heads with idle and phantaſtical Notions: I anſwer, as to the former part, which relates more immediately to my ſelf; that it is very poſſible I may lye under a miſtake in ſome or all of thoſe Caſes; but then it argues great Confidence thus to charge any man with being in the wrong; for ſuch a one does in effect aſſume to himſelf the knowledge of Exact Truth, and ſeems to ſay, that He is Maſter of it, though others be not. Nor ſhould I much be mortified, though the Charge were true: for the not hitting upon the Right, is no certain Argument, that a man judges amiſs. For This conſiſts in not giving Arguments their due weight, not confronting them fairly, nor holding the Scales even; not meaſuring by the Level and Standard of Univerſal Reaſon, and Nature in her primitive Perfection. Now a man may diſcharge the examining part very faithfully and diligently, and yet he may not attain to the Truth notwithſtanding. But, to deal plainly, I give no Credit to any thing till it be proved to me. If the Objector brings me ſtronger and more weighty Reaſons againſt my Opinion, than any I have to urge in defence of it, I bid him heartily welcome; and ſhall thank him for the opportunity which his Contradiction gives me, to exerciſe this Judicial Authority with ſo much greater

accuracy

accuracy. I only take up with my present Thoughts, till better Information give me Cause to change them; and therefore they are only upon good liking; ready to be dismissed, when more rational ones may succeed in their stead.

But, as to the more general part of the Objection, which regards the dangerous Consequences and pernicious Effects of such a Liberty; besides what hath been urged already, and will be more at large hereafter, (That the Rule, by which our Judgments are to be directed, is Nature and Universal Reason, which so long as we keep close to, we are secure from Error:) the Second Branch of this Judicious Liberty, will provide us with Remedies against this supposed Mischief; and That is what I shall now apply my self to treat of particularly and fully.

5. The Other branch then of this Absolute Liberty of Soul, consists in a sort of Indifference, and a Suspending one's Judgment and Final Resolution. By This the Wise Man preserves his Temper; his Affections are not engaged, and so he can consider every thing without Heat or Passion: He is not at all provoked by Opposition, not staked down to any one Notion; but keeps an Ear always open for the Contrary Party, and is ready to receive either the Truth, or that which seems to make a nearer Approach, and carry greater Resemblance to it, than the Ideas he hath entertain'd already. When he seems most determined, his secret Sense goes no farther, than *This is my present Opinion*; and *I have reason to embrace it above any other*: but still he can hear it contradicted without any Disorder, and satisfy himself to know all that can be said against it; and if what is offered preponderates, he makes no scruple to change his Mind; and constantly, even of That Opinion which stuck last by him, he goes no farther in vindication, than that possibly there may be some other better grounded, but this is the Best that he hath

hath met with. Now this Suſpenſion and Indifference I ſpeak of, is built upon ſeveral famous Maxims entertained and propagated by the Greateſt Philoſophers, and likewiſe upon the Freedom they uſed in their Writings and Behaviour. For this Quality muſt be confeſs'd to have been the concurrent Practice, and avowed Principle of Wiſe Men in all Ages; the Moſt, and moſt conſpicuous among them have made no ſcruple openly to confeſs their Ignorance, and their Doubts; ſaying, *That all Nature was full of Difficulties and Dilemma's*; That *nothing was more certain than Uncertainty*; That *there was ſcarce any thing ſo plain, but an Ingenious Man might bring plauſible and almoſt equal Arguments for Either ſide of the Queſtion*; and a thouſand other ſuch Sayings; by which they remarkably argued a diſtruſt of their own Judgments. The reſt of them, though upon ſome occaſions they have proceeded ſomewhat dogmatically, and delivered their Minds boldly and poſitively; yet ſeem rather to have diſſembled their Doubts, than not to have had any; and to put the beſt face they could upon the matter, that the World might ſee how far their Wit would carry them, in the Search of Truth; a Thing * *which Learned Men ſeem rather to have framed an Idea of to themſelves, than to have known her as ſhe is.* For after all their boaſts of attaining her, their Courage fails them at laſt, and the Things uttered by them they dare not venture to beſtow any more honourable Titles upon, than that of Probabilities, and Appearances of Truth; and while they repreſent them variouſly, ſometimes in one proſpect, and form; and ſometimes in another; by Queſtions, and Problems, and Ambiguous Diſputes; as if their deſign was rather to enquire, than to teach; and that they ſought Information themſelves, while they

* Quam Docti fingunt, magis quàm nôrunt.

pretend

pretend to give it to others; from all this I ſay, and the whole current of their Style, we may reaſonably gather, that they wrote and ſpoke, not ſo much with a deſign to eſtabliſh a Notion, or render it unqueſtionable, as for Diverſion, and to Exerciſe their Wits; as one ſays, We cannot be ſure what their opinions were, or that they really believed their own Writings, for indeed * *they ſeem not to have deſigned we ſhould gather their Senſe of things, ſo much as that we ſhould obſerve and admire their Parts and Skill, by thoſe Trials, which the nicety and difficulty of their Subject put them upon.* And who can ever perſuade himſelf, that *Plato* intended his Republick and fanciful Ideas ſhould ever paſs for Current Doctrine; or that *Pythagoras* in advancing his Numbers, and *Epicurus* his Atoms, ſpoke their own real Opinions, and ſuch as they thought were weighed and meaſured Truths? They pleaſed and entertained their own Minds with theſe nice Speculations, but † *the Notions were owing more to the Fruitfulneſs of their own Inventions, than to any ſtrength of Proof, or force of Knowledge.* And indeed they may ſeem ſometimes to have gone out of the common road on purpoſe, and with great Induſtry to have ſought ſomewhat of Difficulty, the better to amuſe the world, by thus concealing the Vanity of the Subjects they were upon, and to furniſh matter for the gratifying their Reader's Curioſity. How wretchedly is *Ariſtotle* the very Idol of theſe Dogmatiſts confounded and at a loſs? How inconſiſtent with himſelf, and forced ſometimes to confeſs the Impotence of Human Nature, and how ſhort the moſt inquiſitive come of the Truth?

Thoſe, that afterwards ſignalized themſelves by a 6.

* Non tam id ſenſiſſe quod dicerent, quàm exercere ingenia materiæ difficultate voluiſſe videntur.

† Quæ ex ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientiæ vi.

more

more poſitive and magiſterial way of Writing, and from thence got the Title of Dogmatiſts, were Men of a Pedantick, and preſumptuous Temper. They, it is true, condemn and deteſt this Rule of Wiſdom; and were fonder of a Hot-headed peremptory Fellow, though contrary to their own Party and Judgment; than of a peaceable, ſedate and modeſt Man, who contents himſelf with Doubting, and declines the pronouncing any thing definitively; that is, in plain *Engliſh*, they eſteem a raſh Fool, more than a Cautious Wiſe Man. (Like Women, who take it ill not to be contradicted, and had rather be anſwered rudely, than not at all. Becauſe they think the Coldneſs and Indifferenee of Silence argues greater Contempt and Diſdain, than it is poſſible for the moſt injurious Language to expreſs.) In which they betray great perverſeneſs and injuſtice. For what reaſon can be given, why a Man ſhould not be allowed to ſuſpend his Judgment, and ſtill to deliberate upon things as Doubtful, without venturing to affirm on either ſide; when They at the ſame time take a privilege of determining as They ſee fit? Is not there the ſame Equity at leaſt, the ſame Right for the one, as for the other? and what mighty Crime is it frankly to confeſs one's ſelf Ignorant, when he is really ſo; and to ſay nothing, when he cannot ſpeak with good Aſſurance, and full Satisfaction?

It is certain, that all Philoſophers are agreed ſo much to our diſadvantage, as to pronounce, that we are Ignorant of a great deal more than we know; nay, that our Knowledge is not comparable, not fit to be mentioned in competition with our Ignorance. The Cauſes of which are infinite; for we may be miſtaken in the Objects of our Enquiry, by reaſon of their being too near or too diſtant; too great or too ſmall; of too long, or too ſhort duration; and in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty. Theſe Cauſes of Error proceed from the Object, but

but then there are infinite Others owing to our Selves, and our Manner of Perception; which in truth is not yet univerſally agreed upon, nor perfectly well underſtood. What we think our ſelves ſure of we do not really know, nor can we be ſecure of continuing in our preſent Opinion any time. For how often do we ſee freſh Arguments extort it from us? or, if our Obſtinacy will hold it faſt, in deſpight of all Reaſons to the Contrary; yet at leaſt they raiſe a duſt, and diſturb us in the Poſſeſſion of it. Now I would be glad to know, which way a man ſhall ever be capable of improving his Judgment, if he faſten himſelf down to ſome certain notions; reſolving to look and examine no farther, nor enduring to hear any thing offered in prejudice of an Opinion, which he fancieth himſelf abundantly ſatisfied in already. The plain Truth is; Men are aſham'd of this Suſpenſe I am treating of, becauſe they have a wrong Notion of it. They look upon it as a Sign of Want of Judgment; whereas in reality the Greateſt and moſt judicious Philoſophers that ever lived, were the moſt frank in this Point. The Idea of Poſitiveneſs and Preſumption hath taken ſuch faſt hold of them, and they think Dogmaticalneſs and Learning ſo inſeparable, that they are out of Countenance in any caſe to own their Ignorance, leſt This ſhould be thought a Reflection upon their Parts and Attainments. There is no perſuading them, that there is a ſort of Ignorance and Doubt, more Learned, more Generous; and conſiſtent with better Aſſurance, and more accurate Knowledge, than all Their boaſted Science and Certainty. This gave that great renown to *Socrates*, and entitled him to the Character of the Wiſeſt Man of his Age: This is the Fruit of Study, and deep enquiry; it is a modeſt, candid, innocent, and hearty acknowledgment, of the ſublime myſterious Nature of Truth; and the Defects and Poverty of

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our own Underſtanding; ſo weak within, ſo beſet with Miſts and Darkneſs without, and from Both ſo uncertain, and unſteady in its Reſolutions. *The Lord knoweth the Thoughts of Man, that they are but vain,* ſays the *Pſalmiſt*: And another Author, that, * *The thoughts of Mortal Men are full of Fears and Miſgivings; their Inventions uncertain, and all their Foreca ſts Dark and Confuſed.* And I, for my own part am ſo fully poſſeſs'd of this Truth, that I have order'd this Motto, *I know not: Je ne ſçay*, to be engraved over the Gate of my little Houſe which I built at *Condom.*

Now there are a ſort of Perſons, who take it ill, that Men ſhould not ſubmit themſelves abſolutely, and fix on ſome certain Principles; which ought, they tell you, never to be examined or controverted at all. Now I allow, that if Theſe be ſuch as manifeſt themſelves to a Man's Reaſon, they ought to be received; but that merely upon the account of their Reaſonableneſs, and not for the pompous Name of Principles. To impoſe any thing unconditionally, is Tyranny and Uſurpation; and though upon due Conſideration, and the Approbation of my own Judgment, I allow them, yet if they will not admit me to try whether they be *Sterling* or *Counterfeit*, before I take them for current Coin; this is a Condition full of Hardſhip and ſuch as I can never yield to. For who, I would fain know, hath power to give Law to our Thoughts, to enſlave our Minds, and ſet up Principles, which it ſhall not be lawful to enquire into; or admit any manner of doubt concerning them? I can own no ſuch Power in any but God; and He hath it upon the account of his being Truth it ſelf; the Supreme Spirit, and the only Principle

* Cogitationes mortalium timidæ, incertæ adinventiones noſtræ & Providentiæ.

and

and Source of all things: which makes it as reaſonable to believe Him upon his bare word, as it is, not to believe other people barely upon Theirs. For this Foundation of our Belief being One of his Incommunicable Perfections, it will unavoidably follow, that no other thing is injured or diſparaged, by our refuſing the ſame entire Reſignation to it, and challenging our Right of Examining, before we yield our Aſſent.

If a Man requires my Belief to what are commonly ſtiled by the Name of Principles, my Anſwer ſhall be the ſame with that of a late Prince to the ſeveral Sects in his Kingdom, *Agree among your ſelves firſt, and then I will give my Conſent too.* Now the Controverſies are really as great about theſe Principles, as they are concerning the Concluſions advanced upon them; as many doubts upon the Generals as the Particulars; ſo that in the midſt of ſo many contending Parties, there is no coming in to any One, without giving offence, and proclaiming War upon all the reſt.

They tell us farther, that it is a horrid uneaſy ſtate of Mind, to be always thus upon the Float; and never coming to any ſetled Reſolution, to live in Eternal Doubt and Perplexity of Thought; nay, that it is not only painful, but very difficult, and almoſt impracticable, to continue long in ſuch Uncertainty. They ſpeak this, I ſuppoſe, from their own Experience; and tell us what they feel themſelves: But this is an Uneaſineſs peculiar to fooliſh and weak people. To the Former, becauſe Fools are preſumptuous, and paſſionate, and Violent eſpouſers of Parties and Opinions; full of Prejudices, and ſtrong Poſſeſſions; fierce Condemners of all that differ from them; never yielding the Cauſe, nor giving out the Diſpute, though they be really convinced; and ſupplying the want of Reaſon by Heat and Anger, inſtead of ingenuous Acknowledgments

of their Error. If they find themſelves obliged to change their Opinion, you have them then as peremptory and furious in their new Choice, as ever they were in their firſt Principles; in ſhort, They know not what it is to maintain an Argument, without Paſſion; and when they diſpute, it is not for the ſake of Truth or Improvement, but purely for Contradiction, and the Laſt Word, and to aſſert their own Notions. Theſe Men I make no Scruple to call Fools; for in truth they know nothing; not ſo much as what it is *to know*; ſo exceeding pert and confident are they; and inſult as if they carried Truth about in their *Pockets*, and it was their own incommunicable Property.

As for Men of Weak Judgments, and ſuch as are not able to ſtand upon their own Legs; it is very neceſſary they ſhould not be left alone, but ſeek a Support from perſons of better and more diſcerning Abilities: But Theſe are not concerned in my preſent Rule; it is their Misfortune to be born to Slavery, and out of all Capacity to enjoy the Freedom I am treating of.

But as for Wiſe Men, who are qualified for it, Men of Modeſty and Reſerve, and prudent Candor, It is the moſt compoſed State of Mind that can be, and puts us into a Condition of Firmneſs, and Freedom, of Stable and Uninterrupted Happineſs. * *We are ſo much leſs under Conſtraint than other Men, by how much more our Minds enlarge themſelves, and the Liberty of judging is preſerved entire.* This is a ſafe courſe to ſteer, and keeps us off from many dangerous Rocks and Shelves; which Warmth, and Raſhneſs, and a Poſitive conceited Humour Drives Men upon. It delivers us from the vain prepoſſeſſions of Fancy,

* Hoc liberiores & ſolutiores ſumus, quia integra nobis judicandi poteſtas manet.

and

and Popular Miſtakes; from the Precipitation of thinking wrong at firſt, and the Shame of retracting when we come to think better afterwards; from Quarrels and Diſputes, and engaging in, or becoming offenſive to Parties: For, take which ſide you pleaſe, you are ſure to have a great many againſt you; And a Zealous Eſpouſer of any Cauſe muſt unavoidably live in a conſtant State of Wrangling and War. In a Word, This Suſpenſion of the Judgment keeps us ſnug and under a Covert, where the Inconveniences and Calamities which affect the Publick will ſeldom ſenſibly affect, and ſcarce can ever involve us; At a diſtance from thoſe Vices and vehement Agitations, which ruffle and diſcompoſe firſt Men's own Minds, and then Human Society in general. For this Fierceneſs and Peremptorineſs, is at once the Spawn, and the Parent of Pride and Inſolence; Ambition and Vainglory, and Immoderate Deſires; Preſumption and Diſdain; Love of Novelty and Change; Rebellion and Diſobedience in the State; Hereſy and Schiſm in the Church; Faction, and Hatred, and Contention in Both. Theſe are all of the ſame lineage and deſcent. Theſe are begun, fomented, inflamed by your Hot, and Poſitive, and Opinionative Men; not by the Modeſt and Doubting Men, who are cautious and tender, never Over-confident of themſelves, and content to believe, that others are at leaſt in a poſſibility of being in the right; all which are but ſo many other Names for Wiſe, and well-temper'd Men.

5. I will advance yet one Step farther, and venture to affirm, that the Temper of Mind I am now recommending, is ſo far from having any ill Influence upon Piety, and Religion, that it is extremely well calculated to ſerve and promote it; whether we regard the firſt Propagation among Unbelievers, or Preſerving a due Reverence of it, where it is already received. Divinity, and eſpecially that part of it

which is Myſterious and Revealed, tells us plainly, that the Mind muſt be cleanſed and purified, in order to receive thoſe Heavenly Truths, and the Impreſſions of the Holy Spirit. That God will not inhabit our Souls, till all Corrupt Opinions as well as Affections are caſt out; for, with regard to both, we ſhall do well to underſtand thoſe Commands of *Purging away the old Leaven*, and *putting off the Old Man*. From whence we may collect, that the moſt compendious and ſucceſsful method of planting the Chriſtian Religion among Infidels, would be firſt to eſtabliſh them in the Belief of theſe following Propoſitions. "That all the Knowledge of this World hath "a large embaſement of Vanity and Falſhood attending it: That the Generality of Mankind are "deluded with fantaſtical Notions, the Forgeries of "their own Brain: That God created Man to the "End he might acquaint himſelf with the Divine "Nature and Diſpenſations, and employ his Soul, "and find his Happineſs in theſe noble Contemplations: But that, in this decayed and declining State, "Man is not capable of diſcovering Truth by his "own Strength: That there is conſequently a Neceſſity of God (who is Truth) manifeſting it to "him: That God hath in much Mercy vouchſafed "to do this by particular Revelations: That it is He "who inſpires Men with a Deſire of Truth, as well "as he provides for the Gratifying that Deſire: That "in order to diſpoſe and qualify our ſelves for being "inſtructed in the Divine Revelations, we muſt "abandon all worldly and carnal Opinions, and as "it were, bring our Minds, a pure blank for God "to write his Will in. When theſe Points are gained, and Men are in ſuch preparation to reſign themſelves to Truth, then it will be time to lay the foundations, and inſtil ſome of the firſt and plaineſt Principles of Chriſtianity: To ſhew them, "That "theſe Doctrines came down from Heaven: That

"the

" the Perſon, who vouchſafed to bring them was a " faithful Ambaſſador, and entire Confident of " God: One who knew his whole Will exactly: " That his Authority was abundantly confirmed, by " infinite Teſtimonies, ſuch as were miraculous, ſu- " pernatural, and ſo authentick proofs, becauſe capa- " ble of coming from no other Hand but God's on- " ly. Thus this Innocent and candid Suſpenſe and Unreſolvedneſs of Mind, would prove a happy In- ſtrument toward the creating, and firſt begetting a Knowledge and Belief of the Truth where it is not: Nor would the Efficacy of it be leſs in preſerving it, where it is planted, and hath taken root already. For ſuch a Modeſt Caution and Deference would undoubtedly prevent all manner of Singularity, and Daring Extravagance in Opinions; but to be ſure, it would abſolutely put a Stop to Hereſies and Pub- lick Diviſions. You will anſwer me perhaps, that the Temper I am deſcribing, As it is too full of In- difference to make any Hereticks, So is it too, to make any good Catholicks; and that the Danger of it is, At laſt degenerating into Scepticiſm, and want of Zeal for all Religions. Were the Condition of Religion the ſame in all points with That of other Notions, and Philoſophy in general, I allow there would be force in this Objection. But as it is, this is not to argue from my Rules, but to pervert them. I have already ſaid, That Religion ſtands upon a firm undoubted bottom of its own. That God in this differs from all his Creatures; that what- ever He ſays is exempted from the Common Rules of Enquiry; and there can but one Queſtion lye before us, which is, Whether he hath ſaid it or no. When once this appears to us, there is no room for ſuſpending our Judgments any longer; no pretence for Neutrality, or Liberty of Thought, nor a que- ſtioning *How theſe things can be? God cannot lye*, and we cannot err in believing Him; but for all things

elſe, the more cautious and curious, and the more looſe and diſengaged we keep our Mind with regard to Them, the Safer and Eaſier we ſhall be. I have made a ſort of Digreſſion here, in Honour of the Rule I am recommending, that thoſe who profeſs themſelves Enemies to it may find their great Objection obviated. In which, if I have treſpaſſed upon my Reader's Patience, I ask his pardon: And now to our Buſineſs again.

7. After theſe two Qualities, of Judging all things, and fixing our Minds obſtinately upon Nothing, follows the Third Qualification, which is, a Largeneſs, or Univerſality of Soul. By Virtue of This the Wiſe Man caſts his Eyes, expands and ſtretches out his Thoughts over all this vaſt Univerſe; with *Socrates* becomes a Citizen of the World, and takes in all Mankind for his Neighbours and Countrey-men. Looks down, like the Sun, with an equal, ſteady, and indifferent Eye, upon the Changes and Viciſſitudes here below, as things that cannot reach, nor have the power to change Him. This is the Security, the Privilege of a Wiſe Man, That which reſembles him to the Powers above, and renders him a ſort of God upon Earth. * *The Mind of Man* (ſays *Seneca*) *is a great and generous Being, and is bounded no otherwiſe than the Divinity it ſelf. The Wiſe Man is not confined to the ſame narrow compaſs with the reſt of the World. No Age, no Time, no Place limit his thoughts, but he penetrates and paſſes beyond them all. How agreeable is it to Nature for a Man to ſtretch his Mind infi-*

* Magna & generoſa res animus humanus, nullos Tibi poni, niſi communes & cum Deo terminos patitur: Non idem ſapientem qui cæteros terminus includit, omnia illi ſæcula ut Deo ſerviunt. Nullium Sæculum magnis ingeniis Clauſum; nullum non cogitationi pervium tempus. Quam naturale in immenſum mentem ſuam extendere? & hoc à Naturâ formatus homo ut paria Diis velit, ac ſe in ſpatium ſuum extendat.

nitely?

nitely? For Nature hath formed him to this very purpoſe, that he ſhould emulate the Gods, and like Them fill his own Infinite Space. This I confeſs is a ſort of Stoical Rant: But thus much is ſtrictly true; That the Braveſt, and moſt capacious Souls are always moſt of this Univerſal Temper; as on the Contrary, the meaneſt and moſt incapable, are moſt cramped, have the narroweſt Notions; and are always particular in their Judgments of Men and Things, apteſt to be poſitive themſelves, and to condemn all that diſſent from them. It is in Truth great Folly and Weakneſs, to imagine that all Nations are bound to think and act juſt as we do; and, that none live as they ought, who do not comply, and agree in every point with what obtains in our own little Village or our Native Countrey: to think, that the Accidents which happen to Us, are general and in common, and muſt needs affect and extend to the whole World equally. This Senſleſs Wretch, when you tell him of Opinions, and Cuſtoms, and Laws, directly oppoſite to thoſe he hath been bred up in; without more ado, condemns and expreſſes the greateſt Deteſtation of them imaginable, and rails at the people, as Rude and Uncivilized; or elſe he gives no credit to theſe accounts, but looks upon them, as the Romantick Tales of Travellers, who take liberties of repreſenting Foreigners very oddly to thoſe that cannot diſprove them; ſo abſolutely enſlaved are his Judgment and Affections to his own Municipal Conſtitutions; ſo impoſſible is it, as he thinks, that any but Theſe ſhould be true, or agreeable to Nature; and therefore he is verily perſuaded they muſt needs, or at leaſt ſhould be Univerſal too. It is exceeding common to traduce every thing with the Reproachful name of *Barbariſm*, that we do not fancy, or ſee frequently practiſed at home; and to depend upon the Example and the Ideas of the Perſons, with whom we converſe, the Notions and the Uſage of

our own Countrey, for the Teſt to diſtinguiſh Truth and Reaſon by. Now This is a mean and brutiſh debaſement of the Soul, which we ought to get above; and to enlarge it, by looking no longer upon this Picture of Nature in Little; but take a view of her, as ſhe is drawn at length, and in all her full proportions. The juſt Idea of Nature is to conſider her, as the Common Mother of us all; an Univerſal Queen, whoſe Authority and Dominion hath the ſame limits with the World, (nay, extends to more Worlds, if (as ſome eminent perſons have thought) more Worlds there be). This would inſpire us with becoming and Great Apprehenſions of her Majeſty, and Beauty; There we ſhould behold, as in an exquiſite painting, a conſtant and endleſs variety of Things, and the longer we gazed, the more our Entertainment and our wonder would be. Infinite Difference in Humours, diſagreeing Judgments, Opinions, Cuſtoms and Laws; Innumerable Diſorders, Commotions, and Alterations in States and Kingdoms; ſurprizing turns of Fortune in the Affairs of private Men; a World of Victories and Triumphs buried and loſt in the Rubbiſh of Time; many Noble Entries and Proceſſions, Pomps, and Grandeurs utterly vaniſhed; and as if the Courts and Princes celebrated by them had never been at all. And by taking ſuch a proſpect as this, and obſerving how ſuch different Things and Events, like Colours well mingled, conſpire to make up a general Portraicture of the World; we ſhall learn our own littleneſs, and be ſurprized at nothing; nor eſteem things at all new or incredible; nor be overtenacious and poſitive in vindicating our own, and condemning the Practice of others; ſince it is not neceſſary, or at all Eſſential to Beauty, that all who pretend to it, ſhould be of Our Complexion. And that the Darkneſs and Difference of other Nations, like the Shades in drawing, make a more grateful Variety;

Variety; and are all agreeable and uſeful, for ſetting forth the Skill, of the Great, the Divine Artificer, whoſe Workmanſhip the Original, and the Life is.

This large, brave, open, and univerſal Diſpoſition of Mind is indeed ſcarce to be found, and hard to be compaſſed; and it is not every common Man, that can aſpire to it. Nature hath not cut out all her Children for ſuch an Excellence; no more than ſhe hath qualified them all for that Wiſdom and Perfection it leads to. But yet there are ſeveral Conſiderations, that may be ſerviceable in helping us toward it. Such is, *Firſt*, what you find already inſiſted upon in the foregoing part of this Treatiſe, concerning the wonderful Variety, and vaſt difference obſervable in men; according to thoſe qualities of Body and Mind, which Nature hath diſtributed ſo very unequally among them. *Secondly*, Thoſe Differences Men have made among themſelves, by the diſagreeing Laws, and Cuſtoms, which obtain in ſeveral Nations, and Conſtitutions. To both which may be added the Strange Variety of Opinions which we find the Ancients received, and delivered down to Poſterity, concerning the Age, the Condition, and the Changes of the World; which yet to Us ſeem to be very Romantick and Extravagant. *The *Egyptian* Prieſts told *Herodotus*, that ſince the Reign of their firſt King (from which they reckoned down above Eleven thouſand years, and ſhewed the Statues of Him, and all his Succeſſors, in the draughts taken from the Life) the Sun had changed his courſe four ſeveral times. The *Chaldæans* in *Diodorus* his time, as He and *Cicero* both ſay, kept a Regiſter and Annals, comprehending the Space of Four

6.

B. 1. Ch. 37, 38.

* *Concerning thoſe* Egyptian *and* Aſſyrian *Calculations, ſee Biſhop* Pearſon *on the Creed*, Art. 1. Page 58, 59. *where he plainly refutes the Account, according to the common computation of years, from their own Authors.*

hundred

hundred thouſand years. *Plato* tells us, that the Citizens of *Sais* had Memorials in Manuſcript of Eight thouſand years ſtanding; and yet they owned, that the City of *Athens* was built a thouſand years before that of *Sais*. *Ariſtotle*, and *Pliny*, and others, pretend that *Zoroaſter* lived Six thouſand years, before *Plato* was born: Some have advanced a Notion of the World's Exiſting from all Eternity, that it hath been deſtroyed and revived again ſeveral times, and hath, and will for ever hereafter, go through many ſuch Viciſſitudes. Others and Thoſe ſome of the moſt renowned Philoſophers, have held the World to be a God; but yet of ſo inferior a Quality, as to derive its Form and preſent Being from another, and much greater God; or elſe, as *Plato*, and ſome others have been induced by the Motions of it, to affirm, with ſome degree of Confidence, that it is certainly an Animal, conſiſting of Body and Spirit: That the Soul or Spirit is lodged in the Centre of the Univerſe; but though its chief Reſidence be there, yet it expands it ſelf all over, to the very utmoſt parts of the Circumference, and that its Influences are conveyed and communicated in Muſical Numbers: That the ſeveral parts of it too, thus animated and directed, as the Heaven and the Stars for inſtance, are made up of a Body and Soul; and theſe, though Mortal in reſpect of their compounded Nature, are yet Immortal by the determination of their Almighty Creator. *Plato* ſays, That the World puts on quite another face; that the whole Scene is ſhifted; that the Heaven and Stars vary ſo much in their motions, as quite to change ſides; ſo that Before ſhall be Behind, and the Point which is *Eaſt* at one time, comes to be the *Weſt* at another. There hath alſo been an Opinion of great Authority, much countenanced and promoted by the moſt eminent Philoſophers, ſuitable to the Power and Majeſty of God; and grounded upon fair and probable Reaſons,

ſons, that there is a Plurality of Worlds; for we ſee no other thing ſingle or ſolitary but This, if This be ſo; All Species are multiplied in numbers, and therefore it is not unlikely, that God hath not left this part of his Workmanſhip quite deſolate and alone; nor exhauſted his whole power and skill in the forming of an Individual. Nay, even Divinity aſſures us, that God can make as many Worlds as he pleaſes; for upon a Suppoſition of the Contrary, we muſt affirm his Power to be but finite, becauſe this World is ſo. And That were a Notion contradictory to the abſolute Perfection of his Nature. Let it alſo be conſidered, how much we have learnt toward the Rectifying our Notions of this kind, by the Improvement of Navigation, and the Diſcoveries lately made of a New World in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*. For by this we are plainly convinced, that all the Ancients were in a groſs Error, when they imagined that they knew the utmoſt Extremities of the Habitable World; and had comprehended and delineated the whole Extent of the Earth in their Maps and Books of Coſmography, except only ſome few ſcattered remote Iſlands. And that they were perfectly in the dark about the *Antipodes*; For here, all on a ſudden, ſtarts up a New World juſt like our own Old one, placed upon a large Continent; inhabited, peopled, governed by Laws, and Civil Conſtitutions; canton'd out into Provinces, and Kingdoms, and Empires; adorned and beautified with noble Cities and Towns; larger, more magnificent, more delightful, more wealthy, than any that *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *Europe* can ſhew; and ſuch they have been ſome thouſands of Years. And have we not reaſon from hence to preſume, that Time will hereafter make freſh diſcoveries of other Lands yet unknown? If *Ptolomy*, and the Ancient Writers were miſtaken in their accounts heretofore, I would be very glad to know, what better Security any Man

Man can have of being in the right, who pretends that all is found out, and fully diſcovered now? If any man ſhall take the Confidence to be poſitive in this point, I ſhall take my liberty in believing him. Secondly, We find the *Zones*, which were look'd on as uninhabitable, are very plentifully peopled. Thirdly, We find by experience, that the things which we profeſs to value our ſelves moſt upon, and pretend to have had the earlieſt Intelligence of, have been received and practiſed in theſe lately-diſcovered Countries for a long time, and perhaps as ſoon and as long as we our ſelves have obſerved, or had notice of them. I do not pretend to determine whence they had it. And that, whether we regard Religious Matters, and ſuch as come to us by Revelation from Heaven; as for Inſtance, the Belief of One Single Man at firſt, the Univerſal Progenitor of all Mankind; the Univerſal Deluge; of a God that lived in human fleſh, and took the Subſtance of a pure and holy Virgin; of a Day of General Judgment; of the Reſurrection of the Dead; the Obſervation of Solemn Faſts; the Ornaments of thoſe that miniſter in Holy things; the Surplice and the Mitre particularly; the Reſpect paid to the Croſs; Circumciſion like that of the *Jews* and *Mahometans*; and Counter-Circumciſion, which makes it a point of Religion, to prevent all appearance of any ſuch thing upon their Bodies: Or, whether we regard Civil Conſtitutions; as That of the Eldeſt Son inheriting his Father's Eſtate; Patent Honours taking new Names, and Titles, and laying down that of their Families; Subſidies to Princes; Armories, and Fortifications: Diverſions of Players and Mountebanks; Muſical Inſtruments, and all kinds of Diverſion, in uſe in theſe parts of the World; Artillery, and Printing. From all which it is very natural to deduce theſe following Inferences. That this huge Body, which we call the World, is very different

different from the common Apprehenſions of Men concerning it. That it is not at all times, and in all places the ſame; but hath its Tides, its Ebbings and Flowings in perpetual Succeſſion: That there is nothing ſo confidently aſſerted and believed in one place, but is as generally received, as peremptorily maintained, nay, as fiercely contradicted and condemned in another. And that the Original of all this, whether Agreement, or Difference, is to be reſolved at laſt into the Nature of Man's Mind, which is ſuſceptible of Ideas of all ſorts: And that the World being in perpetual Motion, is ſometimes at greater, and ſometimes in leſs Agreement with it ſelf, in the ſeveral parts of it. That all things are comprehended within the general Courſe of Nature, and ſubject to the Great Director of Univerſal Nature; and that they ſpring up, are alter'd, decay, and are aboliſhed, according as He in his Wiſdom thinks fit to vary them, by the Change put upon Seaſons and Ages, Countries and Places, the Air, the Climate, the Soil, in which Men are born, and bred, and dwell. And laſtly, That, as our Predeceſſors were but Men, ſo We are no more; and ſince the Errors in Their Judgment of Things are manifeſt, this ſhould teach Us to diſtruſt and ſuſpect our own. And when Theſe Inferences are juſtly made, the Reſult of them muſt needs be, to be inſeparably wedded to no Opinion, to eſpouſe none of our Arguments and Speculations too eagerly; to be aſtoniſhed at nothing, though never ſo unuſual; not to loſe our Temper upon any Accident; But whatever happens, or how violent ſoever the Storm may be, to fix upon this Reſolution, and ſatisfy our ſelves in it; That it is but according to the Courſe of Natnre; and that He who governs the World works as he pleaſes; and proceeds by the Rules of his own Wiſdom; and therefore all we have to do, is to take a prudent Care, that nothing may hurt us through

through our own Weakneſs, or Inconſideration, or Dejection of Spirit.

Thus much I thought ſufficient and indeed neceſſary to be ſaid upon this perfect Liberty of Judgment, conſiſting of the Three Particulars ſo largely inſiſted on. And indeed ſo largely, by reaſon I am ſenſible, it is not ſuited to the Palate of the World; but denounces War againſt Pedants, and poſitive Pretenders; which are all of them Enemies to true Wiſdom, as well as to this Principle of Mine. The Advantages whereof have been ſufficiently repreſented already, the Miſchiefs it prevents, and the Tranquillity it brings. This was the particular Character of *Socrates*, that Father and Chief of the Philoſophers, and univerſally acknowledged as ſuch: By This, (as *Plutarch* ſays,) though he had no Offſpring of his own, yet he managed others ſo, as to make Them fruitful, and Midwif'd their Productions into the World. This Temper is in ſome ſenſe like that *Ataraxie*, which *Pyrrho*'s Sceptical Followers called the Supreme Happineſs of Man: But if that reſemblance be a little over-ſtrained, yet it may very well bear being compared to the Neutrality and Indifference, which the Sect of the Academicks profeſſed. And the Natural Effect of ſuch a Temper is to be diſcompoſed or aſtoniſhed at nothing; which *Pythagoras* thought the Sovereign Good, and *Ariſtotle* called the True Greatneſs of Soul. So *Horace*;

* *Not to Admire, as moſt are wont to do,*
It is the only Method that I know,
To make Men happy, and to keep them ſo.
Creech.

* Nil admirari prope res eſt una Numici,
Solaque quæ poſſit facere & ſervare beatum.
Horat. Epiſt. 6. L. 1.

And

And is it not a moſt amazing perverſeneſs that Men cannot be prevailed with to make the Experiment; nay, that they ſhould not bear to have it ſo much as recommended or mentioned; but prefer Slavery and Dependance, before living upon their own Stock, getting above Fortune, and making themſelves eaſy and Maſters at all times, and places, and upon all Accidents alike? May we not moſt juſtly cry out with *Tiberius*, more juſtly indeed than He did, (*O Wretches, born to be Slaves!*) How abſurd is it, that we, who are ſuch Patrons, and Sticklers for Liberty in the Caſe of our Bodies, Eſtates, and all other Properties, ſhould not bear to have our Mind free, which after all is the only Free-born thing, that belongs to any of us? We ſeek and employ conveniences fetch'd from all parts of the World, count no expence too great, for the Health, the Service, the Ornament of the Body; but grudge every thing for the improvement and enriching of the Mind. In ſhort, We are ſo partial, as to take all poſſible pains, that the Body may be at large, while the Soul is fettered, and coop'd up in Priſon.

7. *Liberty of the Will.*

The other Branch of this Liberty, in which the Will is concerned, is of yet greater value, and ought to be more endeavour'd after by a Wiſe Man, as indeed it is more ſerviceable to him, than the former. Now here I think it neceſſary to admoniſh my Reader, that the Matter under our preſent Conſideration, is not that Faculty and Privilege of Human Nature, which Philoſophers and Divines commonly ſtile Free-Will, nor ſhall we treat of it in the ſame Method with Them: But my meaning is, That a Wiſe Man ought to preſerve his own Eaſe and Quiet, to keep his Will and Affections free and diſengaged; and to lay them out upon very few objects; and thoſe ſuch as may juſtify his Choice; (For indeed the things that deſerve our Choice and challenge our Affections, if nicely examined, will be

be found but very few.) But this is not all; For even Thoſe, that deſerve them beſt, will not juſtify our Vehemence, and Eagerneſs, and immoderate Fondneſs of them. And here I find my ſelf under ſome neceſſity of encountring two very popular and plauſible Opinions. The One is That which teaches us to be always forward to ſerve other people; to lay aſide all thoughts of one's ſelf, for the ſake of our Neighbours; and eſpecially, when the Publick Good is concerned, pretends that no private Intereſt ought to come in Competition with it; And the Other prompts us to eſpouſe ſuch Matters with all poſſible Zeal, and to the very utmoſt of our power. He that declines the Former, is accuſed of wanting Good nature, and a publick Spirit; and He that is remiſs in the Latter, is ſuſpected of Coldneſs and Indifference; want of Generoſity, and the Zeal that is required of a Good Man, and in ſhort, reputed incapable of making a Friend. Now whatever there may really be at the bottom of theſe Opinions, yet it is plain, the World have overloaded the Foundation, and built ſuch Notions upon it, as exceed all Reaſon and Meaſure; and nothing can be more Romantick and Extravagant, than what we find delivered upon theſe Occaſions. For our Governors, who feel the Advantage of them, oftentimes infuſe Principles into us, not according to the true merits of the Cauſe, but in proportion as they perceive they may prove ſerviceable and beneficial: And it frequently falls out, that thoſe Opinions, which are in themſelves moſt reaſonable and true, are not moſt convenient to be generally entertained. And beſides this, Obſerving how natural the Love of our Selves and our own private Advantage is, and what Partialities and unreaſonable Exceſſes it is apt to carry us into, they thought it neceſſary to divert and draw us off as far from This as poſſibly; and ſo took the Common Courſe of bending the Crooked Stick the Contrary

Contrary way, that it might at laſt ſtand ſtrait by being forced toward the other Extreme.

But Theſe Opinions, when miſunderſtood, and 8.
miſapplied, (which is commonly the Fate of moſt Opinions, when they fall into the hands of a Multitude) occaſion great Injuſtice, and Diſorder, many Difficulties, and grievous Miſchiefs. As we may plainly obſerve in thoſe perſons, that ſnap at every bait of this kind; let themſelves out to hire as it were; and devote all their Time and Pains to the ſervice of other people. Theſe men do not only ſuffer themſelves to be managed, and taken abſolute Poſſeſſion of by their Friends; but they thruſt themſelves forward of their own accord, and will have an Oar in every Boat: It is indifferent to Them, whether the Matter concerns them, or not; whether it be of great conſequence, or of none at all; ſtill they Intereſs themſelves in all alike; for indeed they often do it merely to keep themſelves in Motion and Employment; It ſtirs their Spirits, puts their Soul into a pleaſing ſort of Agitation; and thus * *they are buſy purely becauſe they love to be ſo.* They cannot bear the having nothing to do; nor can they confine their Thoughts to their own Affairs; but either do not ſee, or careleſly overlook them: and ſo ſeek Employment abroad, and meddle and turn undertakers in things that are foreign and diſtant, as if they had nothing at all to do at home; no concerns that are eſſential and neceſſary to be followed; no perſonal, no domeſtick Cares, that lye upon their hands; ſuch as ought to be firſt diſpatched; and which, if duly attended to, would leave no room for Sloth, nor leiſure ſo great, as ſhould prove a Temptation to us, to turn Managers for other people, that we may keep our ſelves in Action. Many

* *In* Negotio ſunt negotij causâ.

of theſe perſons are good husbands of their purſe, and careful not to part with a Penny of Money, but upon valuable Conſiderations; but they are unreaſonably prodigal of their Soul, their Life; ſquander away their Time and their Pains, their Affections and their Will, moſt profuſely and unaccountably; dedicate Themſelves and all their Powers, to any occaſion that calls for their Aſſiſtance; And yet when all is done, Theſe are the valuable Treaſures, of which we ought to be exceeding choice and ſparing; and in ſuch Inſtances it is chiefly, that Frugality and good Management are commendable. But alas! the Perſons we ſpeak of are ſo far from this, that they glory in their Extravagance; act all with ſuch Violence, and Paſſion, that they are loſt to Reaſon and common Senſe; and never think they do enough, till they have engaged as deep as is poſſible; and given up their Perſons, and their Wits both, to the Cauſe they eſpouſe. Great Men make their Advantage of ſuch Tempers as theſe; Men that will be eager, and angry, and expoſe, nay loſe their lives upon pretences of Friendſhip, and Punctilio's of Honour and Reſpect, are ſpecial Tools for Their purpoſe. And they are not wanting to countenance and careſs them, throw out large Promiſes, and uſe a thouſand little Stratagems to draw them in, and fix them to their Party; But though Fools believe and are caught by them, yet Wiſe Men know this is all Trick and Deſign; that there is Deceit in the Bait, and Death upon the Hook; and that all their fair Carriage and large Promiſes are deſigned not at all to ſerve Us, but to ſerve themſelves of us.

9. Now, Firſt of all, This Temper we have been deſcribing, puts all into confuſion, expoſes the Mind to perpetual uneaſineſs, and brings it into a State of abſolute Slavery. It argues Ignorance of that, which every one ought to know, and that is, how much he

he owes to himſelf, and what the Obligations are, and the Offices ariſing from them, which are firſt and ſtrictly due at home. All which theſe perſons violate; for while they are ſo mighty officious, and liberal in the ſervice of other people, they injure and defraud themſelves; and ſpend that Stock of Eaſe and Comfort, which is their own due, and ought to be preſerved. Beſides; if we deſire Buſineſs, Providence hath cut us out enough of our own; let us but look at home, and diſcharge the Duty of our reſpective Stations diligently; but eſpecially, let us but look within; and we ſhall be far from finding any occaſion to ask for work of our Neighbours: The difficulty will then be to diſpatch that which they ask of Us; and inſtead of laying our ſelves out upon every bodies buſineſs beſides, we ſhall then find our hands full, and a neceſſity of keeping cloſe to our own. He that takes care to live as becomes his Virtue and his Honour; ſo as may preſerve his health, and give him a contented and cheerful Enjoyment of the World, hath enough to do; and He that neglects or impairs any of theſe, merely to do another ſervice, is ill adviſed; and under colour of Good-nature to his Friend, is guilty of great Injuſtice and Ill-nature to himſelf. To oblige and aſſiſt others, ſo far as may be conſiſtent with the ſecuring theſe things to our ſelves, is ſufficient; but to go beyond that, is to break our Duty in one particular, while we ſupererogate in another. He is an unreaſonable Man, that expects one ſhould ſacrifice his Virtue, or his Happineſs to him; and He is a very fooliſh Man, that will do it, if it be expected. And therefore I repeat again a Direction given juſt now, That a Man ought to eſpouſe and devote himſelf to but very few things; and to take care that theſe be ſuch, as will juſtify the ſetting his heart upon them; and They, to be ſure, can be but very few.

10. *Secondly*, This Eagerneſs of Intention and vehement concern is not only unfit and unjuſt in other reſpects, but it is alſo an Inconvenience to it ſelf. For it puts Men beſide their meaſures, and proves the greateſt hindrance and perplexity that can be, to that very Undertaking, which we are ſo impatient to accompliſh, and have ſet our hearts ſo much upon. As, when we ſtrive to go exceeding faſt, our legs ſink under us, or ſtep awry, or interfere, and ſtop one another. * *The very Swiftneſs of the Pace confounds it ſelf, ſo that even Haſt breeds delay. And he that begins too faſt is ſloweſt in finiſhing.* Thus it is likewiſe with the Mind of a Man, when Intoxicated with this forward and furious vehemence of Intention; he confounds and hampers himſelf; betrays himſelf to Indiſcretion and Injuſtice in his proceedings; renders himſelf ſuſpected, and hardly thought of, gives offence and ground of Reſentment to others; and puts his own Mind upon a perpetual Fret and Ferment; as oft as any thing happens, that either defeats or delays the Succeſs he is labouring after. † *Heat and Violence never manage any thing well.* We may obſerve it daily, what Advantages men loſe, and how great an Injury they do to themſelves, their Buſineſs, the Cauſe and Party they eſpouſe, by this want of Temper; even to the ruin of the faireſt and moſt promiſing Expectations, in matters of the greateſt Importance. And the thing is no leſs evident too, in the moſt common and inſignificant caſes. In a matter ſo frivolous as Play, for inſtance, where He that is eagereſt and moſt intent upon Winning, breaks the rules and proper methods, overlooks the advantages of the Game, and contri-

* Ipſa ſe velocitas implicat, unde Feſtinatio tarda eſt. Qui nimium properat ſeriùs abſolvit.

† Male cuncta miniſtrat —— Impetus.

butes

butes to his own Loſs. Whereas an Adverſary that plays calmly and ſedately, hath always his Eyes and his Wits about him; his Paſſion never tranſports his Reaſon; but he makes the beſt of every Chance, and does not only enjoy the Diverſion, but bid faireſt for the Succeſs. He makes his Feints, and Doubles; and lays hold on every favourable occaſion; if he fail of his deſign, he bears it with Moderation, and makes it up another time; is always ready to obſerve and to improve every Change of Fortune; and by jogging on leiſurely, and keeping the Reins in his own hand, comes ſooneſt and ſafeſt to his Journey's End.

II. This leads us to a Third Remark of very great Conſequence, which is, that this vehement and eager Zeal infects the Mind, and corrupts the Judgment. For while Men are addicted to one Perſon or Party, and wholly ſet upon promoting Their Advantage, they go furiouſly to work, and ſtrain every thing beyond its due pitch. They extol their Favourites and Partners in the ſame Cauſe with undeſerved Commendations; and load their Adverſaries with odious Characters, and falſe Accuſations; turn Superſtitious to the laſt degree; and interpret every Event as ominous, and a Prognoſtication of Good in favour of themſelves and Friends; and a plain declaration of Providence, againſt thoſe that are engaged in oppoſition to them. Nay, they carry this Folly ſo far, as not to ſee or allow any Virtue or Good quality in their Adverſaries; repreſent them as Vicious and Villains, and would have us believe, that all who think, and act, and deſign otherwiſe, than They themſelves do, muſt be either Knaves, or Fools, and Madmen; and thoſe who are more juſt and moderate in their Sentiments, that obſerve any real Virtues, and give due Praiſes to thoſe that differ from them, are preſently ſuſpected to be of the ſame Party and Principle; merely for their Charity in

vindicating or excuſing, and not running into the ſame Exceſſes of Partiality and Prejudice, the ſame unreaſonable Cenſures and Condemnations, with theſe hot-headed Zealots. Whereas indeed nothing can be more extravagant, than to imagine that a Man who is not one of Us cannot poſſibly be a Good Man; and that he may not, for the main, or at leaſt in ſome caſes where the Point in difference is no way concerned, be very honeſt and commendable, though it be his unhappineſs, to be under a wrong perſuaſion, and in ſome particulars embarqued in the Intereſt or Opinions of thoſe who are very naughty Men. That Paſſion ſhould commit a violence upon the Will, is but too much; but that it ſhould debauch and blind the Judgment, and deſtroy Charity and common Senſe, is abominable, and not to be endured. And Men ſhould by all means think themſelves obliged to proceed with Equity and Candor; to ſee and to acknowledge Goodneſs, whereever it is to be found, though in the worſt and moſt miſtaken Enemies; and not to palliate, or overlook, much leſs to defend and applaud the Vices and Follies of our Friends and Followers; but to lay aſide all private Conſiderations, and frankly to expreſs our Deteſtation of theſe things, let the perſons guilty of them be who, or what they will. The contrary wicked practice (for a very wicked one it is) ſeems to proceed in great meaſure from want of conſidering and diſtinguiſhing aright, what the Points in difference are, and how far they extend. For it is moſt certain, that where the Controverſy is no way concerned, we ought to behave our ſelves with all manner of Indifference; and paſs fair and equitable Judgments, as we would do, ſuppoſing no Diſpute or Diſagreement at all. And Reſentments ſhould never be carried beyond that particular Subject which provokes them; nor Anger, of all Paſſions, ſuffered to grow general and unlimited.

unlimited. And Theſe are ſome of the many Evils, which too great Eagerneſs and Intention of Mind naturally brings upon Men, let the Matter we ſet our hearts ſo much upon, be what it will; for this Diſpoſition is capable of Exceſs, and liable to Inconveniences, when fixed upon the very beſt Object; and a Man may ſuffer by being too vehement and hot, in the purſuit even of Goodneſs and Wiſdom it ſelf.

12. Now in order to moderate this Affectionate Earneſtneſs, and reduce the Mind to due Temper; every Man ought to remember, that the moſt important thing given us in charge by God and Nature, that to which we have the ſtrongeſt Obligations, and conſequently ſuch as ought to be firſt ſatisfied, is, That Every Man ſhould look well to his conduct: This good management of our ſelves is the very buſineſs upon which we were ſent into the World at firſt, and are continued in it ſtill. And this Duty we do by no means diſcharge faithfully, except the Peace, and Tranquility, and Liberty of our Minds be conſulted and preſerved. And preſerved theſe cannot be, unleſs we make it our Principle and Rule, to Lend our ſelves to a Friend, but to Give our ſelves up to none but our ſelves; to take buſineſs in hand, but not to lay it to heart; to bear it as a burden, and be content with ſuſtaining the weight of it upon our ſhoulders, but not to incorporate and unite with it, by making it inſeparable and a part of our ſelves; to beſtow all poſſible Diligence, but not to miſplace and throw away our Affections, upon it; to faſten eagerly upon very few things, and to ſtick to them only ſo, as ſtill to continue at our own diſpoſal, and be diſengaged eaſily, and at our pleaſure. This is the true, the ſovereign Remedy, againſt all the Inconveniences and Uneaſineſſes formerly mentioned; and this is not any ſuch ſelfiſh or narrow-ſpirited advice, as ſome

may imagine. It does not condemn or exclude any of thoſe Duties or good Offices required from us; it does no prejudice to the Publick, our Friends, or our Neighbours; ſo far from That, that it is moſt certain We are bound by all the Tyes of Honour and Religion, to be courteous and kind, aſſiſting and ſerviceable to one another; to comply with the Cuſtoms and Occaſions of the World, and apply our ſelves to the obſervance of the one, and the Supply of the other, as our Circumſtances will permit; and in order hereunto, every man is obliged to contribute to the Common Good; and conſcientiouſly to perform all thoſe Duties and mutual Offices, which any way concern him, as a Member of the Body Politick, and may conduce to the Benefit of Human Society. * *He that is a Friend to himſelf, is a Friend to all Mankind*; for the Love and Care of one's ſelf is ſo far from engroſſing, and confining all we can do to our own ſingle perſons; that it implies, and puts us upon the being as univerſally beneficial, and diffuſing our Powers, as far and wide as we can. But ſtill, I muſt inſiſt upon it, that the moſt generous Inclinations and Endeavours of this kind ought to be tempered with Moderation and Prudence; and no Man is publick-ſpirited as he ſhould be, unleſs he be diſcreet withal; and That in theſe Two reſpects particularly. Firſt, Not to apply, or lay himſelf out upon every occaſion that offers indifferently; but firſt to ſit down, and conſider well the Juſtice, the Reaſonableneſs, and the Neceſſity of the thing; whether it will anſwer his deſign, and be worth his pains. And if this were done, a world of trouble might be ſpared. Then Secondly, That even thoſe occaſions, which have the beſt Title to his Application, may be followed

* Qui ſibi amicus eſt, hunc omnibus ſcito eſſe amicum.

without

without Violence and Vexation of Mind. A Man ſhould contract his Deſires, and bring them within as ſmall a Compaſs as he can; The Little he does deſire, ſhould be purſued with Temper, and be deſired moderately; His application ſhould be free from Anxiety, and Diſtraction: And in any the moſt Important Matters that we undertake, we may be allowed to employ our Hands, our Feet, our Tongue, the Attention of our Thoughts, the Sweat of our Brows, all proper means in order to the effecting them, nay, to ſpend our Blood, and hazard our Lives, if the occaſion require it; but ſtill all this is to be done with a Reſerve; calmly and conſiderately, without Paſſion and Torment; without Fretfulneſs and Impatience. A Man muſt always preſerve the Government and Command of himſelf; the Health of his Body, the Soundneſs of his Mind, the Tranquility, and Eaſe of both, ſo far as is poſſible. For Succeſs does by no means depend upon Heat, and Forwardneſs, and an Impetuous Eagerneſs of the Will; but is much oftner and better attained without it; and the Cooler our proceedings are, the greater Expectations we may entertain from them. It is a vulgar and a very groſs Miſtake, that no Affair is undertaken heartily and to purpoſe, without a great deal of Noiſe, and Hurry, and Buſtle. For, as I have already ſhewed, theſe only diſorder and perplex the Cauſe; put Men beſide their Byaſs, and are ſo many freſh Obſtructions. How common a thing is it to obſerve vaſt numbers of Men, who venture their perſons in the Wars, and are in daily, hourly peril of their Lives; without any anxious Concern at all; they march up to the Cannon's mouth when their Poſt requires it, and puſh on to Action, and yet neither the Hazard, nor the Loſs of the Battels they fight, ever breaks them one Night's reſt; They conſider, This is their Duty, and upon that Conſideration they diſcharge

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it chearfully. And yet at the ſame time that you ſee the Camp and the Field ſo eaſy, and void of Care; a Splenetick Politician, who never had the Courage to look Danger in the Face, ſhall ſit you at home, and teaze and afflict himſelf with the Event of this Engagement; and be a thouſand times more perplexed and mortified with any ill Succeſs, than thoſe very Soldiers, who ſpend their Blood, and ſtake down their Lives, in the Service.

13. In a word; We muſt learn to underſtand our ſelves, and our Condition; and diſtinguiſh aright, between our private and perſonal, and our publick Capacities. For every one of us is under a double Character, and hath two parts to play. The one external, and viſible, but ſomewhat foreign and diſtant; the other domeſtick, and proper, and eſſential to us. Now though our Shirt be next to our Skin, yet according to the Proverb, we ſhould always remember, that how near ſoever our Shirt may be, our Skin is ſtill nearer to us. A Judicious perſon will diſcharge his Duty to the Publick, and fill an Office well; and yet at the ſame time will diſcern the Folly, and Wickedneſs, and Cheat, which a Publick Station expoſes him to the practice of. He will not decline the thing; becauſe it is agreeable to the Cuſtom and Conſtitution of his Countrey; it is neceſſary and uſeful to the Publick, and perhaps advantagious to himſelf: He will ſubmit in many things to do as the World does, becauſe the Reſt of Mankind live at the ſame rate; and ſince he cannot mend the World, it is to no purpoſe to diſturb it, by being ſingular. But ſtill he will look upon this, as a matter ſomewhat foreign, and conſider this Character as adventitious and accidental, not natural to him; it is what he is obliged to put on, and appear in; but he was not born with it, nor is it a part of him. And therefore he will always exerciſe it with all due Limitations and Reſervations; and not

not ſo embark in Buſineſs, as to be quite ſwallowed up in it: but manage Matters ſo, that he may ſtill enjoy himſelf; and be free and eaſy with a particular Friend; or at leaſt, within his own Breaſt; not ſo ſerve the World, as to neglect, and be out of a Condition to ſerve himſelf; nor endeavour the Benefit of others, at the Expence or Loſs of a Good, that is truly and properly his own.

CHAP. III.

True and Subſtantial Integrity of Mind, the firſt and fundamental part of Wiſdom.

THE Directions laid down in the two foregoing Chapters, being ſuch Preparations, as were thought neceſſary for diſpoſing aright, the perſon who aſpires after Wiſdom, and qualifying him to make ſucceſsful progreſs in it; That is, By removing the Obſtructions, and clearing his Mind of Prejudices; and ſetting it at large from the Slavery and Confinement of Popular Opinions, and private Paſſions: and alſo by advancing to that noble and happy Freedom of Thought and Will already deſcribed; that from hence, as from ſome advantagious riſing ground, he may take a full proſpect, and arrive at a clear and diſtinct Knowledge, and attain to an abſolute Maſtery, over all the Objects and Things that occur to him here below; (which is the peculiar Character and Privilege of an exalted and refined Soul;) It may now be ſeaſonable to advance in the Method propoſed at our Entrance into this Book; by giving ſome fit Inſtructions and general Rules of Wiſdom. The Two Firſt whereof, are 1.

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ſtill but in the nature of Prefaces to the Main Work; neceſſary to be laid in the Quality of Foundations, upon which to raiſe this Glorious Superſtructure. And the Former and Principal of theſe two, deſigned for the Subject of This Chapter, is *Probity*, and *Sincerity*.

That true Honeſty and Integrity of Heart and Life is the Firſt, the Chief, the Fundamental Point of True Wiſdom, is an Aſſertion, which it may perhaps be thought needleſs for me to give my ſelf any great trouble in proving. For in truth, all Mankind agree in highly extolling, and zealouſly pretending to it; (though it is but too manifeſt, that what ſome do in this kind ſeriouſly, and out of Conſcientious regard to their Duty, and the real Worth of this Virtue; others put on only, to ſet the beſt face upon the matter; and are compelled to diſſemble from Shame, and Fear, and the Ill-conſequences of avowing the contrary.) Thus far then the whole World is agreed; that Honeſty is recommended, and reſpected, and at leaſt complimented; every Man profeſſes to be paſſionately in love with it, and ſubſcribes himſelf its *moſt Faithful*, *moſt Affectionate*, and *moſt Devoted Servant*. So that I may ſpare my ſelf the pains of arguing in behalf of the Thing in general; but I am afraid notwithſtanding, it will prove no ſuch eaſy matter to make Men agree with the Notions of that, which in my eſteem is the True and Eſſential Honeſty, and to perſuade the as univerſal Love, but eſpecially the univerſal practice of That, which I think neceſſary upon this occaſion. For as to That, which is in common vogue, and uſually reputed ſuch; though the World I know are generally ſatisfied, and trouble themſelves ſo little about underſtanding or attaining to any thing better, that (except a very few Wiſe Men,) they have no Ideas, no Wiſhes beyond this; yet I make no difficulty to affirm, that it is all but a ſpurious and counterfeit Virtue;

Virtue; Sham and Trick; and the product of Art and Study, Fallhood and Disguise.

2. *False Appearances of it.*

Now first of all, We cannot but be sensible, that Men are very often drawn on, and pusht forward to good Actions by several sorts of Motives. Sometimes such as are by no means commendable; As Natural Defects, and Infirmities, Passion and Fancy, nay sometimes by Vice, and Things in their own Nature Sinful. Thus Chastity, and Sobriety, and Temperance of all sorts, may be, and often are, owing to a weak Body, and tender Constitution, which cannot support Excess. Contempt of Death, to Peevishness and Discontent; Patience under Misfortunes, Resolution and Presence of Thought in Dangers, to Want of Apprehension and Judgment, and a due sense, how great or imminent the Danger is. Valour, and Liberality, and Justice, are often inspired and practised by Ambition and Vainglory; the Effects of good Conduct, discreet Management, of Fear, and Shame, and Avarice. And what a World of renowned and noble Exploits have been owing to Presumption and Foolhardiness; Rashness and Inconsideration? Thus, what we commonly call Actions and Instances of Virtue, are in reality no better than Masks, and counterfeit Appearances of it: They have the Air and the Complexion, but by no means the Substance of it. So much resemblance there is, that the Vulgar, who are no Criticks in Faces, may easily mistake the one for the other; and so much of good there is in the Effects and Consequences of such Actions, that other people may be allowed to call them Virtuous; but it is impossible the person himself who does them, should esteem them such; or that any considering Man can either allow them this Character, when nicely examined; or think one jot the better of the Man that does them. For Interest, or Honour, or Reputation, or Custom and Compliance,

or

or ſome other Cauſes altogether foreign to Virtue, will be found at the bottom; and however beautiful the Front may be, the Foundation is rotten and ſtark naught. Sometimes very great and ſurprizing things are the Reſult of nothing better, than mere Stupidity and Brutiſhneſs; which gave occaſion for that Reflection, That Wiſdom and Inſenſibility met together in the ſame Point, and both of them felt and hardened themſelves alike under Accidents and Misfortunes. From all which, and a great deal more, that might be ſaid, it appears, how exceeding dangerous and uncertain a method thoſe men take, who look no further than the outward Face of things, and from the actions, as we ſee them, form a peremptory Judgment of the Probity, or the Diſingenuity of the Perſon. Whereas, for a right underſtanding of this matter, we ought to take a diſtinct view of the Inſide; examine the whole Movement; and mark well what Springs they are, that ſet it on going. For it often happens, that very ill men do very good, and commendable, and beneficial Actions: And both Good and Bad men reſtrain themſelves, and avoid Evil; but though both abſtain alike, yet they do it out of very different Principles, as *Horace* hath obſerved pertinently enough to this purpoſe,

* *So Crafty Foxes dread the ſecret ſnare;*
The Kite and Hawk, although the Bait be fair,
Yet never Stoop, where they Suſpect a Gin.
The Good for Virtue's Sake abhor a Sin;
'Tis fear of Puniſhment reſtrains Thy Will.
Give leave; How eagerly wouldſt Thou be ill?
Horace *by* Creech.

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* Cautus enim metuit foveam Lupus Accipiterque
Suſpectos laqueos, & opertum Milvius hamum.
Oderunt peccare Boni Virtutis amore,
Tu nihil admittes in Te formidine pœnæ;
Sit Spes fallendi, miſcebis Sacra profanis. *Hor.* Epiſt. xvi. L. 1.

To

To make a juſt diſcovery of the Man, and inform our Selves, what is Honeſty and Sincerity indeed, the Actions are too weak an Evidence, and he that goes no farther, can know nothing. Theſe are only the groſs Subſtance, a Copy of his Countenance, and the Counterfeit Luſtre of a Falſe Stone; The Jewel cannot be diſtinguiſhed with ſo ſuperficial a view; it is not enough to hear the Sound, we muſt judge the Harmony, and know what Hand it is, that moves the Strings. For the Motive and Cauſe is the Life, and Soul of all, and gives both Being and Denomination to the whole Action. This is the only Mark we have to judge by; and every Man is chiefly concerned to take care that This be pure, and good, and in every regard what it ought to be. All which depends upon the Uprightneſs of the Intention, and Unblemiſh'd Honeſty of the Heart; and that is the very Quality we are now looking after.

3. *What notions the world have of it.*

That Integrity, which paſſes in common Eſtimation for the True, and is generally recommended and extolled, and which indeed is all, that thoſe who have the Character and Commendation of Juſt, and Honeſt, and Fair-dealing men pretend to, is at the beſt but a mean, and formal, and pedantick Virtue: Such as is a Slave to Laws, and takes its Meaſures from thence; is check'd and kept under by Hope and Fear; is acquired, learned, produced and practiced upon the account of, and in ſubmiſſion to the Religion we profeſs, the Government we live under, the Cuſtoms of our Country, the Commands of our Superiors, the Examples of Them we converſe with, bound up in Forms, and limited by the Letter of the Law; an effeminate, poor-ſpirited Honeſty, perplexed with Doubts, and Scruples, and Terrors of Conſcience. For ſome People never think themſelves innocent, and as they ſhould be; when their Minds are quiet, and eaſy, and void of Fear.

Fear. Now ſuch an Honeſty as this, muſt not only be mutable and manifold in ſeveral parts of the World, and vary as the Religion, and Laws, and Examples, and Forms and Modes of the Countries, where men happen to converſe, ſhall vary; (For where the Springs of Action change, the whole Movement muſt needs change proportionably). But, which is yet more to its diſparagement, it muſt needs be irregular, and unequal; inconſiſtent with it ſelf; floating and unſettled; full of Ebbings and Flowings, Intervals of Heat and Cold; inconſtant and precarious; depending on the Events and Succeſſes of Affairs; the Offering of Occaſions, and Interpoſition of ſudden Emergencies; the Difference of Perſons and Circumſtances; and a thouſand other unforeſeen Accidents, which move this Man and his Virtue, as a Boat is moved by Sails and Oars, by ſudden ſtrokes and ſpurts; and guſts and puffs of Wind. In a word, Theſe Men are good purely by Chance, by fits and ſtarts; by external and very diſtant motives; and not in reality, and by virtue of a fix'd and governing Principle. This Defect of theirs is what not only ſtanders by, but even themſelves are inſenſible of; they never obſerve, nor diſcover their own imperfections, but it were eaſy to ſhew them to themſelves, and make the thing plain to them, by holding a ſtiff Rein, obſerving them more nicely and diſtinctly; and quickning their attention a little. And indeed nothing would be a more effectual Conviction of their Deficiency, than the mighty inequality of their Actions and Tempers, and their own Diſagreement with themſelves. For in one and the ſame caſe, you ſhall find them coming to quite different reſolutions and determinations; and acting in direct contradiction, to what they have done before. Sometimes they are ſo heavy and dull, that neither Whip nor Spur can get them forward; and preſently upon

upon the full speed, that no Bit can stop them. Now this prodigious unevenness and difference of Behaviour is occasioned by the difference of those external Motives, by which they are governed and managed; And as These sometimes agitate and heat them violently, swell, and multiply; or grow lukewarm and cold, and flag and droop again; so must Their Virtue and Zeal needs increase and abate accordingly; and thus it distinguishes it self from Real and Substantial Virtue, by that Property natural to all Accidents; which is, the being capable of Augmentation and Diminution; and so of no better Extract, than all those Qualities, whose dishonour it is, according to the Terms of the Schools, *Recipere magis & minus.*

4. *What it is in Truth.*

Now That True and Substantial Integrity, which I insist upon at present as a necessary qualification, in order to Wisdom, is free, and easy; void of Affectation and Constraint; masculine and generous; pleasant and chearful; equal and uniform; constant and steady; magnanimous and brave; keeping on its own course, and never looking to the right hand, or to the left; never standing still, or slackning, or quickning its pace; upon the account of Wind or Weather; Accidents and Occasions may change, but This continues always the same. It is not in the power of any thing to alter or shake it; my meaning is, that the Man's Judgment and Will are fixed and immutable; and the Soul, where this Integrity hath taken up its Residence, is never to be corrupted, or diverted to dishonest purposes. For the Sincerity of the Heart is the Virtue we are treating of; There it is lodged, by That we must judge; for External Actions, and those especially that are of a publick Capacity and Importance, are of a Nature and Consideration very different from this; as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when my Method brings me to treat of them distinctly.

5. Of this I ſhall give my Reader ſome deſcription, when I have firſt deſired him to recollect what was ſaid in the Preface; and that in agreement to the deſign of this Treatiſe, I ſpeak of Probity and Wiſdom at preſent, as Virtues purely Human, ſuch as entitle a Man to the Character of an Honeſt or a prudent Man with regard to Civil Affairs, and common Converſation; without any reſpect at all to the Chriſtian and more exalted ſenſe of the thing. Of which nevertheleſs, though Foreign to the general Intent of my Book, I ſhall take occaſion to ſay ſome little matter, before I leave this Subject.

The true Spring and Source of this Probity is Nature; which obliges a man to be ſuch as he ought to be; that is, to conform, and govern himſelf according to her Dictates and Directions. For Nature maintains a twofold Character, and is at once a Miſtreſs to Command, and a Law to teach, and ſet us out our Duty. With regard to the former of theſe Capacities, there is an Internal, Univerſal, that is, a natural Obligation incumbent upon every Man, to be an honeſt, ſincere Man, and ſo to anſwer the End of his Creation. And This is an Obligation ſo ſtrong, an Inducement ſo weighty, that no one need look for any greater, any additional Motives; nor indeed is it poſſible, to find any that deſerve greater Deference and Regard; any antecedent to it, ſince its Validity is of the ſame date with our Selves, and both It and We came into the World together. Every Man ought to make it his buſineſs and care to be a good Man, upon this very account, becauſe he is a Man; for he who is regardleſs of this point, is a Monſter, renounces himſelf, reproaches his Nature, and in effect ceaſes to be, what he appears, and uſurps a Form, which of Right belongs not to him. This Probity muſt alſo be of its own growth, without Cultivating or Conſtraint; that is, It muſt proceed from an Internal Principle, which God

God hath wrought into our Nature and Constitution; and not be the effect of Accident, or any foreign Inducement. No Man, whose Will is uncorrupt, would chuse a thing in its declension, as debased and fallen from its natural Perfection; It is a Contradiction to pretend a Man desires a thing, and that he is indifferent at the same time, whether it be what it ought, and have all the Commendable Qualities of right belonging to it. A Man is solicitous to have all his parts in their true Perfection; his Head, his Eyes, his Judgment, his Memory, his whole Body; nay, the very Conveniences and Accoutrements belonging to that Body; and shall his Will and his Conscience be the only neglected things about him? Shall it be no part of his Care whether These have their due Integrity or not? I would have a Man resolute in Goodness, though it were but purely upon his own account, and in regard to his Character as he is a Man; sensible, that to Act otherwise, is, as much as in him lies, to abandon and destroy himself; and thus Probity will be an Internal Principle, as essential to, and of a piece with him, as He is with himself. No external Cause is capable of being a sufficient Foundation for it, because all such are foreign and accidental; and as such are liable to Changes and Decays; and whenever the Foundation sinks, the Superstructure must of necessity tumble with it: If a Man be virtuous and just for the sake of his Reputation, or any other Advantage, What Obligation will this be to his Retirements, to his Solitary Actions? Take off the Hopes of his Virtue being known, and you either take off the whole thing, or cool, and check his vigour in the practice of it. If fear of Laws and Punishments restrain him; put him but in a way to elude the Laws, and escape publick Discovery; and what shall secure his Honesty then? So poor, so precarious; so uncertain a thing is this Occasional Virtue:

And yet This is the Virtue in vogue, and what very few riſe beyond. As the World goes, 'tis very well if all theſe Conſiderations will prevail upon Men to do what becomes them; nay if their Actions be commendable or blameleſs, whatever their ſecret Diſpoſitions are. Now I expect, in the perſon whom this Treatiſe undertakes to form, a Probity that will ſtand upon its own bottom; ſo firmly rooted, that you can no more ſeparate it from the Man, than you can his very human Nature it ſelf. I expect he ſhould never yield to do an Ill thing, though he could be aſſured it will never be known. For is it poſſible to conceal it from himſelf? And if his own Conſcience be privy to it, what need any farther Witneſſes? This One is more than all the World beſides. By the ſame reaſon he muſt be as obſtinately good, notwithſtanding any Recompence which would bribe him to be otherwiſe; for it is impoſſible he ſhould receive a valuable Conſideration in this Caſe; and nothing can be ſo near to him, as his own Eſſence, which Wickedneſs impairs and corrupts. To yield upon ſuch Temptations, is like the being content with a very ill Horſe, provided a Man have an embroider'd Saddle. I muſt therefore inſiſt upon it, that being a Man, and taking care to live as becomes one, that is, taking care to be a ſincere good Man, ſhould always go together, and be above the power of all the World to ſeparate them. This particular I think is ſufficiently urged, let us now proceed to the next.

6. Now the Model and Pattern, the Spring and Source of this Integrity, is the Law of Nature; by which I mean Univerſal Equity and Reaſon, that Candle of our Maker lighted up in every breaſt, to guide, and ſhine in us perpetually. For This is the Dictate and Direction of God himſelf; He is the King, and This the Fundamental Law of the Univerſe, a Ray and Beam of the Divine Nature, that flows

flows from, and hath a necessary Connection and Dependence upon that Eternal and Immutable Law, which the Almighty prescribes to his own Actions. A Man that proceeds upon this Principle, is his own Rule; for he acts in agreement with the noblest and most valuable part of his Nature. This Man's Honesty is Essential to, and Inseparable from him; not precarious and uncertain, and owing merely to Chance and Occasion; For this Light and Law is born with, and bred in us; a piece of our Frame, and Original Constitution; and from thence obtains the Name of *Nature*, and *the Law of Nature*. Such a Man by consequence will be a good Man constantly, and at all times; his Virtue will be uniform and even; every Place, every Emergency will find him the same. For this Law of Nature is perpetual; the Obligation of it is lasting and inviolable; the Equity and Reason of it are Eternal; written in large and indelible Characters; no Accident can deface them, no length of time waste or wear them out; even Wickedness it self, by the Customary Habits whereof the positive and additional Improvements of this Law, are corrupted; yet cannot debauch, or exterminate these first and Natural Notions; no Place, no Time can alter or disguise them; but they continue every where the same. The Collections inferred from them differ infinitely, but these first Principles themselves, which are the Ground of all Moral Institutions, admit of no Change, no Increase, no Abatement; no Fits and Starts, no Ebbings and Flowings; but, as they are a part of our Substance, so do they agree with what the Schools say of all Substances in general, * that it is contrary to their nature *to be more or less* than they are. Why then, Vain Man, dost

* Substantia non recipit magis & minùs.

thou trouble thy ſelf, to ſeek abroad for ſome Law and Rule to Mankind? What can Books or Maſters tell thee, which thou mighteſt not tell thy ſelf? What can Study or Travel ſhew, which at the expence of much leſs pains thou might'ſt not ſee at home, by deſcending into thy own Conſcience, and hearkning attentively to its Admonitions? When Ignorance of this kind is pretended, the ſame Reply is fit for Thee, which would be given to a ſhuffling Debtor; who, when Payment is demanded, profeſſes not to know how the Money became due, when all the while he hath the Bill about him: For thou carrieſt the Bond, and the particulars of thy Debt in thy own Boſom; and what thou ſeekeſt Information of from others, canſt not but know, if thou conſult thy Self.

To what purpoſe is all this Labour and Coſt; the toilſome tumbling over of Codes, and Inſtitutes; of Precedents, and Reports; of Statutes and Records, when all theſe are contained in one ſmall portable Volume? The Two Tables of *Moſes*, the Twelve Tables of the *Greeks*, the Law written in the hearts of Them who had no Law; and in ſhort, all the Rules of Equity, and Good Laws, that have any where been enacted, and obtained in the World, are nothing elſe but Copies and Tranſcripts produced in open Court, and publiſhed from that Original, which thou keepeſt cloſe within thee, and yet all the while pretendeſt to know nothing of the matter; ſtifling and ſuppreſſing, as much as in thee lies, the Brightneſs of that Light, which ſhines within; and ſo falling under the Condemnation of thoſe mentioned by the Apoſtle, *who hold*, or detain *the Truth of God in Unrighteouſneſs*. If This have not been ſufficiently publiſhed, and promulged as loud, as clear, as intelligibly as other humane Laws, the only Reaſon is, that that Light which is really All-heavenly and Divine, hath been put under a Buſhel, that

Rom. 2. 12.

Rom. 1. 18.

that is, too much neglected, and industriously forgotten. All other Institutions are but so many Rivulets and Streams derived from this common Source: And although they be more visible, and obvious, and express, yet is not the Water they carry so copious, nor so lively and pure, as that of the unseen Spring within thy own Breast; if thy own Negligence did not suffer it to waste and dry up. It is not, I say, so Copious; for as one well observes, * *What a world of Good Offices are there, which Piety, Humanity, Liberality, and Fidelity require from a Man, and yet no written or positive Law ever prescribed?* Alas! how poor and scanty a thing is that Honesty of your Formal and Hypocritical Pretenders, who stick to the Letter of the Law, and think, when That is satisfied, they have fully discharged their Duty; whereas there are infinite Obligations incumbent upon a Man, which no human Law ever binds upon him. † *He that is honest only in the Eye of the Law, hath but a very slender sort of Innocence to boast; for the Measure of our Duty is of a much larger extent, than the Law can pretend to.* "There are infinite Cases un-
"foreseen; sudden Emergencies, and extraordinary
"Conjunctures; the Occasions and Circumstances
"whereof are too many and too intricate, for any
"human Wisdom to foresee; and much more im-
"possible for it to make any competent Provision
"for; so that a Man must often be left to his own
"Judgment and Discretion; and, even where he is
"not, a Good Man will sometimes think the Rule
"too narrow; and disdain to confine or cramp up
"his Virtue within the Compass of that, which was

* Quàm multa Pietas, Humanitas, Liberalitas, Fides exigunt, quæ extra Tabulas sunt?

† Quàm angusta Innocentia ad Legem bonum esse; latiùs Officiorum quàm Juris patet Regula.

" thought neceſſary to be impoſed upon every Com-
" mon Man." And as this inviſible Fountain within is more exuberant and plenteous; ſo is it more lively, and pure, and ſtrong, than any of thoſe Streams derived from it. Of which we need but this ſingle Teſtimony; That, whenever any Diſputes ariſe about the Interpretation and right Execution of a poſitive Law, the conſtant and beſt Method of Underſtanding the Equity and true Intent of it, is by running it back to its firſt Head, and obſerving what is moſt agreeable to the Law of Nature in the Caſe; This is the Teſt and Touch, This the Level and the Truth, by which all the reſt are to be judged. For, as we commonly ſay, * *Reaſon is the Soul and Life of the Law*; here we find things clear and limpid in their Source, which when drawn out into Rivulets, grow foul and ſullied, by all that Faction, and Intereſt, Ambition, and ſerving of Parties, which corrupt all human Sanctions and Eſtabliſhments.

And thus I have deſcribed to you a Real, Subſtantial, Radical, Fundamental Honeſty; born with us; rooted in us; ſpringing from the Seed of Univerſal Reaſon. This in the Soul, is like the Spring and Balance in a Clock, it regulates all its motions; like the Natural Warmth in the Body, which ſuſtains and preſerves it ſelf, and is both its own Strength and Safety, and the Perſon's to whom it belongs. The Man that proceeds according to This, acts in conformity to the Will of God, in conſiſtence and agreement with himſelf; in compliance with Nature; and obedience to thoſe Rules, upon which all Government and Civil Conſtitutions are founded; he proceeds ſmoothly, gently, ſilently; His Virtue draws little Obſervation perhaps, as it makes no

* Anima Legis Ratio.

Noiſe;

Noise; but slides on, and keeps its Course, like a Boat carried down by the Course of the Water in a Calm day: Whereas all other sorts of Virtue are the Products of Art and Accident, grafted into us by Discipline, and not of our own natural growth; fickle and out of Temper, like the Intermitting Heat and Cold of a Fever; they are acquired at first, and drawn out into exercise afterwards, by Chance and Occasion, practised upon foreign and distant Considerations; acting by sudden starts, and short spurts; with Clamour, and Noise, with Hurry and Clutter, with Ostentation and Vainglory.

7. And from hence we are led to the true meaning of all those Glorious things, which Philosophers and Wise Men in all Ages have said of Nature: For what Doctrines are more common in the mouths of every one of them, than these, * *That the way for a Man to live well, is to live agreeably to Nature; That a perfect Conformity with Nature is the Supreme Good, the most exquisite Happiness Mankind are capable of; That if we make Nature our Mistress, and Guide, and constantly follow the Directions she gives, we shall never go amiss?* By all which it is plain, that Nature is set to signify that Universal Reason and Equity, which is given for a Light to our Minds; and is both of that vast comprehension, as to contain under it the Seeds of all kind of Virtue, Probity, and Justice; The Common Parent, that gives Birth to all wholsome and good Laws, all just and Equitable Judgments, that ever were or will be given; and also of that Clearness and Perspicuity too, that Men of the meanest Capacity and Attainments, might determine themselves, and be conducted by it. Whatever scandalous or

* Naturam si sequaris Ducem, nusquam aberrabis. Bonum est quod secundùm Naturam. Omnia Vitia contra Naturam sunt.

dispa-

diſparaging Reflections ſome may aſperſe Nature with, or how great a part of them ſoever this Corrupted State of it may deſerve, yet there is no doubt to be made, if we look back to their Original, and primitive Conſtitution, but all things were created and diſpoſed in the beſt Order and Condition they were capable of; and had their firſt Motions toward Good infuſed and interwoven with their Being, and ſtrong Tendencies to the End they ought to aſpire after. This was the Work and Wiſdom of Nature; and from hence it is, that no Man who follows and obeys her Dictates, can ever fail of obtaining and enjoying the End, and true Happineſs proper to his Species. For after all; Men are naturally and originally Good; and when they follow Evil, they forſake Nature, and are ſeduced by the falſe Allurements of Profit, or of Pleaſure: And becauſe Theſe are the two governing Motives, and ſuch as will be ſure to bear a powerful Sway in the World; therefore the Makers of Laws have always found it neceſſary to propoſe two contrary Objects, that is, Reward and Puniſhment, to the Perſons whoſe Obedience they would engage. And the Deſign of Theſe is by no means to put a Violence upon their Wills, and ſo conſtrain them to act againſt natural Inclination, as ſome weakly imagine; but it is in truth, to *reduce them to better ſenſe, and bring them back to that, which is not only the beſt, but was the firſt and moſt natural Inclination of their Minds, till perverted by wicked and deceitful Appearances of Counterfeit Good.

Nature without all Controverſy is a ſufficient Guide, a gentle Miſtreſs, capable of inſtructing

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* Sapientia eſt in Naturam converti; & ea reſtitui unde publicus Error expulerit. Ab illâ non deerrare, ad illius Legem Exemplumque formari ſapientia eſt.

every

every one of us, in all the Branches of our Duty, provided we would but be as careful to hearken to its Admonitions; to exert, and keep it awake and active. There is no need for Us to beg or to borrow from Art and Learning, thoſe Means, and Remedies, and Rules, which are neceſſary for the good Government of our ſelves; for each of us can ſubſiſt and live by himſelf; his own proper Stock is ſufficient to maintain him. A Happy, and a Contented Life is indeed what every one does and ſhould aim at; but theſe are Bleſſings by no means entailed upon Learning, or Parts, or Greatneſs, or Honour; a Man may attain them, and never ſee the face of a Court, or a City. There is a Proportion common and natural to all, which is enough for this purpoſe; and All beyond that, however valuable, as additional Advantages, are yet by no means neceſſary; we can do very well without them; and which is worſe, we are ſo far from doing very well upon their account, that they do but increaſe our Troubles and our Difficulties, and do us more Hurt than Good. How many plain, and ignorant, and mean Men do we ſee, that live with more ſenſible Pleaſure and Satisfaction, more ſedate and undiſturbed both in their Minds and Fortunes; and upon occaſion can meet, and encounter Poverty or Pain, Danger or Death, with a better Grace, and greater Compoſure, than the moſt Learned, and celebrated Philoſophers? And if one take the pains to obſerve it nicely, you will find more frequent Inſtances, more eminent Patterns of Patience, and Conſtancy, and Evenneſs of Temper, among plain Countrey People, and thoſe of mean Condition, than all the Schools can boaſt of. Theſe are ſimple and unaffected, they go on where Nature leads, are influenced by the Reaſons ſhe ſuggeſts, and the Impreſſions ſhe makes, without creating new and imaginary Troubles. They feel no more than is to be felt, and uſe

no

no Art and Induſtry to torment themſelves; Their Paſſions are low, and quiet, and ſmooth, in compariſon of Theirs who take pains to ruffle them; and eſteem it a piece of Bravery to indulge and blow them up; and ſo they go on in all their Affairs more calmly and conſiderately, without Heat, or Diſorder; whereas others look big and bluſter, do every thing with Pomp and Hurry; are in perpetual Agitation and Alarm, and keep themſelves and all Mankind awake. One of the greateſt Maſters, and moſt exquiſite Improvers of Nature was *Socrates*, as *Ariſtotle* was proportionably Eminent for Art and Learning. Each of theſe in their reſpective Province was wonderful; but it is obſervable, that *Socrates* took a plain, and natural way, inſinuated himſelf by vulgar Arguments, familiar Similitudes, an eaſy Style; and, by talking as a downright Countrey Fellow, or a good diſcreet Woman would have done, did not only ſuit himſelf better to the Capacities of Men, but laid down ſuch uſeful Precepts, and Rules of a Virtuous Life; ſuch powerful Antidotes againſt all manner of Sufferings, and Accidents, that the Strength and Vigor of them was never yet improved, nor the Succeſs, exceeded, ſhall I ſay? No, not ſo much as matched; or any thing like it invented by all the Study and Acquired Learning in the World.

9. But alas! we are ſo far from truſting to the Guidance of Nature, that we never ſo much as give it the Hearing. The Violence put upon it, and the intractable Temper of Vice and Extravagance, of unruly Appetites, perverſe Diſpoſitions, and depraved Wills, which are eternally ſtriving to choak, and ſuppreſs, nay quite to deface, and utterly to extinguiſh, as much as in them lies, the Light within; that mortify and kill the very ſeeds of Virtue; theſe are too groſs to come within the preſent Account. My Complaint is, that whereas the Concurrent Advice of all Wiſe men hath been to follow Nature

ture, the Generality of Mankind run away from it. We let it sleep, and rust upon our hands; play Truant, while we may learn at home; and chuse to beg our Improvement abroad, to have recourse to Study and Art, which are comparatively sordid and despicable ways of attaining Knowledge, rather than content our selves with an Independent and noble Wisdom, which is generous, and of our own Growth. We have all of us a busy turbulent Spirit, that affects to be ever managing, and governing, and will have a hand in every thing; this is variable and humorsome, perpetually bustling, and restless; fond of Novelty, and Disguise; inventing, adding, altering; never pleased long with the same thing, nor ever content with pure Nature, and unaffected Simplicity; but a Contemner and Vilifier of Plainness, as if it were not possible for any thing to be Good, which is void of Art, and Cunning, and nice Contrivance. *Thus* * *Virtue, which is genuine, instead of the Frankness and Openness peculiar to it, is corrupted and changed into dark and crafty Speculation.* And besides all this, One Fault more we are tainted with; which is, The Disesteem of every thing in general, which is the product of our own Soil; What we can have for nothing is worth nothing; it must be far fetched and dear bought, to recommend it: Foreign things only can please; and in agreement with this Whimsey it is, that we prefer Art before Nature; which is in effect, To shut out the Sun when shining in its Strength, and to light up Candles at Mid-day. All which Follies and Extravagant humours are owing to One more; which is a Weakness in a manner entail'd upon the whole World; That, I mean, of estimating things, not ac-

* Simplex illa & aperta Virtus in obscuram & solertem Scientiam versa est.

cording

cording to their real and intrinſick Value, but only according to the Shew, and Figure, and Noiſe they make; which is to renounce our own Judgment and Experience, and in effect to give our ſelves up to be determined by the Common Opinion, of thoſe, who are leaſt qualified to know or judge at all.

Nor does this Folly ſtop here; but we proceed to yet higher degrees of Inſolence; we even trample Nature under foot, diſdain, deſpiſe, and are perfectly aſhamed of it; are nice in Poſitive and National Laws, and diſregard thoſe that are Natural and Univerſal. Nay, for the ſake of bringing Ceremony and Form into Reputation, (which is a moſt horrible Indignity, and very Contemptuous Treatment); We cancel and condemn a Law of God's making, to advance Laws of Civility and Good Manners of our own forging. Thus Art carries away Nature; the Shadow is of greater Conſideration with us than the Body; and the Air and Face of things, than the Solidity and Subſtance. We take great care to cover and conceal ſome things that are natural, that we may not give offence; we bluſh at the very ſound of ſome words in modeſty and good breeding; and yet we are under no Fears, no reſtraint of doing things unlawful, and unnatural. To keep us at as great a diſtance from ſome ſorts of Sins as is poſſible, we are not allowed ſo much as to name the parts employed in them; and yet after all this ſcrupulous ſhyneſs, How many are there who never boggle in the leaſt at abandoning themſelves to all manner of Debauchery and Laſciviouſneſs? It was an old Complaint of the Stoicks, that though ſome very natural and innocent Actions of Life were induſtriouſly concealed; yet Many others were named without a bluſh, which yet were in their own nature wicked and abominable; and what both Nature and Reaſon deteſt; ſuch as Perjury, Treachery, Cheating, Lying, Murther, and the like. We may improve

improve the Complaint, by adding, that in Our days Men pretend to more nicety in Converſation; but theſe really wicked things, they do not only mention without Shame, but act without Fear. Nay, even in Treaſons and Aſſaſſinations, thoſe blackeſt of all Villains make pretenſions to Ceremony, and think themſelves obliged to Murther in point of Honour and Duty; and when this is done, that it be done with ſome ſort of Decency. Prodigious Impudence and Folly! That Injuſtice ſhould complain of Incivility; and Malice think it ſelf wronged by Indiſcretion. Does not the Art of Ceremony then plainly prevail over Nature, and ſhew, that its Influence is much ſtronger upon corrupt Mankind? Ceremony forbids us to expreſs ſome things which Nature allows and juſtifies, and we ſubmit contentedly; Nature and Reaſon would reſtrain us from wicked and miſchievous actions, and no body obeys, or at all regards them. This is manifeſtly to Proſtitute our Conſciences, and abandon all diſtinctions, all common ſenſe of Good and Evil; and yet at the ſame time think our ſelves obliged to put on a modeſt Face, and look grave and demure. As if it mattered not, what we are within, ſo nothing appear amiſs in our Countenance; and the ſetting our looks in Form, were of more conſequence, than the Innocence of our Souls. This Hypotheſis is moſt Monſtrous and Abſurd, and Nature cannot furniſh us with an Incongruity like it, in all the Creatures that ever God made. My meaning is not here, what ſome may maliciouſly repreſent it, to find fault with that Decency and Ceremony, which gives an Ornament and Beauty to our Actions, and ought therefore to be ſtrictly regarded. But my Complaint is like that of our Saviour to the Phariſees; *Ye Hypocrites, ye make clean the outſide of the Cup and Platter, Theſe ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.* Mat. xxiii.

One

10. One very ſad effect of this ſo general Alteration, and Corruption of our firſt Notions and Principles, is, That we are now come to that miſerable paſs, as to have no Footſteps of pure Nature left diſcernible among us. Inſomuch that we are wonderfully perplexed, and at a loſs, What and How many thoſe Laws are, which ſhe preſcribes to us. The peculiar Character, by which the Law of Nature uſed to be diſtinguiſhed from all others, is that of Univerſal Approbation and Conſent. For it muſt needs be ſuppoſed, that what this Common Mother and Miſtreſs of us All, had really enacted and appointed for our Rule, would be readily obeyed by all her Children; that in This there would be, as it were, One Heart and One Soul; and not only every Nation and Countrey, but every private Man would come in, and live in perfect Agreement with it.

Now, if we come to examine matter of Fact in this Caſe, we ſhall ſcarce find any one thing in the world, which is not ſomewhere or other diſapproved and contradicted; not by a few particular Perſons only, nor by one ſingle Nation, but in ſeveral entire Countries; And on the other hand, there is not any thing in Our Apprehenſion ſo prodigious and unnatural, but ſome Countries have entertained it, and given it not only the Countenance of a favourable Opinion, but the Authority of Cuſtom and Common practice too. Neglect of increaſing their Families, and Indifference in point of Poſterity; the Murthering of their own Parents, of their own Children, nay of their own Selves; Marrying with the neareſt Relations; Pilfering and Stealing; Commerce and publick Societies of Robbers; publick Bartering away one's Liberty, ſelling and letting out their Bodies, and that in Perſons of both Sexes; Theſe are things in the opinion of moſt People very monſtrous and deteſtable; and yet there are ſeveral Nations, which do not only connive at and allow,

allow, but use them so, as to make them the Custom of the Country.

11. What course then can we take, or which way shall we turn our selves to find out Nature and its Original Institutions? 'Tis plain, our own Species have little signs of it left; and if there be any Impressions of this kind still unworn out, we must expect to meet with them only in Brutes, who want the Mercury we have, and so have not debauched and corrupted their primitive Constitution, by a troublesome and restless Spirit, by the pretended Improvements of Art, nor the Real Fopperies of Ceremony. All which we have indulged to so extravagant a degree, that there is some reason to suspect, whether even Beasts are altogether so sound, as they should be in this point; and if the keeping so ill Company as Mankind have not in some degree drawn upon Them the Infection of our Follies. The rest of the Creation however follow Nature entirely; they are content to stick and abide by that First and Universal Order, and Rule, which the Great Author and Governor of all, thought fit to establish, and appoint. Man is the only factious and discontented Creature; he breaks in upon the Condition and good Government of the World; and while he professes to mend and polish what Nature hath prescribed, he confounds all with his Freedom of Will, and Gallantry of Spirit; ceases to be regular upon pretence of being more refined; and destroys Nature, while he goes about to exalt and add to it.

12. In a word then, True Honesty and Integrity, That which is the very Foundation and Support of Wisdom, consists in following Nature, that is, to say, acting in agreement with right Reason. The Happiness, the Aim, the End, That wherein all the Ease, the Liberty, the Contentment of the Mind is comprised; and to be short, the utmost perfection we are capable of in this World, is to govern our Lives

and Actions by the Rules which Nature hath ſet us; and keeping the Order of our Creation. And that Order conſiſts in this, That the meaner and more groſs Appetites ſhould be kept in due Subjection, and that which is the moſt excellent part of our Nature, ſhould controul and bear ſway. That is, When Reaſon governs Senſe, and Truth is preferred before falſe and empty Appearances. And as the Needle, when touch'd with the Load-ſtone, reſts at no Point but the *North*; And by fixing there becomes a Guide to Sailors in their Courſe: So Man is never in his due Poſition, when his Eyes are not fixed upon this Primitive, this Divine, this Univerſal Law of Human Nature. For That is the proper Compaſs, to direct his Inclinations and Opinions by; and all the other helps he enjoys, are but ſo many freſh Lamps kindled at this Original Light.

13. Now although This be a Power from which no Man is excluded, yet I cannot but acknowledge, that the putting it in practice, and bringing the Endeavours of this kind to good effect, is not in every Man's power equally. Some do it with much greater Eaſe and Succeſs than others. There are a ſort of Perſons, who ſeem to be made for Virtue; their Complexion and whole Conſtitution diſpoſes and fits them for it. Their Tempers are ſo well mixed, ſo naturally ſweet and gentle, that they feel in themſelves a ſtrong Inclination, and an Original Propenſity to Goodneſs and Integrity, without any pains to bend their Affections by Art, or to ſubdue and correct them by Diſcipline and Study. This happy Frame of Mind is what I conceive to be principally owing to the firſt Formation of the Parts; the Proportions and Compoſition of the Spirits and Humours; and afterwards, to the proper and kindly Nouriſhment of a good Milk, and the Care and Management of their Infancy and firſt Beginnings of Education. And thoſe, who are thus inclined

to follow and comply with Nature and Reason, who bear a secret Reverence to its Dictates, and find little or no difficulty in submitting, are the Persons properly meant, when we speak of the Happiness of good-tempered Men; and such as we say, Nature hath been kind, or partial to. This natural and spontaneous Honesty now, which comes as it were into the World with us, is properly called Good Disposition, the Quality of a Soul and Body well put together, and of Humours duly moderated; It is a Sweetness, Easiness, and Gentleness of Temper. By which I would not be so mistaken, as to be thought to make no difference between this, and a Softness, which is indeed an effeminate, sottish, unconcerned, and vitious Easiness of Mind; which is managed and led by the Nose; hath no Courage, no Choice of it's own; strives to carry fair and become agreeable to every body, and above all things declines giving offence to any; that will not do an Act of Virtue and Justice, if it be likely to displease; nor dares refuse the wickedest and most unbecoming Compliances, when the Favour and Opinion of Men lye at stake: These Persons have no regard in the Earth for Equity or Reason, the Merits of the Cause, or the Service of the Publick; but all their Considerations are fixed upon the Consequences, as to their own private Interest, and they look no farther, than who is like to be obliged or disobliged, by what they do. It is of such wretched, poor-spirited, Complaisant Persons, that you hear People frequently give that false and most unjust Commendation; Oh he is a wonderful good Man! for he is kind even to the worst and wickedest Men; whereas indeed This Charge is much more deserved and true of them; that such a Man cannot be a Good Man, because he is not severe to ill Men, but encourages their Villany by his Mildness, and false shew of Good nature. Such a Goodness as this is, should

rather be called *Harmleſsneſs*, for it is juſt like that Quality of little Children, and Sheep, and ſuch other Beaſts, as we commonly call poor, innocent, ſimple Creatures. But the true Sincerity and Honeſty I am ſpeaking of, hath a very different Character; it is a maſculine, brave, vigorous, and active Goodneſs of Mind; a ſtrong conſtant Affection, an eaſy, ready Inclination, by which the Soul embraces, and ſtands always bent to that which is conſonant to Reaſon and Nature; and Nature in this ſenſe is but another word for Goodneſs, and Equity, and Juſtice.

Again: There are many Inſtances, on the other hand, of Perſons ſo croſs and ill contrived, that one would be tempted to think them Monſters in Human Form. They have a Diſpoſition ſingular and by themſelves, ſo very rough and unmanageable, as if ſome evil Genius had ſhuffled them up together, in perfect Contradiction, and deſpight of Nature. In ſuch Circumſtances there is great difficulty; This vitious Diſpoſition muſt be cured and corrected; the Harſhneſs of it ſweetned; its wild and bruitiſh Roughneſs tamed and made gentle; its crooked, and ſtiff, and irregular Humours bended and bowed down, and made flexible and complying with the ſtreight Rule and Plan of Univerſal Nature; which is the true Level and Standard, Men ſhould bring themſelves to. And the propereſt Remedy for effecting this Cure is for ſuch People to betake themſelves to the Study of Philoſophy (as *Socrates* did) and to the ſerious and reſolute practice of ſevere Virtue; which is a conſtant Combat with Perverſeneſs of Temper; a painful and vigorous conflict with all manner of Vice; a laborious Study and Exerciſe of the Mind, that requires a great deal of Time and Toil, indefatigable Diligence, and ſtrict Diſcipline. *Virtue is attended with Hardſhip, and employed upon a ſubject, that can never be eaſy; Labour and Sweat watch perpetually at the Gate of Virtue, and no Entrance is to be attained but by their means;*

means; say some of the Antients to this purpose. And again: *The Gods have set a high price upon Virtue, and sold it dear to Mankind, at the expence of great labour and trouble.* Now the End of all this Severity and Pains, which I propose to Men of this unkindly Composition, is not to graft in a fresh Fruit upon the Crab-stock, not to introduce, I mean, a new, foreign, or artificial Honesty, and consequently such a one, as (according to the account already given of this matter,) would at the best be but occasional and accidental only, and so, far short of that substantial and perfect Integrity I am aiming at: But the Design and effect of this Study must be to clear the Rust and Rubbish, to take away Obstructions, not to create, but to awaken the Powers of Nature; to snuff and trim this Lamp within, which is foul, and burns dim; and to quicken all those original Seeds of Goodness, that have been long kept down, and almost quite choaked and killed, either by any vitious Habit in particular, or by some personal Indisposition, and natural Defect. For the Eyes of the Mind are like those of the Body; the visive Faculty is formed with them, and inherent from the Beginning; and therefore the way of helping the Sight, is not to add any thing new, but to remove the Films that grow over the Pupil; as a Man wipes away the Dust from a Looking-Glass, to make the Reflexion clear and strong.

14. *Three Degrees of Perfection.*

From this Representation of the Case we may perceive, that True Integrity may be distinguished into two sorts; The One Natural, easy, gentle, and even, which is properly called a Good Temper; The Other is acquired, full of difficulty, attained by labour and much pain, and This is termed Virtue; to both which we may add a Third, which is a kind of Compound of the Two former, and so there will be Three Degrees of Perfection in the Case before us. The First and Lowest is an Easiness of Temper, a

Mind ſo well diſpoſed, as to have naturally and of its own accord, a diſreliſh and averſion to all manner of Extravagance and Vice; and this we may call Goodneſs, or Innocence. The Second and next Stage, which we call Virtue, conſiſts in the Art and Labour of Prevention, ſetting it ſelf with all its Force and Vigour, to guard the Avenues, to hinder the Advances of Vice, and check the very firſt Motions of the Paſſions, when they grow mutinous; and if the Inſurrection be actually begun, to muſter and arm all a Man's Forces to ſtop, and quell, and reduce them. The Third and Higheſt degree of all is a Mixture of Noble Reſolution, and a Happy Temper; ſo that the Man from both theſe met together, is ſo excellently well diſpoſed, as not only to continue impregnable, but to be free even from Attacks. Not ſo much as a Temptation riſes to give him Trouble; the very Seeds of Vice are quite rooted out. Virtue is the only, the Natural Growth of this proſperous Soil; and becomes not the Habit, ſo much as the Complexion and Conſtitution of the Man. This Laſt may juſtly be ſtyled Perfection; This and the Firſt kind do thus far reſemble one another, and are both very differing from the Second; That they are ſilent and ſtill, without difficulty, and without ſtruggle, the natural Air, and conſtant Courſe of the Man, a cheap and eaſy Virtue, that coſts him little or nothing; whereas the Second is a perpetual Conflict, and dwells in the midſt of Hurry and Alarms, and Battels. The laſt and moſt perfect of theſe Degrees, is acquired by a long and painful Study, a ſerious and conſtant Exerciſe of the Rules of Philoſophy, added to a Good, and Generous, and Noble Nature, largely and liberally furniſhed; and a Mind enriched with all manner of good Diſpoſitions. For in this Caſe Both muſt concur; Nature and Induſtry muſt each do their part; and it cannot be entirely the work of one of theſe,

not

not all infused, nor all acquired. This is the End, which all the old Philosophers proposed to their Studies; but above all the rest, the *Stoick* and *Epicurean* Sect, (I make no scruple of saying the latter did it as well as the former, though this I confess might seem strange, had we not the Testimony of *Seneca*, and several other Ancient Writers in confirmation of it.) These gallant Men look'd upon Disgrace and Contempt, Want and Sickness, Pains, and Tortures, nay even Death it self, to be Toys and Trifles, fit for none but Fools and Children to be anxious or concerned about. They did not only despise them, and endure them with Patience and Constancy, and gain an absolute Conquest over all the Troubles and Difficulties of them, whenever they made the Assault; but they went out into the Field, they sought and provoked them, Rejoiced in, as well as Triumphed over them. They look'd upon these Encounters as necessary Breathings for their Virtue, to keep it in Exercise and Vigour; and by the frequency of such Engagements, did not only secure and establish that Virtue, and render it Firm, and Steady, and Severe, (as *Cato* and some other renowned Stoicks for instance did) but even Cheerful and Gay; and if that be not an improper expression, wanton and full of play, by the perfect Mastery they had got over all external Accidents and Things.

Upon the stating of the whole Case, and comparing these Three together, some who have but imperfect apprehensions of the noble Height and true Excellence of the Third Degree, have been inclined to think, that the Second was the most Honourable, and to be valued above either of the Rest; by reason of the Difficulties and Dangers it contends with, and the many painful and laborious Struggles the Attainment of it costs. And, as *Metellus* said, that the Doing Evil was a despicable thing, because it was the Effect of Cowardice and Laziness; so

15.

the Doing Well, where it is without the expence of Trouble and Hazard, is look'd upon by theſe perſons, as too vulgar and cheap a thing; but the attempting and going through with it, in deſpight of Hazards and Troubleſome Oppoſitions, and where theſe attack us in great number, and labour hard to obſtruct, and deter us from our Duty; This is the Commendation of a Good, and a Virtuous Perſon indeed. * *Whatever is excellent is Difficult*, was, we know, the uſual Saying of the Nobleſt Philoſopher. But to deal plainly, and ſpeak the Truth of the matter, the Difficulty of obtaining any thing does by no means alter the nature, or add to the real and intrinſick value of the thing it ſelf; nor is it, as I have taken occaſion formerly to obſerve, any juſt and warrantable Cauſe for raiſing it in our Eſteem. Nay it is beyond all Controverſy certain on the other ſide, that Natural Excellencies are much more deſirable, and better than thoſe that are ſtudied and acquired. That it is much more Brave, and Great, and Divine to act by the motions and ſpontaneous Perfections of Nature, than with the moſt exquiſite Dexterity and niceſt Improvements of Art; in an eaſy, free, equal, and uniform manner, than with laborious Efforts, uncertainly, and with Doubt, and Danger, and Perplexity of Thought. It is in the former of theſe two Senſes, that we term Almighty God Good, His Excellencies are his Nature, Eſſential to him; and if They could ceaſe, he muſt ceaſe to Be. And therefore to call not Him only, but even the Bleſſed Angels, and the Spirits of Juſt Men made perfect, Virtuous; is a Diminution and Diſparagement to them. Theirs is properly Goodneſs too, but Virtue is a Title too low for the Happineſs of unſinning Perfection, a State of Indefectibility,

* Difficilia quæ pulchra. χαλεπὰ τὰ καλά. Plato.

and

and above the reach of all Temptation. 'Tis true indeed, in the Condition we now live, where Dangers surround, and threaten, and Frailties betray us perpetually; Virtue makes somewhat of noise and clutter, and is forced to act with some Vehemence; and this gives it the Preference before Smooth and Still Goodness. For the generality of people always measure the Excellence of a Thing by the Shew, and the Difficulty; and admire that most, which costs dearest; but this is a false method of judging; and we are not much to wonder, if They are wrong here, who indeed are generally so in all their Estimations of Men and Things. For these great Swelling Performances, that look so big, and seem to be all zeal and fire, are not substantial, nor to the purpose; They are no part of true Honesty, nor the Products of that fix'd Principle we are speaking of; but rather intemperate Heats, and Feverish Fits, very different from that Wisdom we are now in quest of, which is healthful and moderate, gentle and calm, equal and uniform.

Thus much may suffice to be said of Honesty or Sincerity in general; For as to the several parts of it, and the particular Duties resulting from thence, they will come under our Consideration in the Third Book, and particularly, when we shall treat of the Virtue of Justice.

16. *of Grace.*

And here I find my self under an Obligation, of discharging my Promise, in the necessary Addition of what follows in this Paragraph. To silence (if it be possible) the unjust Malice, and disadvantagious Character cast upon me by some who find fault with my (as they think them) Extravagant Commendations of Nature; as if This were able to do every thing, and no other Assistances were required. To these persons it might suffice to reply, that by *Nature* I understand (as was observed before) the God of Nature, and the Dictates of Eternal Reason,

ſon, written and engraved in every Heart by His Almighty Hand. I might alſo alledge, that the Subject of this Book is only Natural, and Human; and that the Author is not obliged by his Deſign to concern himſelf with any Virtues properly Divine, or the Advantages above the power of Nature to confer. But waving all this, I readily acknowledge, that to render the Virtue and Integrity I have been deſcribing compleat, and give it all the Perfections it is capable of, one thing more is neceſſary: The *Grace of God* I mean; which muſt animate and invigorate this Goodneſs and Probity; ſhew it in all its luſtre; give the finiſhing ſtroke, refine and exalt it from a mere Moral to a Chriſtian Virtue. This renders it accepted at the Throne of Heaven, approved of God, capable of an Eternal Recompence; and ſo crowns it both with Perfection here, and a Reward hereafter. It is not eaſy to find Appoſite Reſemblances for Things which cannot preſent themſelves to us by any ſenſible Ideas: But if you will pardon the meanneſs of the Compariſon, I ſhould almoſt venture, to compare the Probity here inſiſted on, to a Skilful Maſter, who touches the Keys of an Organ, with abſolute Accuracy and Art; but all to no purpoſe; the Inſtrument is dumb, till the Wind expreſs the Excellence of his Hand, by giving Sound to the Inſtrument; and making that Melody, which all his Maſtery in playing was not able to do without it. Thus Moral Virtue is but a ſort of Speculative Perfection, till the Grace of God inſpire, and enable us to put it in Practice, and produce the Fruits of it.

Now This is a Bleſſing, which does not conſiſt in refined Thought, nice Notions, and long or learned Diſcourſes; it is not to be acquired by Rule, or the methods of Human Induſtry and Art, nor can we attain to it by our own Labour and Toil; the utmoſt we can do is to prepare, and endeavour to qualify

qualify our ſelves duly for the receiving it; for after All, Receive it we muſt; It is a Gift that comes down from on high, and the very Name of *Grace* is deſigned to repreſent to us the Good Will of the Donor, and that the Gift is entirely free. Our part is to ask, to ſeek, to implore it, with all imaginable Humility, and the moſt fervent Deſires we are capable of. To proſtrate our ſelves before the Throne of Grace, and with the utmoſt Contention of Heart and Voice to ſay, "Vouchſafe, O my God, "in thy Infinite Goodneſs to look down with an "Eye of Mercy and Pity upon thy poor Servant; "Accept and grant my Deſires, aſſiſt my weak En- "deavours, and crown thoſe good Inclinations, "which are originally derived from Thee: The "Law by which I ſtand obliged, the Light by "which I am inſtructed in my Duty, are of thy Or- "dering; thou haſt ſtamped our Nature with theſe "Impreſſions of Good and Evil, and ſhined in our "hearts by thy Precepts; O give Succeſs to thy "own Inſtitution, and finiſh the work thou haſt be- "gun; that ſo the Glory and the Fruit may redound "to the Planters uſe, and thou may'ſt be firſt and laſt "in all my Actions and Deſigns, my Thoughts and "my Deſires. Water me abundantly with thy "Grace, and take me for thy own, that I who am "of my ſelf miſerable, and poor, and naked, and "blind, and weak, may be able to do even all "things, through Chriſt, who ſtrengtheneth me.

Theſe are proper Addreſſes upon ſuch an occaſion, but the propereſt and moſt probable method to obtain them, that is, to incline the Compaſſion of God, and diſpoſe him to gratify ſuch Deſires, will be ſtrict Moral Honeſty, and a Conſcientious Obſervation of the Law of Nature to the beſt of our power. For this, though it be not an abſolutely Meritorious Cauſe, is yet a Conditional one, and a good Preparation for the receiving Supernatural Aſ-

ſiſtances;

ſiſtances; as Matter ready diſpoſed is cloathed with the Form, and the Vegetative and Senſitive Soul derived from our Parents, lead the way, and put all things in readineſs, for the Acceſſion of the Rational and Intellectual one, which proceeds from God. Thus Human Wiſdom is the Introduction to Divine, Philoſophy the Handmaid to Religion, the Natural and Moral Duties of a Man ſubſervient and Inſtrumental to the Liberty of a Chriſtian, the Light, and Favour of the Children of God. He who does his beſt in the matters of Reaſon, and Morality, gives God an occaſion of exerciſing his Bounty, and beſtowing larger and nobler Virtues upon him. It being an equitable Method, and ſuch as our Bleſſed Saviour aſſures us, God himſelf proceeds by, to truſt that Man with more and greater Talents, who hath approved himſelf diligent and faithful in the good management of leſs. To this purpoſe are all thoſe Holy Aphoriſms. *Thou haſt been faithful in a very little, be thou ruler over much. God giveth the Holy Spirit to all them that ask him. To Him that hath ſhall be given, and He ſhall have abundance. God denies no man Grace, who does his utmoſt. God is wanting to no Man in neceſſary Supplies*; and the like.

On the other hand, To live in Contradiction and Defiance to Men's Natural Light, is to put one's ſelf out of all Capacity of God's Favour, and, as much as in us lies, to make it impoſſible for Grace to be given us. Since He, who gives it, hath expreſly declared upon what Conditions Men are allowed to expect it; and if He exceeds thoſe Meaſures, and beſtows it upon perſons wholly unqualified, This is beſide the Common Method, and an excepted Caſe from his regular Diſpenſations. This obſtinacy and perverſeneſs is expreſly mentioned, as the Reaſon why our Saviour refuſed to preach in ſome particular places; and, ſince the Evangeliſts, St. *Cyril*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Auguſtin*, and other of the Fathers

thers have largely discourſed upon that matter to this purpoſe.

By all which it appears evidently, that *Grace* and *Nature* are not contrary Principles; for (in the Senſe I have all along uſed the Term in this Chapter) Grace is ſo far from forcing or deſtroying Nature, that it is a gentle and ſeaſonable Relief to it; nay, it ſtrengthens, and crowns, and perfects Nature. We muſt not therefore ſet theſe two in oppoſition to each other, but join both together, and put on the One as the Ornament, the Fulneſs, and juſt Finiſhing of the Other. Both proceed from God, though after different manners; and therefore we muſt neither put them at variance, nor confound them for want of duly diſtinguiſhing them aſunder; for each hath its proper Springs, and peculiar Motions. They neither ſet out together, nor operate alike; though both came from the ſame place; and lead to the ſame End at laſt.

Nature may be without Grace, and when duly followed hath its commendation even then, in regard to thoſe Circumſtances which admitted of no more. Thus it was with the Philoſophers and Great Men heretofore, Perſons whoſe Proficiency under this Firſt and General Law, and their Attainments in all ſorts of Moral Virtue, may be allowed to excite our Wonder, as well as challenge our Praiſe. Such likewiſe is the Caſe of all Infidels at this day; becauſe the Grace we ſpeak of is a Goſpel-Bleſſing, and They who are not under the Evangelical Covenant, have no Title to it. But Grace cannot be without Nature; becauſe This is the Matter for it to work upon; for the buſineſs of Grace is to reform and perfect; and therefore This as neceſſarily ſuppoſes Nature, as the raiſing of a Roof ſuppoſes a Foundation to be laid, and Walls already carried up. The Organiſt may exerciſe his Fingers, 'tis true, upon the dumb Keys, and make his Hand;

but

but the Harmony muſt come from the Breath; or if it could ſound, yet would it be but like St. *Paul's tinkling Cymbal*, of no worth or ſignificancy at all: But all the Air in the World will never make Muſick of the Inſtrument, without a Hand to ſtrike the Keys. In This I have been the more particular, and deſcended to familiar Compariſons, becauſe Some I find have ſuffered themſelves to be led into very groſs Miſtakes upon the matter. Perſons, who have never conceived a right and worthy Notion of that true Probity and entirely Honeſt Principle we have been recommending; but are blown up with ſtrange Romantick Conceits of Grace; which they doubt not to attain, and practiſe eminently well, without any regard to Morality; and by a Scheme of Phariſaical Accompliſhments; ſome eaſy, lazy, formal Performances, which carry a great appearance of Sanctity to the World; but as for the real Subſtance, and inward Power of Goodneſs and Integrity, they give themſelves no trouble at all about it. I ſee great ſtore of theſe Men in the World every day; but alas! I can find but very few ſuch as *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*, *Cato*, *Regulus*, *Socrates*; no *Epaminonda's*, no *Scipio's*, no Strict and Conſcientious Profeſſors, I mean, of ſtanch and ſolid Virtue; and Philoſophical, or if you pleaſe, common Juſtice, and downright Moral Honeſty. The Reproaches and Complaints ſo liberally beſtowed by our Saviour upon the *Phariſees*, and Hypocrites, will never be out of ſeaſon; for the perſons obnoxious to theſe always abound; and even thoſe who ſet up for the Great Cenſors of Manners, the Zealous Railers at Vice, and Grave Reformers of the World, are not all exempt from this Charge themſelves. But enough of this. I have ſpoken largely of the Virtue it ſelf; now before I cloſe this Chapter, I muſt take leave to add one word, concerning the diſpoſition of Mind contrary to it.

Now

17. *Wickedness.*

Now Wickedness (or Evil Practices and Temper) is against Nature, it is deformed, odious, and offensive; all that can judge and discern must needs detest and loath it; which gave occasion for some to say, That it is a monstrous Birth, the Product of Brutality and Ignorance. It does not only provoke the Dislike and Aversion of others, but raises the Indignation of a Man's own Mind, who is guilty of it; Repentance and Self-condemnation are its certain Consequences. It gnaws, and corrodes, and frets the Soul; like an Ulcer in the Flesh; makes one restless and uneasy; out of Countenance and out of Conceit with himself; and is ever busy in contriving and inflicting fresh Torments, as if it were ordained to be its own Executioner. Hence those Observations;

* *None quits himself; his own impartial Thought*
Will damn; and Conscience will record the Fault:

And again,
Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell it self can find
A fiercer Torment, than a Guilty Mind.

Hence † *Wickedness is said to drink the greatest part of its own Poyson; the bitterness and the dregs fall to its own share. Evil Counsel turns most to the prejudice of the person that gives it.* As the Wasp, though she may hurt and occasion some smart to the person stung by her,

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* ——Prima est hæc ultio, quòd se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur. *Juv. Sat.* xiii.
Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo sævior illis
Quas aut Cæditius gravis invenit, aut Rhadamanthus
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem. *Ibid.*

† Malitia ipsa maximam partem veneni sui bibit: Malum consilium consultori pessimum.

yet

yet does it ſelf the greateſt harm; and ſuffers more by the loſs of its Sting, and being diſabled for ever after. It is true, Vice is attended with ſome Pleaſure; for were there not this to recommend it, Wickedneſs would never find any entertainment in the World. No Man ever was, or can be vitious, merely for the ſake, or ſatisfaction of being ſo. But ſtill, when we have allowed this Advantage of a ſhort and ſenſible Satisfaction; yet we muſt not forget what follows, and how poor a buſineſs this is, in compariſon of that laſting Diſpleaſure, and Diſſatisfaction, it begets afterwards. So that, as *Plato* ſays truly, The Puniſhment conſtantly follows the Sin; or rather indeed, as *Heſiod* yet more nicely obſerves, They are Twin-Children, and come into the World together. Now the Caſe of Virtue is juſt the Reverſe of This; It gratifies, and ſooths us; leaves ſweet and pleaſing Remembrances behind: Fills us with inward Complacencies, ſecret Congratulations of our own Happineſs, and inexpreſſible Satisfaction, in having done what becomes us. This is the true Reward of a virtuous Mind, a Happineſs inherent and Eſſential to it. And the Applauſes, and Joys, and Tranſports of a Good Conſcience, as they are ſure to us, and cannot be withheld by any who envy our Virtue, or our Fame; ſo are they likewiſe, ſo large, and full; ſo generous and noble, and ſufficient, as may very well encourage, and ſatisfy us, during our continuance in this preſent World.

18. *Whether it be ever allowable to do a fault.*

That Vice is, above all things in the world, to be hated, abominated, and avoided, no body, that I know of, ever pretended to diſpute. But ſome Queſtion may be made, whether we are obliged to be ſo general, and irreconcilable in our Hatred, that it ſhould be impoſſible for any Pleaſure or Advantage ſo deſirable to offer it ſelf, for the proſpect of which the committing of any Vice might not be allowable, at leaſt excuſable in us. Many people indeed

deed are but too apt to think, that there are several such reserved Cases, wherein the common Rules of Morality may be very fairly dispensed with. And, if we allow the Advantage to be publick, the Writers of Politicks make no doubt of it, (provided the proceedings be so qualified, as I shall have occasion to advise, when I come to treat of the Virtue of Prudence in point of Government.) But some have not been content to restrain this Liberty to the necessities of State; but have enlarged its bounds beyond their just extent; and given the same Allowance to the Private Pleasure and Profit of single Men. Now This is a thing not possible to be determined in favour of their Assertion, without the Case were stated in all its Circumstances; and both the Person, the Quality of the Fact, and the Nature of the Advantage proposed, particularly specified. But otherwise, while we treat of the Matter simply, and abstractedly, it is a general Rule, not only in Religion, but in mere Morality too, That the prospect of no Advantage or Pleasure whatsoever, will justify a Man in doing any thing Ill in it self, or which is contrary to his Duty and Conscience.

19. *Whether all Sin beget Repentance.*

Again; It is past a doubt, that Sin and Wickedness hath it not in its power to furnish out Pleasures and Satisfactions so solid and agreeable, as Virtue and the Consciousness of one's own Sincerity, is able and wont to do; nay, it is most certain, that Vices are their own Tormentors, and execute severe Vengeance upon the Authors. But yet this is not universally, and in all Cases true; and therefore it is necessary to make some distinction of Persons and Circumstances. Now Wickedness, and Wicked Men may be distributed into three sorts. Some, *first*, are perfectly incorporated with Evil, they Reason themselves into it; their Resolutions and the whole Bent of their Wills are fixed entirely in its Interests; or else long Custom hath got such a perfect Mastery

over them, that they cannot Diſengage themſelves. Theſe miſerable Wretches are utterly abandoned; their very Underſtanding is vitiated, ſees, conſents to, and approves the Evil: And This uſually is the Caſe, when Vice and Debauchery meets with a Strong and Vigorous Mind, and hath taken ſuch deep root in it, that it comes at laſt to be naturalized, and of a piece with it; all the Faculties are tinctured, it is corrupted throughout, and Vice ſo cloſely interwoven, as to become a part of its Temper and Conſtitution. Others, *ſecondly*, have their Intervals of Folly only; They are wicked now and then by fits, juſt as any violent Guſh of a Temptation diſturbs or puts them out of their Courſe; or ſome impetuous Paſſion drives them headlong upon the Rocks; ſo that theſe Men are ſurprized, and carried away forcibly, by a Current too ſtrong for them to ſtem. The *Third* ſort are betwixt theſe two Extremes: They have a right Notion of Vice, conſider'd in it ſelf; and when they reflect upon their Fault abſtractedly, do ſeverely accuſe and condemn themſelves for it; and thus they differ from the Firſt Sort, who are advanced even to the deſperate degree of a good liking of Wickedneſs: But then they have not the violence or ſurprize of Paſſions or Temptations to qualify and extenuate their Crime; and in this reſpect they differ from the Second ſort too. But theſe Men go to work in cold blood, and with great deliberation; they weigh Circumſtances, and drive a Bargain as it were; obſerve well the Heinouſneſs of the Sin; and then put the Pleaſure or Profit it brings, into the contrary Scale; and thus they barter away their Souls, and are content to be wicked at a certain Price, and for ſuch as they think a valuable Conſideration. They lend themſelves to the Devil, for ſo much Intereſt to be paid for the uſe of their Perſons; and are ſo fooliſh to think, that there is a great deal to be ſaid, in excuſe for ſuch a Commerce

Commerce as this. Of this kind we may reckon Extortion, and Oppression, and Covetousness for Gain; and the Excesses and Debaucheries of Wine and Women for the sake of Pleasure; and indeed several other Sins committed upon occasions, though they be not reigning and habitual; such as Men think, and consult upon, and at last resolve wrong; where the Will is manifestly concerned, or where the Complexion of the Man is apt, against his Reason and better Sense, to determine him.

Now the First of these Three sorts are past repenting by ordinary Means, and nothing less than an unusual, and almost miraculous Impression from Heaven can be supposed to reclaim them. For *they are* (as the Apostle expresses it) *past feeling*, and *commit* evil even *with Greediness*. The Stings and Prickings of Wickedness are very sharp and piercing indeed, but these Men's Consciences are so tough and harden'd, that nothing can enter them. Besides, The Understanding, as was observed, is brought over to an Approbation of the thing; and so all Sense of Remorse must be lost, which proceeds chiefly from acting against our better Judgment; The Soul is entirely corrupted, the Distinctions of Good and Evil obliterated and worn away; and consequently the Will can be under no sollicitude to restrain, or refuse. The Third sort of Men, though they may appear in some measure to repent, and condemn themselves, yet in reality, and properly speaking, they do not. Take the Fact by it self, as a matter unlawful and unbecoming, and so they disallow it; but view it dress up in all its gay Attire, with all the Circumstances of Pleasure and Profit, that recommend, and set it off, and you shall find them of another Opinion. They think the Advantage of their Sin, a sufficient Compensation for the Guilt; and cannot be said to repent of That, which had the full and free Consent of their Reason and

20. *These Three compared.*

Conſcience; and with which they are always ready to cloſe, as often as it ſhall proffer it ſelf upon the ſame Terms. So that in Truth the Second ſort ſeem to be the only perſons, that are ſeriouſly concerned to repent, and reform. And ſince we are now upon the mention of Repentance, I ſhall take this opportunity to ſay one word upon that Subject.

21. *Repentance.* *Repentance*, is a Diſpoſition, or rather an Act of the Will, whereby the Man diſclaims, and ſo far as in him lies, undoes again what he had done before. It is a Grief and Sadneſs of Heart, but differing in this one reſpect from all other Pains and Paſſions of that kind, ariſing from external Cauſes, That Reaſon begets, and heightens This, whereas it mitigates and expels Thoſe. Repentance is wholly internal; the Ground and Foundation of it is from within, and upon that account it is more violent than any other: As the Cold of Agues and Heat of Fevers is more fierce and inſupportable to the Patient, than any, which is ever occaſioned by Objects from without. Repentance is the Phyſick of the Soul; the Death of Vice; the only Health of Wounded Conſciences, and Depraved Wills. But though all Mankind muſt agree in the Excellent Effects and Commendations of the thing, yet many miſtake it; and therefore good care ſhould be taken to diſtinguiſh aright, and be perfectly informed in this matter. As Firſt; There are ſome ſorts of ſin, of which Men very hardly, and ſeldom repent; as was obſerved juſt now concerning old inveterate Vices, ſuch as Cuſtom hath made in a manner natural and neceſſary, and the Corruption of the Judgment hath given Authority to, by determining in their Favour. For while a Man continues under the power of ſuch Habits, and the Blindneſs of ſuch an erroneous Choice; the ſenſe of his Mind is with him; and he feels no Check or Reluctancy at all; ſo that Repentance, which implies ſuch Regret, is

(uſually

(usually speaking) terminated in Accidental and Occasional Miscarriages; the sudden and surprizing Faults, where there is not leisure for Deliberation to interpose; or the Violent Sallies of Passion, where the Judgment is over-power'd, and under some Constraint to do amiss. Another sort of things there are, which a Man cannot be said with any Truth or Propriety of Speech to repent of; and those are, Such as are out of a Man's own Power: At these indeed we may conceive a Just Indignation, or be much concerned, and extremely sorry for them; but we cannot be said to Repent of them, because This implies not only Sorrow, but the blaming and condemning our selves, and failing in what we might have done better. Nor does That displeasure of Mind deserve this Name, which proceeds from the disappointment of our Expectations, or Events contrary to our Wishes and Intentions. We laid, as we thought, a very wise Project, and had a very fair prospect of Success; but Matters have happen'd quite otherwise, than we imagined it likely or possible for them to do; and some unforeseen Accident steps in betwixt, and blasts the whole Design. Now pray, What is all this to the Matter in hand? or what ground can here possibly be for Repentance? The Design, and the Method, were well and justly contrived; every wise and good Man would have taken the same Course. You have done your Duty; but you have not succeeded in it. And is that any fault of Yours? You advised well, and proceeded regularly; and this is the utmost Man can do. For we can neither command Events, nor have any positive knowledge before-hand what they will be. The Uncertainty of the Issue is the foundation of all Prudence and good Conduct, for were This fixt and foreknown, no place could be left for Deliberation and Management; And therefore there is not a greater weakness, nor a more unreasonable pretence

in the world, either for tormenting our ſelves, or entertaining meaner thoughts of others, than Want of Succeſs. Advice, and Conduct are by no means to be judged by the Event; for there is an unſeen, and an unaccountable Providence, that directs all the Chances, that ſometimes defeats the wiſeſt, and proſpers the weakeſt and moſt unpromiſing Counſels and Undertakings. Again; Repentance is not, as ſome fondly ſuppoſe, that Change of Mind, which proceeds from Old Age, Impotence, want of Opportunity, or want of Inclination, or any ſuch Diſreliſh, as either Satiety and Exceſs, or a natural Alteration of Palate, brings upon us. For there is a mighty Difference between forſaking Vice, and being forſaken of it; between denying our Appetites when they are keen and eager; and gratifying them by a pleaſing Abſtinence from what they are cloyed with already. Beſides, To like any thing the worſe upon theſe accounts, is really a Corruption of, and a Reflection upon our Judgment. For the things are ſtill the ſame; the ſame Approbation, or the ſame Diſlike, was due to them heretofore, no leſs than now; All the Change is in our Selves only, and that too is a Change in no degree voluntary or choſen, but purely neceſſary or accidental, the effect of Age or Sickneſs. We ſpeak moſt improperly, when we ſay that a Man is grown wiſer or better in ſuch caſes; for all the Reformation, that proceeds from humour or diſcontent; from diſreliſh or diſability; is Fear, and Phlegm, Coldneſs, and Liſtleſsneſs. There is oftentimes not the leaſt of Real Conviction, or any Principle of Conſcience in it. And ſure a feeble Body is a very unfit Conveyance, to carry us to God, and drive us to Repentance and our Duty. For true Repentance is ſomewhat very different from all this; it is a particular Gift of God, by which we grow wiſe in good earneſt; a Remorſe, which checks our hotteſt Career, even in the midſt of

of Sprightlineſs and Courage; and this is what muſt be created and cheriſhed in us, not by the want of opportunities, or of power to uſe them, not by the weakneſs of a Body broken, and worn out, and grown unſerviceable to Vice any longer; but by the Strength of Reaſon and Thought, and the better conſideration of a Reſolute and Vigorous Mind. For nothing more argues Greatneſs of Soul, than the Correcting our former Follies, and Steadineſs in a new Courſe of Life; notwithſtanding all the Difficulties and Diſcouragements of an entire Reformation.

22. *Of Confeſſing and Excuſing Faults.*

Now One fruit of true Repentance, is a frank, and conſcientious Confeſſion of one's Faults; This is uſually the Sign, the Conſequence, and in ſome Caſes ſo neceſſary a Qualification, that all Profeſſions of Penitence without it are Hypocritical and vain. It is with the Mind in theſe Reſpects, as with our Bodies. For, as in Bodily Diſtempers there are two ſorts of Remedies made uſe of, One, that make a perfect Cure, by going to the very Root, and removing the Cauſe of the Diſeaſe; Another, which only ſooth the Patient, conſult his preſent Eaſe; and are properly termed Quieting Medicines; and, as in this caſe, that former Application is much more painful, but withal more powerful and effectual, and better for the perſon, than the latter; So likewiſe in the Wounds and Sickneſſes of the Soul, the true Remedy is of a ſearching and a cleanſing quality; and This is ſuch an Acknowledgment of our Faults, as is full of Seriouſneſs and Shame; a being content to take the Scandal, and the Folly of them upon our ſelves. But there is another deceitful Remedy, which only covers, and diſguiſes them; its deſign is not to heal, ſo much as to conceal the Diſeaſe; and this conſiſts in Extenuations, and Excuſes; from whence we commonly ſay, That *Wickedneſs makes it ſelf a Garment, to cover its own Shame.* This is a Remedy invented by the Au-

thor of Evil himſelf; and it anſwers the Malice of his Nature and his purpoſes, by rendring the Party ſo much the worſe, and obſtructing the Methods of his Recovery. Such were the Shifts, and Shufflings, ſuch the Covering of their Nakedneſs, which the Firſt Tranſgreſſors made; the Fig-leaves and the Excuſes were both alike, and made the Matter but ſo much the worſe, while they laboured to mend it.

We ſhould therefore by all means learn to accuſe our ſelves; and get that neceſſary Conqueſt over our Pride and Self-love, as frankly and fully to confeſs the very worſt of our Thoughts and Actions, and not allow our ſelves in any reſerves of this kind. For, beſides, that this would beget a brave and generous Openneſs of Soul; it would likewiſe be a wonderful Check, and effectual Preſervative, againſt all ſuch Actions and Thoughts, as are not fit to be publickly known, and what a Man would be aſhamed of, if they were ſo. For He that obliges himſelf to tell all he does, will be ſure to take care not to do any thing which ſhall need to be concealed. But alas! the Common Practice of this naughty World is the direct contrary to the Advice I am giving. Every Man is diſcreet, and modeſt, and ſecret in the Confeſſing; but bold, and free from all reſtraint, in the Committing part. For as indeed the Confidence and Hardineſs of the Crime, would be very much curbed and abated; ſo likewiſe would it be in ſome meaſure compenſated, by an equal frankneſs and hardineſs in the accuſing of our Selves, and acknowledging what we have done amiſs. For whatever Indecency there may be in doing an ill thing, not to dare to confeſs our ſelves in the wrong, is ten thouſand times more odious and baſe. To this purpoſe we may obſerve, that there are ſeveral Inſtances of Perſons eminent for Piety, and Learning; ſuch as St. *Auguſtin*, *Origen*, *Hippocrates*, and the like; who have taken pains to diſ-

abuſe

abuſe the World, and to publiſh Books, wherein they confeſs and retract their own Miſtakes and erroneous Opinions; and well were it, if People could be brought to ſuch a Degree of Sincerity, as to do the ſame in point of Morals, and Misbehaviour. Whereas now, they oftentimes incur a greater Guilt, by endeavouring to hide and ſmother a leſs; for a publick premeditated Lye ſeems to Carry ſome Aggravations along with it, which render it more abominable and more Vicious, than ſome other Facts committed in ſecret; though theſe be ſuch as in their own Nature, are apt to raiſe a greater Abhorrence and Deteſtation in us. All This does but inflame the Reckoning; it either makes the firſt Fault worſe, or adds a freſh one to it; and in either caſe the Guilt of the Man is not abated, but increaſed; and whether we count this Increaſe by way of Addition, or of Multiplication, the Matter comes all to one.

CHAP. IV.

The Second Fundamental Point of Wiſdom.

The Fixing to one's ſelf a particular End, and then chalking out ſome determinate Track, or Courſe of Life; which may be proper for leading us to that End.

AFter having ſpoken ſo largely concerning this firſt Fundamental Point, the Real and Hearty Sincerity, upon which Wiſdom muſt be built, we are now led to ſay ſome ſmall matter of the Second Prediſpoſition, which is alſo neceſſary in order to living prudently and well. And That is, the Pitching 1.

ing upon, and Drawing out to one's ſelf ſome determinate Method or Courſe of Life, that we may not live at large, and at random; but betake our ſelves to ſome particular ſort of Buſineſs, or Profeſſion, which may be proper and convenient for us. My meaning is, ſuch as a Man's own Temper and Natural Diſpoſition qualifies him for, and applies it ſelf chearfully to; (with this Caution only, that, while we follow our own Nature in particular, there be a conſtant Regard had to the Dictates of Human Nature in general, which is and ought to be the Great, the General, the Governing Miſtreſs of us all, as you were told in the laſt Chapter.) For Wiſdom is a gentle and regular Management of our Soul, that moves and acts in due meaſure and proportion, and conſiſts in a conſtant Evenneſs of Life, and Conſiſtency of Behaviour.

2. *This no eaſy matter.* It muſt then of neceſſity be a matter of very great moment, to manage our ſelves well in making this Choice; with regard to which People behave themſelves very differently, and act with great confuſion, and perplexity; by reaſon of the great variety of Conſiderations, and Motives, which they are influenced with; and Theſe many times ſuch as interfere, and confound one another. Some indeed are very fortunate in this Choice, and proceed with great Alacrity and Succeſs; and theſe are ſuch, as either by reaſon of a particular Happineſs in their Nature, found no great difficulty in diſcerning and chuſing what was moſt proper for their purpoſe; or elſe by ſome lucky hit, which ſpared them the trouble of any great deliberation, are thrown into their own Element; ſo that Fortune hath choſen for them, and fixed them right; or elſe the friendly aſſiſtance and diſcreet care of ſome Friends, who had the adviſing, or the diſpoſal of them, hath conducted them in this weighty Affair, to the beſt Advantage.

Others

Others again are in the contrary Extreme, the moſt unhappy and ill-ſuited with their Circumſtances, that can poſſibly be imagined. They made a falſe Step at firſt, and have never been able to retrieve it ſince. Either they wanted the Judgment to know themſelves, or the diligence and care which was neceſſary, to take right Meaſures, or to think better, and knock off in time, when they found they had taken wrong. For the beſt thing left for Them to do, had been to recede quietly; whereas for want of this prudent retiring, they find themſelves afterwards engaged too far, and beyond all poſſibility of a Retreat. Which being now cut off, they are forced to drudge on, through infinite Inconveniences; and lead a Life made up of nothing elſe, but Trouble and Conſtraint, Repentance and Diſcontents.

But then This frequently happens too, from ſome failure in the perſon, that deliberates about it, and conſiders amiſs; as well as from the Ignorance or the Raſhneſs, of ſuch as conſider very little, or not at all. And That may be, from a Man's miſtaking his own Genius, or Capacity; and thinking too highly of his own Abilities. And when upon theſe falſe Preſumptions he hath undertaken any thing above his management, the Conſequence of it is; Either to lay it down again with Diſgrace; Or elſe to live in perpetual pain, and torment, by obſtinately perſiſting in an Attempt too much for him. We ſhould always remember, that he that lifts a Burden, muſt be ſtronger than his Burden; for elſe there is no remedy, but he muſt let alone, what he cannot carry; or ſink under the weight of it. And a wiſe Man will always be Maſter of his own Buſineſs, and not undertake more than it is poſſible for him to diſpatch.

There is alſo another Obſtruction of this kind, no leſs common and fatal, than the Former; which is a ſtrange

a ſtrange Levity of Temper, that never ſticks to any thing, but is every day forming ſome new Project; Thus we ſee abundance of People that are never pleaſed or ſatisfied with any thing; every thing gives them uneaſineſs and diſcontent; Tired of Buſineſs, and Sick of Leiſure; Governing and being Governed makes them equally reſtleſs, and they can neither lead nor follow quietly. Such Creatures as theſe are doom'd to Wretchedneſs irrecoverable; for they are always under Conſtraint, and Miſery; every thing they do is grievous, and againſt the grain: And, which adds yet more to their Unhappineſs, they can never reſt in quiet, but are always in motion and buſtle, and all the while without any deſign; conſtantly buſy, and nothing done; Whereas the Actions of a wiſe Man have always ſome Aim, to direct and determine them. * *And you muſt know 'tis no ſmall commendation for a Man to be conſtantly the ſame; for all of us are of a thouſand different forms and ſhapes, and none but the Wiſe Man is all of a piece.*

But the greater part of Mankind never beſtow any ſerious thought upon the matter; and if you ask why they are of this Profeſſion rather than any other, the only account they are able to give is, that their Father was of it, or that they took a ſudden fancy to it; they are carried by Inſtinct, or Conſtraint, their own blind inclination, or the Authority of Friends and Relations. And as they engaged in it without Thinking, ſo they are at a loſs how to diſengage again.

3. Now in order to a Man's managing himſelf in this Affair as he ought; that both his Choice may be wiſely made, and the Diſcharge of the Employment

* Magnam rem puta unum hominem agere; præter ſapientem nemo unum agit, multiformes ſumus.

he

he hath choſen, may prove ſucceſsful; there are Two things which require a very particular Conſideration; and theſe are, The true Nature and Condition, both of Himſelf, and of his Buſineſs.

1. Firſt, It is abſolutely requiſite, he ſhould be perfectly well acquainted with his own Mind; the Conſtitution, Inclination, Capacity, and Temper of Soul and Body both; Wherein it is, that his Excellency lies; and Which are his weak and blind Sides: What he is qualified for, and of What he is uncapable, or leſs diſpoſed to. For a Man that goes againſt Nature, does in effect tempt God, and bid defiance to Providence; he cuts himſelf out a great deal of work, which he can never finiſh; and by breaking that known Rule, of † *attempting nothing which we cannot maſter*; expoſes himſelf to Scorn and Deriſion, and becomes the Jeſt of all that know him.

2. After this Knowledge of himſelf, it is, in the next place, as neceſſary, that he ſhould be acquainted with his Buſineſs; that is, with That Employment, or Truſt, or particular Condition of Life, which he propoſes to fix in. For there are ſome Profeſſions incumbred with Matters of great difficulty; Others of vaſt importance; a Third ſort, that expoſe us to Danger; and a Fourth, where the Buſineſs, though it be not of any mighty Conſequence, is yet extremely intricate and perplexed; and involves a Man in a world of Trouble and Care, and other Affairs that depend upon, or are interwoven with it. Now all Employments of this Nature do greatly haraſs and fatigue the Mind; and keep one's Thoughts always buſy and bent. Beſides, As the Buſineſs of each Profeſſion differs from the reſt, ſo do the Faculties and Parts, that qualify Men

† Nec quidquam ſequi quod aſſequi nequeas.

for

for it. One requires Acuracy of Judgment; Another Livelineſs of Imagination; a Third, Strength of Memory; and a Man may be very eminent and commendable in himſelf; and yet ſpoil all, by being in a wrong way. Now what hath been formerly obſerved in the firſt Book, concerning the Parts and Faculties of the Mind in general, and the differing Temperaments of the Brain, may, I preſume, be of ſome uſe in this point; and, if judiciouſly applied, aſſiſt and direct Men toward the underſtanding, both the Nature of each Profeſſion, and Courſe of Life; and their own Fitneſs or Incapacity for it. For by examining firſt their own Diſpoſition, and then the State of Life they have thoughts of, and then confronting, and comparing theſe two together, they will ſoon diſcern, whether theſe will ever hit it, and agree long with each other; for agree they muſt, or no Good can be done: This will quickly ſhew Men, what they are to truſt to. For if it happen, that a Man be obliged to ſtruggle with his own Inclination, and muſt conquer, and commit a violence upon his Nature, to make it ſerviceable to his purpoſe, and capable of diſcharging the Employment he hath taken upon him; Or on the other hand; if in obedience to Nature, and to gratify our Inclination, we are, either with our own conſent, or inſenſibly and againſt our Wills, trapann'd into a Courſe, that falls ſhort of our Duty, or runs counter to it; what miſerable Confuſion and Diſorder muſt here needs be? How can we ever expect Evenneſs, under ſo much Force? Conſtancy from ſo much Conſtraint, or Decorum where every thing is againſt the Grain? For as is well obſerved; * *If there be ſuch a thing as Decency*

* Si quicquam decorum, nihil profecto magis, quam æquabilitas Vitæ univerſæ & ſingularum actionum; quam conſervare non poſſis, ſi aliorum imitans Naturam, omittas tuam.

in

in the world, it is ſeen in nothing more than in an eaſineſs and conſiſtency both of one's whole life in general, and of each particular Action in it. And this Decorum can never be maintain'd, if you live in conformity to other people's diſpoſitions, and have no regard to the following your own. There cannot be a vainer Imagination, than to ſuppoſe any thing can laſt long, or be well done, and eminently good in its kind, or that it can become a Man, or ſit eaſy upon him, if there be not ſomewhat of Nature and Inclination in it.

† ——*Diſcern which way your Talent lies,*
Nor vainly ſtruggle with your Genius. Lord *Roſcom.*

* *That which is moſt a Man's own, is always moſt graceful; And we muſt always take care ſo to order matters, as firſt to offer no Violence againſt Nature in general; and then to follow our own Genius in particular.*

But now, if it ſhould ſo fall out, that a Man, either through Misfortune, Imprudence, or any other Accident, ſhould perceive himſelf entred into a Profeſſion, and courſe of Life, full of Trouble, inconvenient, and improper; and that he is ſo deeply engaged too, that there is no poſſibility of changing, or getting quit of it; in this caſe, all that Wiſdom and good Conduct hath to do, is to reſolve upon ſupporting, and ſweetning it; keeping one's ſelf eaſy, and making the moſt of it: Like skilful Gameſters, who when they have an ill Throw, mend it in the playing. For *Plato*'s Counſel is beſt upon theſe occaſions, the bearing our Chance patiently, and managing it to all the Advantage an ill Bargain is

† Tu nihil invitâ dices faciesve Minervâ. *Hor. Art. Poet.*

* Id quemque decet quod eſt ſuum maximè. Sic eſt faciendum, ut contra naturam univerſam nil contendamus; eâ ſervatâ propriam ſequamur.

capable

capable of. You ſee what a Knack of this kind Nature hath given to ſome ſort of Creatures; when the Bees out of an Herb ſo rough and harſh and dry, as Thyme is, can extract ſo ſweet a Subſtance as Honey. And This is ſuch an Excellence, as all thoſe wiſe and good Men Imitate, who manage Difficulties dextrouſly, and, as the Proverb expreſſes it, *make a Virtue of Neceſſity.*

CHAP. V.

The Firſt Act or Office of Wiſdom.

The Study of, and ſerious Endeavour after True Piety.

THE neceſſary Preparations to Wiſdom, being thus explained in the former Chapters, which are in the manner of laying our Foundation, it may now be ſeaſonable to proceed to the Building it ſelf, and erect upon this Ground-work, the Rules and Precepts of Wiſdom. And here the Firſt, both in Order and Dignity, which offers it ſelf to our Conſideration, concerns true Religion, and the Service of Almighty God. For certainly Piety ought to have the precedence of all Virtues, and is the higheſt and moſt honourable in the Scale of Duties; But the greater and more important it is, the more we are concerned to have a right notion of it; eſpecially, when to the infinite conſequence of the thing, we add the danger of being miſtaken, and withal, how very common and eaſy it is, to deceive our ſelves in this point. Great need therefore we have of Caution and good Advice, that we may be truly informed, how

how the Man, who makes Wiſdom his Aim and Buſineſs, ought to manage himſelf upon this weighty occaſion. And the giving Directions of this nature is the deſign of my preſent Diſcourſe; after I have firſt made a ſhort Digreſſion concerning the State and Succeſs of ſeveral ſorts of Religion in the World. Of which I ſhall chuſe to ſpeak but briefly here, and refer my Reader for farther Satisfaction, to what I have ſaid more at large to this purpoſe, in another Treatiſe of mine, called the *Three Truths*.

1. *Difference of Religions.*

And firſt of all, I cannot but take notice, how diſmal and deplorable a thing, the great Variety of Religions is, which either now do, or formerly have obtained in the World. And, which is yet a greater misfortune and reproach, the Oddneſs of ſome of them; Opinions and Rites, ſo fantaſtical, ſo exorbitant, that it is juſt matter of wonder and aſtoniſhment, which way the Mind of Man could ſo far degenerate into Brutality, and be ſo miſerably beſotted with Frauds and Folly. For upon examination it will appear, that there is ſcarce any one thing ſo high or ſo low, but it hath been Deified; and even the vileſt and moſt contemptible parts of the Creation, have, in ſome quarter of the World or other, found People blind enough to pay them Divine Honours, and Adoration.

Now, notwithſtanding this Difference be really as vaſt, and as horrid, as I have intimated, or my Reader can imagine; yet there ſeem to be ſome General Points in common, which, like Principles or Fundamentals, are ſuch, as Moſt, if not All of them have agreed in. For however they may wander from one another, and take different Paths afterwards, yet they ſet out alike, and walk hand in hand for ſome Conſiderable Time. At leaſt they appear, and affect to do ſo; the Devil transforming himſelf into an Angel of Light; and undermining the Truth

by Mimicking it; as knowing that the moſt effectual Art to ſeduce Men is by contriving fair and plauſible Lies; and dreſſing up Wickedneſs in its moſt engaging Attire. To this purpoſe it is obſervable, that the moſt prevailing Perſuaſions have ſprung from the ſame Climate, and firſt drew breath in almoſt the ſame Air. *Paleſtine* I mean and *Arabia*, which are Countries contiguous to one another. Some of their Firſt and main Principles are very near alike; ſuch as the Belief of one God, the Maker and Governor of all things; All own the Providence of God, and his Particular Love and Favour for Mankind; the Immortality of the Soul; a Reward in Reſerve for the Good; and terrible Puniſhments, which await the Wicked, even after this Life; ſome particular Profeſſion, and ſet Form of Solemn and External Worſhip, by which they put up their Prayers, invoke the Name of God, and think that a decent Honour, and acceptable Service and Homage is paid to the Divine Majeſty by ſo doing. To give theſe a better Countenance and greater Authority in the World, ſome of them really produce, and others pretend Revelations, Viſions, Propheſies, Miracles, Prodigies; Holy Myſteries, and eminent Examples of Saints, Perſons exemplary for their Piety, or Sufferings, or Doctrine; and theſe Allegations, whether true or falſe, ſpeak the General and Natural Senſe of Mankind to agree in the expectations of Revelation from Heaven, and that Miracles are proper Atteſtations of them. Each hath a particular Scheme of its own, which diſtinguiſhes the Receivers of it from Thoſe of different Perſwaſions, and impoſes certain Articles of Faith and Forms of Diſcipline; Some as Terms of Communion, and Marks of Diſtinction, and Others as neceſſary to be believ'd in order to Salvation. All of them have at firſt been weak, and low, and little regarded; but from thoſe ſlender Beginnings have by degrees gained ground upon the People,

been

been insinuated, received, applauded, and at last entirely submitted to, by vast Multitudes; spread far and wide, and established themselves; as if Opinions ran like contagious Diseases, and all that came within the Air of them, were sure to catch the Infection. And yet some of these owe all their Authority to Fictions and Tricks; insomuch that even the absurdest and most senseless of all Errors, have been embraced with as great Reverence and Devotion, and maintained with as much Stiffness and as Positive a Confidence, as the very Truth it self. All of them do likewise agree in their Notions of Appeasing God; and teach unanimously that Prayers, and Offerings, Promises and Vows, Days of Extraordinary Humiliation and Thanksgiving, are proper methods to incline his Ear, and obtain his Favour and good Acceptance for our Persons and our Requests; All believe, that the Principal and most pleasing Service we can pay to God, the most powerful means of averting his Indignation, reconciling our selves, and becoming agreeable to him, is by giving one's self some torment and trouble; by laying heavy Burdens upon our selves, and cutting out a great deal of work, the more difficult and contrary to our inclination, the better, and more meritorious. For what other account but this, can we give of those infinite Profes'd Austerities enjoin'd to particular Orders, the abundance of Fraternities, and Societies of Men, which in all Religions throughout the World, the *Mahometan* as well as Christian, are devoted to sundry peculiar Exercises, full of Severity, and Discipline; of Poverty and Pain; and Corporal Sufferings; even so far in some of them, as to scourge, and wound, and mangle their own Persons? These are observed to be more numerous, and differently instituted in False Religions, than the True: And All this, from a strong persuasion, that they merit by this Discipline and voluntary Cruelty; and are in

proportion ſo much better Men than Others, as they afflict and torment themſelves more than They. An Imagination, which ſtill prevails, and ſuch as human Nature is never like to get quit of; for we ſee every day freſh Inſtances, and new Inventions of this kind, and what induſtry Men uſe to be more ingenious and exquiſite, in contriving new ſorts of mortification and puniſhment. Now all this, I ſay, can be accounted for no other way, than by aſſigning it to an Opinion, that God takes delight, and is wonderfully pleaſed with the Sufferings and Calamities of his Creatures: An Imagination, which to thoſe who think Sacrifices to have been of human Invention, ſeems to have been the Ground of all that way of Worſhip, which, before the Chriſtian Religion made its Appearance in the world, was univerſally practiſed. Thus harmleſs Beaſts were butchered every where, and their Blood ſpilt, and poured out upon Altars, as a valuable Preſent to the Divinity; and thus too in ſome places (ſo prodigious was the Infatuation of Mankind) poor little innocent Children were barbarouſly tortured and murdered; and Grown Perſons, ſometimes Malefactors, and ſometimes Men of eminent Virtue and clear Reputation, were offered in Sacrifice; and this was the uſual Worſhip of almoſt all Nations, and looked upon, as one of the moſt ſolemn, and moſt acceptable Acts of Devotion. Thus the Old *Getæ* in *Scythia* are ſaid, among other inſtances of Adoration and Honour paid to their God *Zamolxis*, to diſpatch a Man to him once in five years, to conſult and ſupplicate him in all things neceſſary for them. And, becauſe the Ceremony requires, that this Advocate of theirs ſhould dye in an inſtant, and the manner of expoſing him to death, (which is the being pierced through with three Javelins) is ſomewhat doubtful in the Execution; therefore it often happens, that ſeveral are thus diſpatched, before any one

See the Notes.

one wounds himſelf in a part ſo mortal, as to expire immediately; and only He that does ſo, is eſteemed a Favourite of their God, and proper for that purpoſe; but all the reſt who dye ſlowly, are to be rejected, as unfit for this Sacrifice. Thus did the *Perſians* worſhip their Gods; as that ſingle fact of *Ameſtris*, the Mother of *Xerxes*, teſtifies; who, in agreement to the Principles of Religion then prevailing in that Country, did, as an Offering of Thanks for her own long and proſperous Life, bury fourteen young Perſons of Quality alive, Branches of the Nobleſt Families in the whole Kingdom. So likewiſe did the ancient *Gauls*, and *Carthaginians*, among whom young Children were Sacrificed to *Saturn*, and that with ſo remorſleſs a Zeal, that even the Fathers and Mothers uſed to be preſent, and aſſiſting at the Ceremony. Thus the *Lacedemonians* ſought to ingratiate themſelves with their Goddeſs *Diana*, by ſcourging their young Men in Complaiſance to her; nay, doing it with ſuch Rigor, that they expired under it; for the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* ſhews, that ſhe was worſhipped with human Blood. The Inſtance of the two *Decij* proves, that the *Romans* were poſſeſt with the ſame Imagination too; which gave occaſion for this Reflection in one of their Writers; * *What ſtrange Provocation could make the Gods ſo extremely hard and ſevere, that there was no way of reconciling them to the People of* Rome, *unleſs the Atonement were made by the blood of ſuch gallant Men?* Thus, the *Mahometans*, who ſlaſh and cut their Faces, their Breaſts, and other Members, to recommend themſelves to their Prophet; and the people in our new Diſcoveries of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and at *Themiſtitan*, where they cement the Images of their

* Quæ fuit tanta iniquitas Deorum, ut placari Pop. Rom. non poſſint, niſi tales viri occidiſſent?

Gods, with Children's Blood. Now what Madneſs, what Stupidity is this, to ſuppoſe, that Inhuman Actions can ever gain upon the Divine Nature; that the Goodneſs of God is requited, or decently acknowledged by our own Sufferings; or that Barbarity can be a proper Method of ſatisfying his angry Juſtice? As if Juſtice could thirſt after human Blood, or feaſt it ſelf upon the Innocent lives, that are ſpilt with infinite torture, and the moſt exquiſite pain. † *At this rate the Gods are fond of expiations which even Men abominate; and the Mercy of Heaven is purchaſed with ſuch Barbarities, as all Nature ſtarts at.* Whence could ſo wild a fancy as this, a fancy ſo diſtant from all the Juſt Ideas and Perfections of God ſpring up, that he takes a pleaſure in the miſery of human nature, and the ruin, or at leaſt the torment and damage of his own Workmanſhip? What can be more impious or extravagant, and how monſtrous a Being does ſuch a Belief as This, make of God? And how juſtly does the Doctrine of Chriſt command our Reverence and Eſteem, which hath aboliſhed all ſuch Worſhip, and rectified Mens Notions in this matter?

3. *And others wherein they differ.*

Now as All, or Moſt Religions have been ſhewed to have ſome Principles in common, wherein they are agreed, ſo have they likewiſe Others, peculiar to themſelves; Certain Articles, which are the Characters, and, as it were, the Boundaries of their Reſpective Communions; and ſerve to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the many Sects and Profeſſions from one another. With regard to Theſe it is, that the Men of every Religion prefer themſelves above all the World beſides; that they affirm, with great aſſurance, their own Perſuaſion to be the beſt, the pureſt, the moſt

† Ut ſic Dij placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem ſæviunt.

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Orthodox of any; and, as another means of magnifying themſelves, are eternally reproaching thoſe that differ from them, with Errors and Corruptions; and by this means they are eternally employed too in creating Breaches, or in widening and keeping open ſuch as are already made; by the mutual Diſallowance and Condemnation, which every Party is perpetually declaring againſt the Notions of every other Party; and repreſenting all Syſtems, but their own, to be falſe and dangerous, and by no means to be admitted.

4. But, Bleſſed be God, We Chriſtians need be in no pain in the midſt of this Variety and Conteſt. Our Religion having the Advantages of all others, both in point of Authentick and unqueſtionable Teſtimony, and in other Excellencies peculiar to it ſelf. This I have demonſtrated at large in the Second of my Three Truths, and ſhewed the manifeſt Preeminence due to it.

5. *The later are built upon the former and more ancient.* Now One thing is very worthy our Obſervation in this general Strife; and That is the Advantage, which Time and Succeſſion have given in this matter. For we ſhall find, that in proportion as One Religion hath been of a later date than another, ſo it hath gained ſomewhat from that which came into the World before it, and the Younger hath always built and raiſed it ſelf upon the Elder; more particularly upon that, which was next of all before it in Order and Time. And the method of effecting this hath been, not by diſproving or exploding all that went before in the groſs and at once; for upon theſe terms it could never have found entertainment, or got any manner of Footing with people ſo prepoſſeſſed; but the Courſe hath been, to accuſe what was formerly received, of ſome defect or Inſufficiency; alledging that the Inſtitution was imperfect in it ſelf; or that it was only Temporary; and the Term, for which it was calculated, then expired;

and therefore this New Additional one was neceſſary to ſucceed in the place of an aboliſhed, and to compleat an unfiniſhed Religion. And thus by degrees the New one riſes upon the Ruins of the Old, and is enriched by the Spoils of its vanquiſh'd Predeceſſor; As we know the caſe hath plainly ſtood with the *Jewiſh* Religion, when it prevailed over the *Pagan* and *Egyptian* way of Worſhip; the *Jewiſh* people not being to be brought off from the Cuſtoms of that Country all at once: And afterwards the Chriſtian Faith and Promiſes, when they triumphed over the *Jewiſh* Privileges and *Moſaical* Diſpenſation; and ſince that, the ſame Pretence hath been made uſe of to advance *Mahumetiſm* upon the *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian Religion taken together. Each of theſe hath retained ſomething of the Religion it pretended to diſpoſſeſs; and built upon Old Foundations; But none ſo much as the *Mahometan*; which profeſſes to perſiſt, and be fully perſuaded in All the Doctrines of Jeſus Chriſt, ſave only that Great and moſt important one, which aſſerts his Divinity. So that he who would paſs from *Judaiſm* to *Mahometaniſm*, muſt take Chriſtianity in his way. And we are told, there have been ſome *Mahometans*, who have expoſed themſelves to Sufferings and Torture, in defence of the Chriſtian Truths; as a Chriſtian likewiſe upon his own Principles would be bound to do, in vindication of the Authority, and Doctrines of the Old Teſtament. But now if we caſt our Eyes upon the more Ancient ſort of Inſtitutions, we ſhall find them dealing after a very different manner with the New, which (as I ſaid) in part allow, and only profeſs to improve and refine upon Them. For They reject and condemn Them intirely, give them no quarter, but cry out upon them for Innovations, and look upon every thing of later date than themſelves, as a mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to the Truth; as if after the Period of their own

own Eſtabliſhment, Time could from thenceforth produce none but monſtrous Births; and all, who did not ſit down and ſtick there, muſt be inevitably abandoned to Falſhood and Corruption.

5. *All of them uncouth to Nature.*

This I think may be farther affirmed to be a Qualification common to all Religions whatſoever; that they are, every one, in Some Points uncouth and foreign from the Common Senſe and apprehenſions of Mankind. And the Reaſon ſeems to be, that They all of them propound to our Conſideration and Belief, and are Syſtems conſiſting of, and built upon, Points of a very diſtant kind from Common Senſe. For Some of them, when weighed in the Balance of human Judgment, appear to be exceeding mean, and low, and contemptible; ſuch as a Man of Wit, and Vigorous Thought, finds himſelf rather tempted to ridicule and expoſe, than to pay any Reverence to them: And Others again are ſo exceeding ſublime, the Luſtre of them ſo ſtrong, the Nature of them ſo full of Miracle and Myſtery, that, as Finite Cauſes could never effect, ſo finite Underſtandings can never comprehend them fully; and at Theſe the Men of Diſcourſe and Demonſtration take offence, and will allow nothing to be credible, which is not intelligible. Whereas in Truth, the Sphere in which the human Intellect moves and acts, is placed between theſe two Extremes. For we are capable but of ſuch things as lye in a middle State, and are of a moderate proportion. Theſe only are of a ſize with our Souls, They fit us, and therefore They Only pleaſe and are eaſy to us. Thoſe of a lower Rank we look down upon with Indignation and Scorn; and thoſe of a higher Condition are too weighty and bulky for us; they create Wonder and Amazement only; and therefore the wonder ought not to be great, if the Mind of Man recoil again, and ſhew a diſreliſh againſt all Religion; ſince in All there is ſo very little of ſuch Doctrine as is agreeable to the

the common Temper and Capacity of Mankind; but the principal Points of Faith and Worſhip are in one of the forementioned Extremes, and thoſe of Practice diſtant, either from common Uſe, or from general Inclination. Hence it comes to paſs, that the Men of ſtrong Parts have ſo often deſpiſed Religion, and expoſed it to the Deriſion of the World; and thoſe of Weak and Superſtitious Minds are confounded and ſcandalized at it. This was St. *Paul*'s Complaint in the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Faith; *We preach Jeſus Chriſt crucified, to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks Fooliſhneſs.* And this indeed is the very Reaſon, why we find ſo much Prophaneneſs and Irreligion; ſo much Error and Hereſy, in the World. Some believe not at all, and others believe amiſs, becauſe they conſult their own Judgment only, and hearken to no other Guide, but the Dictates of human Reaſon. They bring matters of Religion to the ſame Trial with other common matters, and will needs undertake to examine, and meaſure, and judge of them, by the Standard of their own Capacity; They treat this Divine, like other Common and merely Human Sciences and Profeſſions; expecting to maſter, and penetrate to the bottom of it, by the ſtrength of Natural Parts. But This is not the way of dealing with Divine Truths; A Man's Affections muſt be qualified and diſpoſed for theſe Doctrines. They require Simplicity and Honeſty; meekneſs of Temper, an humble and obedient Mind. Theſe only can fit a Man for receiving Religion; For he that does ſo in good earneſt, muſt believe its Declarations, ſubmit to its Laws, and govern himſelf by them, with Reverence and Reſignation of Soul. In ſhort, he muſt be content that his own Judgment ſhould be overruled by the Word of God; and to live and be led by univerſal Conſent and Authority; which ſeems to be the Subjection intended by the Apoſtle, when he

1 Cor. I. 23.

he ſpeaks of * *Caſting down Imaginations* (or Reaſonings,) *and every high thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the obedience of Faith.* 2 Cor. x. 5.

6. *Reaſon good they ſhould be ſo.*

And, however the Conceited or Unthinking part of the World may quarrel at this method, yet it was certainly a great Inſtance of the Divine Wiſdom, to order the matter thus. For ſuch a proceeding ſeems highly neceſſary, in order to preſerve that Admiration and Reſpect, which is due to Religion; and which, upon any other Terms, would very hardly have been paid to it. For Religion ought to be entertained and embraced with Holy Reverence, and great Authority; and therefore with ſome degree of Difficulty too. For Reaſon and Experience may ſoon convince us, that if it were in every Circumſtance ſuited to the Palat, and of a ſize with the natural Apprehenſions, of Mankind; if it carried nothing at all of Miracle or Myſtery in it; as it would be more eaſily, ſo likewiſe it would be leſs reſpectfully, received. And ſo much as you bring it nearer to the Level of common Matters, ſo much you certainly abate of that Regard it ought to have, above all other matters whatſoever.

7. *Why they are not to be received by human means.*

Now, ſince all Religions and Schemes of Belief are, or pretend to be what I have here deſcribed; foreign from, and far above the Common Senſe and Capacity of Mankind; they muſt not, they cannot be received, or take poſſeſſion of us by any human and natural means. (For had the Caſe been thus, the moſt exalted Minds would have been in proportion eminent for Religion, and ſo many Men of Wit and Judgment in Other things, could never have been defective here), but theſe Notions muſt needs have been conveyed into Mens Minds, by ſu-

* Captivantes intellectum ad obſequium Fidei.

pernatural

pernatural and extraordinary Methods, by Revelation from Heaven; and The perſons that receive and imbibe them, muſt needs have them by the ſecret Teachings and Inſpiration of God. And thus you find, that All who believe, and profeſs Religion, ſay; for all of them do in effect aſſume to themſelves that Declaration of the Apoſtle; *Not of Men, neither by Man, nor of any other Creature, but of God.*

Gal. I. 1, 12.

8. *But yet ſo they are.*

But, if we lay aſide all Flattery and Diſguiſe, and ſpeak freely to the Point, there will be found very little, or nothing at the bottom of all theſe mighty Boaſtings. For, whatever Men may ſay or think to the contrary, it is manifeſt, that all ſorts of Religion are handed down and received by human Methods. This Obſervation is true in its very utmoſt Senſe and Extent, of all Falſe and Counterfeit Perſuaſions; for Theſe when ſearch'd to the bottom, are no better than Diabolical Deluſions, or Human Inventions: But True Religion, as it is derived down to us from a Higher Original, ſo it moves us by other Springs, and is received after a very different manner. And here, to get a right underſtanding of this matter, we muſt diſtinguiſh between the Firſt Publication of the Truth, that Reception, which made it general, and gave it a Settlement in the World; and that Particular One, by which private Perſons embrace and come into it, when already eſtabliſhed. The Former of Theſe which firſt fix'd this Heavenly Plant, was altogether Miraculous and Divine; and agrees punctually with the Evangeliſt's account, The *Lord working with* the Apoſtles and Preachers, *and confirming the Word with Signs following.* But the Latter muſt be acknowledged in great meaſure Human, and private Mens Faith and Piety to be wrought by common and Ordinary Means. This ſeems to be ſufficiently plain, firſt, from the Manner of Religion's getting ground in the World, and that, whether we regard the firſt general planting of any Per-

Perſuaſion, or the method of its gaining now upon private perſons. For, whence is the daily Increaſe of any Sect? Does not the Nation to which we belong, the Country where we dwell, nay the Town, or the Family in which we were born, commonly give us our Religion? We take that which is the growth of the Soil; and whatever we were born in the midſt of, and bred up to, that Profeſſion we ſtill keep. We are Circumciſed, or baptized, *Jews*, or *Chriſtians*, or *Mahometans*, before we can be ſenſible that we are Men; So that Religion is not the Generality of People's Choice, but their Fate; not ſo much their own Act and Deed, as the Act of Others for and upon them. The Man is made a Member of the *Jewiſh* or Chriſtian Communion without his Knowledge, becauſe he is deſcended of *Jewiſh* or Chriſtian Parents, and in a Country where this or that Perſuaſion obtains moſt. And would not this, do you think, have been his Caſe, if born in any other part of the World? Would not the ſame perſon have been a *Pagan*, or *Mahometan*, if born where Heathen Idolatry, or *Mahumetiſm* prevailed? But now as to the Obſervance, and living up to the Precepts of Religion; Thoſe who are True and Pious Profeſſors, beſides the external Profeſſion of the Truth, they have the Advantage of the Gifts and Graces of God, the Aſſiſtance and Teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, common to all, and from which, even the miſtaken are not utterly excluded. This indeed is a Privilege, which (bleſſed be God) is capable of being very uſual and frequent, and many great Pretenſions and pompous Boaſts are made of it. But yet I vehemently ſuſpect, notwithſtanding all the fair ſhew, and plauſible pretences Men make of this kind, This Grace and Spirit is not ſo largely and ſo commonly enjoyed, nor ſo ſtrong in its Influences and Effects, as Some would have us believe. For ſurely were This ſo powerful in us, and were

See the Notes.

Religion

Religion our own free Choice, and the Reſult of our own Judgment, the Life and Manners of Men could not be at ſo vaſt a diſtance and manifeſt diſagreement from their Principles; nor could they, upon every ſlight and common occaſion, act ſo directly contrary to the whole Tenor and Deſign of their Religion. And this Inconſiſtence of Faith and Manners, is alſo a Proof, that our Faith is not from God; for were this planted and faſten'd in our Minds by ſo powerful a hand as His, it could not be in the power of any Accident or Temptation to ſhake, or unſettle us; ſo firm and ſtrong a Band could not ſo eaſily be broken or burſt through. Were there the leaſt Touch, the ſmalleſt Ray of Divine Illumination, This Light would ſhine in every action of our lives, and dart it ſelf into every corner of our Souls; The Effects of it would appear in all our behaviour, and not only be ſenſible, but wonderful and amazing too, according to what Truth himſelf ſaid upon occaſion to his Diſciples; *If ye had faith but as a grain of muſtard-ſeed, ye ſhall ſay to this mountain, Remove hence, and it ſhall remove; and nothing ſhall be unpoſſible to you.* But alas! if we look abroad, and conſider the behaviour of the World; what proportion, what correſpondence can we find, between the Belief of the Soul's Immortality and a future Judgment, and the Practices of Mankind? Would Men, Could Men indeed lead the lives they do, and at the ſame time be perſuaded in good earneſt, that a Recompence awaits them hereafter; ſo glorious and happy on the one hand, or ſo full of miſery, and ſhame on the other? One ſingle thought, and the bare Idea of thoſe things, which Men profeſs ſo firmly to believe, would perfectly confound, and ſcare wicked Men out of their Wits. There have been inſtances of very ſtrange effects wrought upon Perſons, only by the apprehenſion of publick Juſtice; the Fear of dying by the hands of a Common Executioner,

Matth. xvii. 20.

cutioner, or ſome other Accident full of misfortune and reproach; and yet, What are all theſe Calamities, in compariſon of thoſe Horrors, which, Religion tells us, will be the Sinner's portion hereafter? And is it poſſible, that theſe things ſhould be entertained and believed indeed, and Men continue what they are? Can a Man ſeriouſly hope for a Bleſſed Immortality, make This the Object of his Expectations and Deſires, and yet at the ſame time live in a ſlaviſh dread of Death, which he knows is the Neceſſary, the Only paſſage that can lead him to it? Can a Chriſtian fear and live under the apprehenſions of Eternal Death and Puniſhment, and yet indulge himſelf in thoſe very Vices, which that very Hell, he believes, is ordained to avenge? Theſe are moſt unaccountable Stories; and things as incompatible, as Fire and Water. Men tell the World that they believe theſe Doctrines, nay they perſuade themſelves that they do really believe them; and then they endeavour to proſelyte others, and make Them believe ſo too; but alas! there is nothing in all this; nor do They, who talk and act thus inconſiſtently, know what it is to Believe. Such Profeſſors as theſe, are what an Ancient Writer called them, Liars and Cheats; or, as another expreſs'd himſelf very well upon the like occaſion, who reproached the Chriſtians with being the gallanteſt Men in the World in ſome reſpects, but the pitifulleſt, and moſt contemptible wretches in others. For, ſays he, if you conſider the Articles of their Belief, you will think them more than Men; but if you examine their Lives and Converſations, you will find them worſe than Brutes, more filthy than the very Swine. Now certainly, if we were wrought upon by ſuch becoming Impreſſions of God and Religion, as are the Effects of Grace, and an Engagement ſo forcible, as Thoſe of a Divine Power; nay, were we but perſuaded of theſe matters by a bare ſimple, and common Aſſent, ſuch

ſuch an hiſtorical Faith, as we credit every Vulgar relation of matters of Fact with; did we but allow the ſame Deference to what we call the Word of God, which we pay to the advice, and exhortations, and common diſcourſe of our Friends and Acquaintance; the Doctrines of the Goſpel could not but be preferred by us, infinitely above any other advantages whatſoever, for the ſake of that incomparable Goodneſs and Excellence, ſo illuſtriouſly viſible in every part of them. But ſure the leaſt we can be imagined capable of in this caſe, would be to admit them into an equal ſhare of our Affection and Eſteem, with Honours, or Riches, or Friends, or any kind of Allurements this World can pretend to ſeduce us by. And yet, all this notwithſtanding, there are but very few, who are not more afraid to offend a Parent, or a Maſter, or a Friend, than they are of incurring the diſpleaſure of an Almighty God: And who would not rather chuſe to act in contradiction to an Article of Religion, and ſo forfeit Heaven hereafter, than to break the meaſures of worldly Intereſt and Prudence, at the expence of what they ſtand poſſeſs'd of in preſent? This is indeed a Great Wickedneſs and Misfortune; but for Perſons who conſider things impartially, Chriſtianity will not ſuffer in Their Eſteem. The Honour and Excellence, the Purity and Sublime Powers of Religion are no more Impaired or Polluted by it, than the Rays of the Sun contract Defilement from the Dunghils they ſhine upon. For Principles are not to be tried by their Profeſſors, but the Profeſſors by their Principles. But we can never exclaim ſufficiently againſt thoſe vile Men, who profane the Truth, by their Vicious Lives; and againſt whom that very Truth it ſelf hath denounced ſo many Woes, and ſuch dreadful Vengeance.

Now

Now the firſt ſtep towards informing our ſelves, What the nature of True Piety is, will be to diſtinguiſh it from That, which is Falſe and Counterfeit, and only the Mask and Diſguiſe of Religion. Till this be done, we ſhall but confound our ſelves with equivocal and ambiguous Terms; and prevaricate, both in Expreſſion and in Practice, as indeed the greateſt part of Mankind (it is to be feared) do upon this occaſion. Now there is nothing, that pretends more to a graceful Air, nor takes more true pains to appear like true Piety and Religion, than Superſtition does; and yet, at the ſame time, nothing is more diſtant from, or a greater Enemy to it. Juſt as the Wolf, which carries ſome tolerable Reſemblance to a Dog, but is of a quite different Diſpoſition; and comes to devour that Flock, which it is the other's buſineſs to defend; as Counterfeit Money is more nicely wrought, than true Coin; or as a Flatterer, who makes ſhew of extraordinary Zeal and Affection, but is in reality nothing leſs than that true Friend he deſires to be thought. It is no injudicious Character given by *Tacitus*, when he deſcribes a ſort of Men, * *extremely liable to Superſtition*, and *at the ſame time violently averſe to Religion.* Superſtition is likewiſe envious, and jealous to the laſt degree, affectedly officious and troubleſome; like a fond Courtezan, who, by her amorous jilting tricks, puts on more Tenderneſs, and pretends to infinitely more concern and love for the Husband, than his true Wife, whom ſhe endeavours to leſſen in his eſteem. Now ſome of the moſt remarkable Circumſtances, wherein theſe two differ, are; That Religion ſincerely loves and honours God; ſettles the Mind in perfect eaſe and tranquillity, and dwells in a noble and generous, a free and gallant Spirit;

9. *The Difference between true and falſe Religion.*

* Gens Superſtitioni obnoxia, Religionibus adverſa.

whereas Superſtition fears and dreads God; gives Men unworthy and injurious apprehenſions of his Majeſty; perplexes and ſcares the Man, and is indeed the Diſeaſe of a weak and mean, a timorous and narrow Soul. * *It is* (according to St. *Auguſtin*'s account of it,) *all over Error and Phrenſy; it lives in terror of thoſe whom it ought to love; diſhonours and affronts thoſe whom it pretends to reſpect and adore; it is the Sickneſs of a little and feeble Mind; He that is once tainted with Superſtition, can never more enjoy peace and reſt.* Varro's *obſervation is, That Religious Men ſerve God out of Reverence; but the Superſtitious out of Horror and perpetual Dread of him.* But we will be a little more particular upon each of theſe Qualities.

10. *Superſtition deſcribed.* The Superſtitious Perſon is one, who neither lets himſelf, nor any thing elſe be quiet, but is eternally teazing and troubleſome, both to God and Man. The Ideas he entertains of God repreſent him, as an Ill-natur'd and Moroſe, an Envious and a Spiteful Being; Unreaſonable, Rigorous, and hard to be pleaſed; quickly provoked, but long before he is reconciled again; One that takes notice of our Actions, after the ſame manner that we commonly obſerve thoſe of one another; with a ſort of malicious Curioſity, watchful to find faults, and glad to take the advantage of any Failings. All this, it is true, he does not own, nor ſpeak it out; but the manner of his ſerving God ſufficiently declares, and ſpeaks it for him; for That is agreeable, and exactly of a piece with theſe Notions. He trembles and quakes for fear; hath no enjoyment of himſelf, nor any degree of Comfort or inward Security; full of Fears and Melancholy Diſtruſts; always fancying,

* Superſtitio Error inſanus. Amandos timet; quos colit violat: Morbus puſilli animi. Qui Superſtitione imbutus eſt, quietus eſſe nuſquam poteſt. Varro ait, Deum à Religioſo vereri, à Superſtitioſo timeri.

that

that he hath done too little; and left ſomewhat undone, for want of which, all the Reſt will ſignify nothing. He very much queſtions whether God be ſatisfied with his beſt Endeavours; and in this diſquiet he applies himſelf to methods of Courtſhip and Flattery; Tries to Appeaſe and gain upon him by the length and importunity of his Prayers; to Bribe him with Vows and Offerings; Fancies Miracles to himſelf; eaſily believes, and takes upon truſt the Counterfeit Pretenſions of this kind from others; Applies every Event to his own Caſe, and interprets thoſe that are moſt ordinary and natural, as expreſly meant, and directed to Him, by the particular and immediate hand of God; he catches greedily at every Novelty; and runs after every new Pretender to Light and Revelation. * *Two inſeparable Qualities of Superſtitious People* (ſays one) *are, Exceſs of Fear, and Exceſs of Devotion.* Now what in truth is all this, but to Torment one's ſelf moſt immoderately, and at the expence of infinite trouble and diſquiet, to injure and affront God; to deal with him after a moſt baſe, ſordid, and unworthy manner; to uſe him, as if he were a mercenary Being, and to treat the Majeſty of Heaven and Earth, as we durſt not preſume to uſe a Man of Quality or Honour? And indeed, generally ſpeaking, not only Superſtition, but moſt other Errors and Defects in Religion, are owing chiefly to want of right and becoming apprehenſions of God. We debaſe and bring him down to Us; compare and judge of him by our Selves; cloth him with our own Infirmities, and unaccountable Humours; and then proportion and ſuit our Worſhip and Services accordingly. What horrid Prophanation and Blaſphemy is This?

* Duo Superſtitioſis propria, nimius Timor, nimius Cultus.

11. *It is natural.* And yet, as deteſtable a Vice, as dangerous a Diſeaſe as This is, it is in ſome meaſure Natural, and all Mankind have more or leſs Inclination to it. *Plutarch* laments the Weakneſs of Human Nature, in that it never keeps a due Medium, nor ſtands firm upon its feet; but is eternally leaning and tottering to one or other Extreme. For in truth, either it declines and degenerates into Superſtition and Vanity, and miſtaken Religion; or elſe it hardens it ſelf in a Neglect of God, and a Contempt of all Religion. We are all of us like a Silly Jilted Husband, that is Put upon by ſome groſs Cheat of an Infamous Woman; and takes more delight in her little ſtudied Arts to cajole and bubble him, than he finds ſatisfaction with his own Virtuous Wife, who ſerves and honours him with all the genuine Modeſty, and unaffected Tenderneſs becoming her Character. Juſt thus are we abuſed by the large Pretences of Superſtition, and prefer it before the leſs ſhowy and pompous Charms of true Religion.

12. *Common.* It is alſo exceeding frequent and common; we cannot wonder the Vulgar ſhould be infected with it, after what hath been ſaid of its proceeding from Weakneſs of Mind, from Ignorance, or very miſtaken Notions of the Divine Nature. Upon all which accounts we may well ſuppoſe it is, that Women, and Children, Old Men, and Sick Perſons, or People ſtunn'd with any violent Misfortune, or under the Surprize and Oppreſſion of ſome uncommon Accident, are obſerved to labour moſt under this Evil. The ſame hath been likewiſe obſerved by *Plutarch*, of rude and unciviliz'd Countries. * *The Barbarians*, ſays he, *are naturally diſpoſed to be Superſtitious.* Of Superſtition then it is, and not of Religion and true Piety, that what we commonly repeat after

* Inclinant naturâ ad Superſtitionem Barbari. *Plutarch in Sertorio.*

Plato

Plato, muſt be underſtood; where he ſays, that the Weakneſs and Cowardice of Mankind firſt brought Religion into Practice and Eſteem; and that upon this account, Children, and Women, and Old People were moſt apt to receive Religious Impreſſions, more Nice, and Scrupulous, and more addicted to Devotion, than others. This, I ſay, is true of Superſtition, and miſtaken Devotion; but we muſt not entertain any ſuch diſhonourable Thoughts, of true and perfect Religion. This is of a nobler Deſcent, its Original is truly Divine; it is the Glory and Excellence, not the Imperfection of Reaſon, and Nature; and we cannot be guilty of greater Injuſtice to it, than by aſſigning ſuch wretched Cauſes, for its beginning and increaſe, and drawing ſo ſcandalous a Pedigree for its Extract.

13. *Cheriſhed by Reaſon and Policy.*

Now, beſides thoſe firſt Seeds, and general Tendencies to Superſtition, which are derived from Nature, and Common to Mankind, there are large Improvements and Additions of this Vice, owing to Induſtry and Cunning. For many people ſupport and cheriſh it in themſelves; they give it countenance and nurſe it up in others, for the ſake of ſome Convenience and Advantage to be reaped from it. It is thus, that Great Perſons and Governors, though they know very well the Folly and baſeneſs of it, yet never concern themſelves with putting a ſtop, or giving any diſturbance to it; becauſe they are ſatisfied, This is a proper State-Tool, to ſubdue Mens Minds, and lead them tamely by the Noſe. For this reaſon it is, that they do not only take good care to nouriſh and blow up that Spark, which Nature hath already kindled; but when they find occaſion, and upon ſome preſſing Emergencies, they ſet their Brains on work to forge and invent new and unheard of Follies of this kind. This we are told was a Stratagem made uſe of by *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, *Sylla*, and ſome other eminent Politicians.

* *Who by false Terrors Freeborn Souls debase;*
And paint Religion with so grim a Face,
That it becomes the Scourge and Plague of human race.

† *Nothing keeps the Multitude under so effectually, as Superstition.*

14. *An Introduction to the description of true Religion.*

But enough of this wretched People, and that base Superstition, which, like a common Nusance, ought to be detested by that Scholar of mine, whom I am now instructing, and attempting to accomplish in the Study of Wisdom. Let us leave them grovelling in their filth, and betake our selves now to the Search of true Religion and Piety; of which I will here endeavour to give some strokes, and rude lines; which, like so many little Rays of Light, may be of some use at least, and help to guide us in the pursuit of it. Now from the former Considerations it does, I hope, sufficiently appear, that of the great Variety of Persuasions at present, or any possible to be Instituted, Those seem to Challenge the Pre-eminence, and best deserve the Character of Truth and Religion indeed, which, without imposing any very laborious, or much external Service upon the Body, make it their business to contract, and call the Soul home; that employ and exalt it by pure and heavenly Contemplations, in admiring and adoring the Excellent Greatness, and Majesty incomprehensible of Him, who is the First Cause of All Things; the Necessary, the Best, the Original Being; And All this, without any nice or presumptuous declaration what this Being is, or undertaking positively to determine and define any thing concerning that Na-

* Qui faciunt animos humiles formidine Divûm.
Depressosque premunt ad terram.

† Nulla res multidudinem efficaciùs regit, quam Superstitio.

ture,

ture, which we cannot underſtand; or preſcribing too peremptorily, how he ought to be Worſhipped: But contenting our ſelves with ſuch large and indefinite acknowledgments as Theſe, That God is Goodneſs, and Perfection it ſelf; infinite in all Reſpects, and altogether incomprehenſible; too vaſt for human knowledge to underſtand, or conceive diſtinctly. And thus much the *Pythagoreans*, and other moſt celebrated Sects of Philoſophers taught long ago. This is the Religion of Angels, and that beſt ſort of Worſhippers in Spirit and Truth, whom God ſeeks and loves. But among all thoſe leſs ſpiritualized Pagans, who could not ſatisfy themſelves with ſo refined a Principle, as Inward Belief, and the Exerciſe of the Soul only; but would needs gratify their Senſes and Imagination with a viſible Object of Worſhip, (which was an Error all the World almoſt was tinctured with.) The *Iſraelites* choſe a Calf; but None ſeem to have made ſo good a Choice, as thoſe who pitched upon the Sun for their God: This indeed excelling all other Creatures ſo vaſtly, with regard to its Magnitude, and Motion; its Beauty and Luſtre, its wonderful Uſe and Activity, and the many unknown Virtues, and Efficacies of its Influences; that it does certainly deſerve, nay, command the admiration of all the World; we cannot think too highly of it, while we remember it is ſtill but a Creature; for, look round this whole Fabrick, and (Man excepted) your Eye ſhall diſcover nothing ſo glorious, nothing equal, nay, nothing near, or comparable to it.

The Chriſtian Religion preſerves a due Temper between theſe Extremes, and by devoting both Body and Soul to God, and accommodating it ſelf to all Conditions and Capacities of Men, hath mixed the Inſenſible and Internal Worſhip, with that which is Senſible and External. Yet ſo, that the moſt perfect and Spiritual Perſons employ themſelves chiefly

in the former, and the weak and leſs exalted are taken up with that which is inviſible and popular.

15. *Some deſcriptions of Religion.* Religion conſiſts in the Knowledge of God, and of our Selves. For This is a Relative Duty, and theſe are the two Terms of that Relation. Its buſineſs is to magnify God, and ſet Him as high; and to humble Man, and lay Him as low, as poſſibly we can. To ſubdue and beat him down, as a loſt worthleſs Wretch; and when this is once done, then to furniſh him with helps and means of raiſing himſelf up again; to make him duly ſenſible of his own Impotence and Miſery, how Little, how mere a Nothing he is; that ſo he may caſt away all Confidence in himſelf, and place and ſeek his Hope, his Comfort, his Happineſs, his All, in God alone.

16. That which Religion is chiefly concerned in, is the binding us faſt to the Author and Source of all Good; the grafting us afreſh, and conſolidating Man to his firſt Cauſe, like Branches or Suckers into their proper Root. For ſo long as Man continues firm and fixt in this Union, ſo long he preſerves the Perfection of his Nature; but on the contrary, when once he falls off, and is ſeparated from it, all his Vigor and Powers are dried up and gone, and he immediately withers and dies away.

17. The End and Effect of Religion is faithfully and truly to render their Dues, both to God and Man; that is to ſay, All the Honour and Glory to God; and all the Gain and Advantage to Man. For theſe two comprehend under them all manner of Good whatſoever. The Profit or Gain, which is a real Amendment and bettering of our Perſons and Conditions, is an eſſential and internal Benefit; and This belongs to Man, who is of himſelf, and without this, a Creature Impotent and Empty; Indigent and Neceſſitous; and miſerable in all reſpects; The Glory is not ſo much an Advantage as an Ornament, an Additional and External Grace; and This belongs

belongs to God only; for he is the Fulneſs and Perfection of all Good; ſo abſolute and compleat, that nothing can be added to his Eſſential Happineſs; and therefore Benefit is a thing he cannot receive. And thus if you pleaſe, you may underſtand that Angelick Hymn; *Glory to God in the Higheſt, and on Earth Peace, and Favour towards Men.* Luke II. 14.

18. *Piety explained.*

Thus much being premiſed in general, the particular Steps or Directions in this matter, muſt be theſe that follow: Firſt, It is neceſſary that we apply our ſelves to ſtudy, and in ſuch a meaſure as we are capable, to know God. For our Knowledge of Things is the Foundation and the Standard of the Honour we have for them. The firſt thing then, that we ought to be convinced and fully perſuaded of upon this occaſion, is His Exiſtence; then, That he created the World, and that all other Beings whatſoever are the Products of his Power, and Goodneſs, and Wiſdom: That by theſe ſame Attributes he governs this Univerſe of his own making; That his careful Providence watches over all things, and even the leaſt and moſt inconſiderable Events do not eſcape his obſervation; That whatſoever his Diſpenſations to Us are, they are all for our Good; and that all our Evil comes from our ſelves alone. For, if we ſhould account thoſe Accidents, which God appoints for us, to be Evils, this were to be guilty of great Prophanation, and to blaſpheme againſt his Government; this were to tear up the very Foundations of all Piety and Religion; becauſe Nature teaches us to Honour and love our Benefactors; but begets hatred and averſion to them that deal unkindly by us, and do us miſchief. Our Duty therefore is to get a right Notion of God's dealings toward us; to reſolve, that we will obey him at any rate; to receive all that comes from his hand, with Meekneſs and Contentation; to commit our ſelves to his Protection

1. *To know God.*

on and Care, and to ſubmit all we are, and all we have, to his direction and wiſe diſpoſal.

2. *To Honour him.* The next Duty, which follows upon our Knowing God, and which indeed reſults moſt naturally from it, is the Honouring him. And the beſt, the moſt becoming, and moſt Religious Honour we can pay him, conſiſts, Firſt of all, In raiſing our Souls far above any Carnal, Earthly, or Corruptible Imagination; and then exerciſing our ſelves in the Contemplation of the Divine Nature, by all the pureſt, the nobleſt, the holieſt and moſt reverent Conceptions that can be. When we have adorned and repreſented this moſt excellent Being to our ſelves, in all the moſt magnificent Ideas; when we have given him the moſt glorious Names, and ſung forth his Praiſes in the moſt excellent manner, that our Mind can poſſibly deviſe, or ſtrain it ſelf up to; we are ſtill with all Humility to acknowledge, that in all this we have not done, or offered to his Majeſty, any thing ſuitable to his own Excellency, or in it ſelf worthy his Acceptance; and to poſſeſs our ſelves with yet more awful and reſpectful Ideas of him, by the profoundeſt Senſe of our own Imperfections; That it is not in the power of Human Nature to conceive any thing better; though we plainly ſee, that our moſt exalted Thoughts ſerve not ſo much to ſhew us his Glory, as to reproach us with our own Weakneſs and Defects. For God is the laſt and higheſt Flight, which our Imagination is able to make, when it would ſoar up towards abſolute Perfection; and in aſpiring to this Idea, every Man lets looſe his Mind, and enlarges his Notions according to his own Capacity; or rather indeed, God is infinitely greater and higher than all the boldeſt and braveſt Flights of poor feeble Man; a Perfection more exquiſite, more bright, than the Dim Eye of Mortals can receive the Luſtre of, or the moſt tow'ring Imagination make any approach to.

We

We muſt alſo ſerve this God Sincerely, in Spirit, and from the Heart; for this is a ſort of Service, which is moſt agreeable to his Nature. *God himſelf is a Spirit, and they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in Spirit and Truth*, ſays he, who beſt knew both what he was, and what he expects from Us. This Argument the very Heathens could enforce for Inward Purity, and a Sanctified Mind *. This he will not only accept, but it is what he ſeems deſirous of, and hath declared will be exceeding welcome and delightful: *The Father ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him.* The Offering of a ſweet-ſmelling Savour, and what he values indeed, is That of a clean, free, and humble Spirit, (*The Mind is a Sacrifice to God*, ſays *Seneca*;) an unſpotted Soul, and an Innocent Life. And thus others; † *He that brings the beſt heart, worſhips God beſt. The moſt Religious Adoration is to imitate the Perfections of Him we adore; The only way of ſerving God is not to be an ill Man.* The truly Wiſe Man is a True Prieſt of the moſt High God: His Mind is God's Temple, and the Houſe where his Honour dwelleth: His Soul is God's Image, a Ray or Reflection of that Brightneſs and Glory above: His Affections and Appetites, like ſo many Oblations, are all conſecrated, and entirely devoted to his uſe and ſervice. And his great, his daily, his moſt ſolemn Sacrifice, is to imitate, and ſerve, and obey him. You ſee how different this is from that abſurd Notion of thoſe People, who make Religion conſiſt in Giving to God. Alas! what can We give to Him? All is his own already; and the moſt we can poſſibly do, is but to reſtore and pay back what his Bounty hath beſtowed

20. *To ſerve him with our Spirit.* Joh. iv. 24.

V. 23.

* Si Deus eſt animus, ſit purâ mente colendus.

† Optimus Animus pulcherrimus Dei Cultus. Religioſiſſimus Cultus imitari. Unicus Dei Cultus non eſſe malum. *Lactant. Merc. Triſm.*

upon

upon us. But we are wretchedly miſtaken, if we imagine it poſſible for God to receive any Addition, or be enriched from Men; No, he is above all That; Our buſineſs muſt be to ask of Him, to implore his Favour and Aſſiſtance for our Wants and Weakneſſes: It is the Character of the Great to give, and of the Poor and Mean to ask; And therefore we may eaſily diſcern which of theſe two parts belongs to an Infinite Almighty God, and which to wretched indigent Mortals. *It is more bleſſed to give than to receive:* And however he may graciouſly condeſcend to interpret thoſe Works of Mercy done for his ſake, yet in the way of Sacrifice and Worſhip of himſelf, it is a Prodigy of Vanity that many have been guilty of, to think themſelves in a Condition of Giving to Him, from whoſe liberal Hand alone it is, that they receive their own Subſiſtence.

Acts xx. 35.

21. *With our Body.*

But though the Mind be that, which we are principally obliged to offer, and God is beſt pleaſed to be ſerved with; yet is not the External Worſhip and Service of the Body, by any means to be neglected or diſdained by us. The demonſtrations of Reverence expreſs'd by This Part, and particularly in his Publick Worſhip, are by no means contemptible in his ſight. He eſteems and expects theſe from us; that we ſhould appear in the Aſſemblies of his Servants; that we ſhould aſſiſt and bear a part with our Brethren in what is done there; that we ſhould obſerve and conform to thoſe Ceremonies, which either the Laws have enjoined, or Cuſtom hath made common; And that all this be done with Moderation and Temper; without Vanity or Affectation, without Hypocriſy or Ambition, without Luxury or Avarice; conſtantly poſſeſſing our ſelves with this Reflection; that God expects to be ſerved with the Spirit, and all theſe outward Services are more upon our own account than His; that they are decent ſignifications of our Reverence and Zeal, marks of Unity,

Unity, and tend to the Edification of our Brethren, the enflaming their Devotion, and encouraging them by good Examples; and that they are very Reaſonable and Decent upon theſe accounts, though they regard Comelineſs and Cuſtoms only, and are not the Eſſentials of Worſhip; nor of the very Subſtance of Religion; but Ornaments and Convenient Helps to it.

22. *By Prayer.*

The Vows and Prayers we make to God, muſt all of them be regulated by, and ſubject to his own good Pleaſure. We ſhould never deſire, we muſt never ask any thing, but only with ſubmiſſion to his wiſer Appointments; and every Requeſt muſt be attended with that neceſſary Reſervation, *Thy Will be done.* To ask any thing contrary to the order and methods of his Providence, is as if we ſhould attempt to bribe the Judge of all the Earth, and divert this univerſal Governor from his Rules of Juſtice and Judgment: To imagine that God is to be courted or flattered into Compliance, that Preſents and Promiſes can win him over; is to Affront him: God cares not for our Riches, *for the whole world is His, and all that is therein.* He demands not any Gifts at Our Hands; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, we have nothing to give. For All is His, and he only requires, that we ſhould walk worthy of thoſe which our ſelves have ſo largely received from Him; He does not expect we ſhould Preſent him, but that we ſhould make known our Wants with Faith and Humility, and receive our ſupplies with Modeſty and Thankfulneſs. And by ſuch Requeſts he thinks himſelf honoured. But even in theſe we muſt be much reſigned. For Us to preſcribe to His Wiſdom, to be too peremptory and particular in our Requeſts; to inform Him what is fit for us, or eager and importunate, for what we are fond of, is a breach of that Deference and Reſignation we owe to God; and it is often of ill Conſequence to our ſelves; it expoſes Men to the Inconvenience

venience of *Midas* in the Fable, and ruins them at their own inſtance. The wiſeſt, as well as the moſt becoming Style, for all our Addreſſes to the Throne of Grace, is, That he would act with us according to his own Wiſdom and Goodneſs; and always do and give thoſe things, which are moſt pleaſing to Him, and which He knows beſt, and moſt expedient for Us.

In a word, All our Thoughts, our Words, our Behaviour, and whole Communion with God ſhould be managed, even in our greateſt privacy, with the ſame Decency and Reverence, as if all the World were by, and ſaw them; and all our Converſation with Men ſhould be managed with that Sincerity, which becomes thoſe, who remember that God ſees, and is conſcious to every thing we do, and cannot be impoſed upon, though our Brethren may.

23. *A Reverent uſe of his Name.* The making bold with God's moſt Holy Name, is a Great and Horrible violation of that profound Honour and Reſpect we owe to him; And thoſe People are exceedingly to blame, who take it into their Mouths lightly, and promiſcuouſly, and mingle it with every Sentence they ſpeak, and every thing they do. Of this Nature are all thoſe Exclamations of Paſſion, or Wonder, or Surpriſe; all thoſe vain and cuſtomary Oaths, which we ſo frequently hear, and find habitual; all thoſe mentionings of God, by Men who do not ſo much as think of Him, or know that they do it; and to be ſhort, All thoſe haſty and trifling forms of ſpeech, wherein God is called upon irreverently and by the by; for No reaſon at all; or for Such as is not important enough to juſtify ſuch an Invocation. For we ſhould by all means take care of being familiar or ſawcy with ſo Auguſt a Majeſty; we ſhould name him but ſeldom; and when we do, with great Serioufneſs and Gravity; with Modeſty and Humility, with Reverence and Fear. We ſhould never ſpeak of Him, or His doings,

ings, but with all poſſible Submiſſion and Caution; and eſpecially, we ſhould never take upon us to judge or paſs ſentence upon any of His Actions, but conclude, that whatever he does, is Juſt, and Good, and fitteſt to be done.

24. *Concluſion.*

And thus you have ſuch a compendious Account of Piety, as I thought neceſſary for this place. I only add, that This Virtue ought to be had in the greateſt Eſteem and Veneration; and that Men ſhould make it their Conſtant Care and Buſineſs, as well as Entertainment and Delight, thus to be continually exerciſed in the Contemplation of Almighty God; with Freedom and Chearfulneſs, and Filial Reverence and Affection; for This is Religion; And not with a Mind terrified and troubled, and haunted with gaſtly and affrighting Idea's of him, which is the Vice and the Torment of the Superſtitious. As to the particular Points both of Faith and Practice, The Chriſtian Doctrine is to be our Rule: For this is the Trueſt, the Nobleſt, the moſt Refined and Spiritual, and beſt accommodated to the Glory of God, the Comfort and Safety of our own Souls, and the General Good of Mankind. And therefore here we muſt fix, and to this we muſt ſtick; And amidſt the unhappy Differences of theſe ſeveral Contending Parties, who all profeſs to follow this Rule, the Conſtant Authority, and the Concurring Senſe and univerſal Agreement of the Church in all Ages and Parts of the Chriſtian World, is to be our Meaſure. This is an Authority ſo venerable, that it requires our Submiſſion with Meekneſs and much Deference. Here we muſt fix; and to This we muſt refer the Reſolution of our Doubts. At leaſt All that are of a modeſt and peaceable Spirit will forbear the being factious and troubleſome, and not diſturb the Quiet and Order of their Brethren, by ſtarting any Novelty, or engaging in behalf of any Private and Singular Opinions. And this they are obliged in Duty and Conſcience

to

to do, upon the account of the Reaſons laid down by me at large in the firſt and laſt Chapters of my *Third Truth*; which places alone are ſufficient to ſatisfy thoſe Readers, who either have not the opportunity, or will not give themſelves the trouble of peruſing the whole Book.

25. *Piety and Probity muſt go together.* One neceſſary Caution there is yet behind, and he who makes any pretenſions to Wiſdom, muſt by all means attend to it; which is, That he do not ſeparate the Piety ſpoken of in this Chapter, from that Probity and Integrity treated of before; and ſo imagining, that One of theſe is ſufficient for his purpoſe, be at no pains to qualify himſelf with the Other; and as careful muſt he be too, not to confound and jumble theſe two together, as if they were but two names for one and the ſame thing. For in truth, Piety and Probity, Devotion and Conſcience, are diſtinct in their very nature, are derived from different Cauſes, and proceed upon different Motives and Reſpects. I deſire indeed, that they may go hand in hand, and be both united in the Perſon, whom at preſent I am forming into Wiſdom; and moſt certain it is, that Either of them without the Other, is not, cannot be perfect. But ſtill they muſt both meet, and both continue diſtinct; and though we would join, yet we muſt take care not to confound them. And Theſe are two Precipices, which muſt be diligently avoided; and few indeed keep clear of them; for either they ſeparate Religion and common Honeſty, ſo as to ſatisfy themſelves with one of them alone; or elſe they jumble Godlineſs and Morality together, ſo as to make them all one, or at leaſt to repreſent them, as exactly of the ſame Species, and effects of the ſame Common Principle.

26. *Piety without Probity.* The Perſons under the former Error, which ſeparate theſe Two, and content themſelves with One of them ſingly, are of two ſorts: For ſome devote themſelves

themſelves entirely to the Worſhip and Service of God, ſpend all their time and pains, in Praying, and Hearing, and other holy Ordinances; and place all Religion in Theſe; but as for Virtue, and ſtrict Honeſty in their Dealings, Sincerity, and Charity, and the like, and in a word, living in agreement to their Prayers, and practiſing what they hear and read, they have no reliſh or regard for Theſe things, nor make any account of them at all. This is a Vice taken notice of, as Epidemical, and in a manner Natural to the People of the *Jews*, (who were above all Mankind addicted to Superſtition, and upon that account ſcandalous and deteſtable to all the World beſides;) and among them the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in a yet more infamous degree. The Prophets exclaim againſt it loudly, and afterwards their own Meſſiah reproaches them with it perpetually. He expoſes that villanous Hypocriſy, which made Matt. xxi. their Temple a Den of Thieves; which exalted their Ceremonies and outward Obſervances, to the prejudice of inward and ſubſtantial Holineſs; which made a Conſcience of Traditions, that they might, xv. under that pretence, get a convenient Cloak and Excuſe for the moſt unnatural Barbarities; which Tithed Mint, and Aniſe, and Cummin, but overlook'd Judgment, and Righteouſneſs, and Fidelity: xxiii. In one word, They were ſo overrun, ſo extravagantly conceited in the matter of external Devotion, and ceremonious Obſervances; that, provided they were punctual in Theſe, they fancied themſelves diſcharged of all Other Duties; nay, they took occaſion from thence to harden their hearts, and thought This would atone for other Faults, and give them a Privilege of being wicked. This is a ſort of Female and Vulgar Piety, and vaſt numbers are tainted with it every where, at this very day; they lay out all their Diligence and Care upon thoſe little Exerciſes of outward Devotion; for Little ſure they

are, as They uſe them, who never carry the Effects of them home to their Lives and Conſciences; but Pray, and Read, and frequent the Church, and Ordinances, and are not one whit the better Men for doing ſo. This gave occaſion to that Proverb, *A Saint at Church, and a Devil at Home.* They lend their hand, and their outſide to God, pay Him all the demonſtrations of Reverence and Reſpect; And a fair outſide it is; but all This, as our Lord told the *Phariſees*, is but a whited Wall, and a whited Sepulchre; *This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Nay, they do not only neglect the Practice of other Duties, and take no pains to be all of a piece; but their very Holineſs it ſelf is from a wicked Deſign; they make this Piety a Cover for greater Impieties; alledge, and depend upon their Devotions, firſt to give them Credit in the World, and greater Opportunities to deceive under the Maſk of ſo much Sanctity; and then for the extenuating or making a compenſation for their Vices, and ſinful Liberties.

27. Others there are, who run into a diſtant, and quite contrary Extreme: They lay ſo great Streſs upon Virtue and Moral Honeſty, as to value nothing elſe; and make Religion and Piety, ſtrictly ſo called, no part of their Concern. This is a Fault obſervable in ſome of the Philoſophers; and may be obſerved very commonly in people of Atheiſtical Principles. And ſurely, it is the proper Fruit of ſuch a Corrupt Tree; for, that Men ſhould believe God and his Revelations; that they ſhould call Themſelves Chriſtians, and yet be of opinion, that we are excuſed from all the Acknowledgments, and Marks of Homage due, and paid to God, in our Faith and Worſhip, and That Branch of our Duty, which is properly diſtinguiſhed by the Title of Godlineſs, is very inconſiſtent, and unaccountable.

Theſe

These are the two Vicious Extremes; whether of the Two is the more or less so, I shall not at present take upon me to determine; nor will I dispute, whether Religion, or Morality, will stand a Man in greater stead. Thus much only give me leave to add, by way of Comparison, as to Three Considerations; which is, that the Former, as described in the last Paragraph, and practised by the *Jews*, is without dispute, by much the easier, the more pompous, and more incident to weak and vulgar Souls. The Latter must be allowed infinitely more difficult and laborious; it makes less Noise and Ostentation in the World, and is more proper to Brave, Resolute, and Generous Minds, for the former reasons; as being more substantial, and of a larger compass, meeting with great opposition, and having less to feed Mens Vanity with.

28. *Against them that confound these two.*

My business is next with a Second Sort of Men, who confound and spoil all, for want of a just Distinction, but perplex these Two, and the Grace of God; and jumble all together. These in truth are defective in all Three. When you come to examine the matter strictly, they will be found to have neither true Religion, nor true Moral Honesty, nor true Grace at the bottom; but by the Figure and all the outward appearances they make, they very much resemble the Persons mentioned before, who are so immoderately zealous for Religion, that they have little or no concern for any thing besides; marvellously satisfied with Themselves, and mercileſs Censurers of all the World besides. And these are the Men, that make all manner of Probity and Good Actions to be a consequent and attendant upon Religion; wholly to depend upon, and entirely to be devoted to it; and so they acknowledge no such thing as Principles of Natural Justice, or Probity of Mind, any otherwise than they are derived from, and moved by the Springs of Considerations purely

Religious. Now the Matter is far otherwiſe; for Religion is not only after it in Time, but more limited and particular in its Extent. This is a diſtinct Virtue, and not the Comprehenſion and Sum of all Virtues; and, as the Inſtances of *Phariſees* and *Hypocrites* here prove, may ſubſiſt without Them, or that general good Diſpoſition of Mind, which we call Probity: And ſo again may They be independent of Religion, as the Examples of Philoſophers, and good Moral Heathens (who we cannot ſay had ever any Religion properly ſo called), ſhew on the other hand. This is alſo, according to the common Schemes of Theology, a Moral Virtue, a Branch of Juſtice, which we know is one of the Four Cardinal Virtues, and teaches us to give to All their Due; according to their Quality, and reſpective Claims. Now God being Supreme, the Maker and Maſter of the Univerſe, we are bound to pay him the moſt profound Honour, the moſt humble Obedience, the moſt punctual and diligent Service. This now is properly Religion, and conſequently it is a diviſion under the General Topick of Juſtice. Again, Theſe Perſons, as they miſtake the Nature, ſo do they likewiſe invert the Order of things; for they make Religion antecedent to Probity: But how can this be, ſince, as the Apoſtle ſays, *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God*; how, I ſay, can That which is the Effect of Revelation and Inſtruction, be the Cauſe of a Thing originally rooted in Nature, born with us, and inſeparable from us? For ſuch is that Law and Light of God, kindled in every Man's Breaſt, and interwoven with the Conſtitution of the whole Species. This therefore is plainly diſturbing the true Order of theſe matters; and turning them out of all method. They would have a Man Virtuous and entirely Good, merely for the Proſpect of Heaven to allure, or the Terrors of Hell to affright and awe him into his Duty. But methinks

thinks thoſe Expreſſions carry a very ill ſound, and ſpeak a mean and vulgar Virtue: 'If the Fear of the Divine Vengeance and Everlaſting Damnation did not reſtrain me, I would do thus or thus. O pitiful cowardly Wretch! what Senſe, what Notion haſt thou of thy Duty? what Inclinations doſt thou cheriſh all this while? what Motives doſt thou act upon? what Thanks doſt thou deſerve for all that is done upon ſuch conſtraint and againſt thy own Will? Thou art not wicked, becauſe thou dareſt not be ſo for fear of the Rod. Now I would have thee ſo perfect, as not to want the Courage but the Inclination to do amiſs; I would have thee ſo reſolutely good, as not to commit the leaſt Evil, though thou wer't ſure never to be chidden, never to be called to an account for it. Thou playeſt the part of a Good Man, that thou may'ſt be thanked and rewarded for thy pains; I would have thee be really ſo, without any proſpect of hire or gain, nay though none but thy ſelf ſhould ever be conſcious of thy Virtue. I would have thee ſo, becauſe the Laws and Dictates of Nature and Reaſon direct and Command thee to be ſo. (For Nature and Reaſon in this caſe are but another word for God; and Theſe Principles, and That Light, and the Original Diſtinctions of Good and Evil are his Will and his Laws iſſued in a different manner). Becauſe the Order and Good Government of the World, whereof thou art a part, require this at thy hands; becauſe thou canſt not conſent to be otherwiſe, without acting againſt thy ſelf, in contradiction to thy Being, to thy Intereſt, to the End of thy Creation; And when thou haſt thus ſatisfied thy duty and acted upon theſe motives, never be ſolicitous for the Event; but perſevere in Virtue, in deſpight of any Sufferings or Dangers that may threaten thee.

When I urge This as the beſt Principle of doing well, I do not wholly diſallow all others, nor utterly

condemn that Probity required and cheriſhed by the external motives of Recompence and Puniſhment, as if Theſe were unlawful to be proceeded upon. Doubtleſs they have their Uſe and Efficacy; are very proper for the reducing of Ill Men, who muſt be treated in a more ſlaviſh and mercenary way; and the Foundations thus laid at firſt come frequently to noble Improvements. But ſtill I call this a poorer and meaner Principle, and would have my Wiſe Man aſpire to ſomething ſublimer, and more worthy his Character. For This requires a brighter, ſtronger, and more generous Probity, than the Common ſort of Mankind may be allowed to take up with. And even Divines have generally repreſented ſuch a Piety as Servile, Imperfect; accommodated to the weaker and more ignorant, and fitter for Babes and Beginners, than for Strong and Maſterly Chriſtians. This farther is very certain, that the Probity wholly depending upon a Spirit of Zeal and Religion; and having no regard to the Principles of Natural Light; beſides that it muſt needs be accidental and unequal in its Operations, and want that Evenneſs and Conſtancy which was there largely ſhewn to be one of its Properties; I add, that This is a very dangerous Principle, and does frequently pruduce horrid and ſcandalous effects; for it makes all the Rules of Common Honeſty ſubſervient to Zeal for Religion; and opens a Door for all thoſe execrable Villanies, which the dear-bought experience of all Ages hath too ſenſibly convinced us, are capable of being committed under the fair Shew and Colour of Piety. And Theſe are really ſo dreadful and deteſtable, that we have reaſon to queſtion, whether any other occaſion or pretence in the World have done more miſchief, than thoſe falſe but ſpecious profeſſions of Religion. The Cauſe and Honour of God is indeed the Greateſt, the Nobleſt, and moſt worthy our Zeal; and if it were not all this

this in its own nature, the abuſe of it could never be ſo fatal as it is. For Brave and Valuable things only are ſubjects for Hypocriſy; and what is little and deſpicable, as the right uſe of it does no great good, ſo the perverting it to wrong purpoſes can do no mighty harm. It is not therefore any Diſparagement to Religion, but the confeſs'd Excellency of it above any other Subject whatſoever, that the Corruption and falſe Pretences of it are ſo pernicious; Were it leſs good, the abuſe of it muſt have been leſs evil.

* *Such Deviliſh Acts Religion could perſuade —*
If you ſhall ſtart at theſe bold Truths, and fly
Such Lines as Maxims of Impiety,
Conſider that Religion did, and will,
Contrive, promote, and act the greateſt Ill.

Creech.

To lay aſide all manner of Affection and Common Humanity for all Sects and Parties but our own; To look with Scorn and Indignation upon them, as if every Man, of a different Perſuaſion from our ſelves were perfect Brutes and Monſters; To ſuppoſe our ſelves diſparaged and defiled with their Company and Converſation; Theſe are ſome of the mildeſt and moſt moderate principles and actions of ſuch furious Zealots. He that profeſſes himſelf a good and an honeſt Man merely for the Check and Reſtraints which Religious Fears have

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* Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum —
Illud in his rebus vereor ne forte rearis
Impia te Rationis inire elementa, viamque
Endogredi ſceleris. Quod contrà ſæpius olim
Religio perperit ſcelerosa atque impia facta.

Lucret. Lib. 1.

upon him; and hath no other motives of Virtue, no ſcruples of doing ill, but ſuch as depend upon Revealed Promiſes and Threatnings, is a Man of leſs noble Principles, more hardly to be truſted, and leſs to be eſteemed or admired. I will not call ſuch a Man wickeder; but ſure there is more danger in him, than if he had no Virtue nor Religion neither. Such People would tempt one to think that Religion whets their Paſſions, and enflames them with Pre-
John XVI. 2. tences of Zeal, as it did the *Jews* of old; *Whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he doth God ſervice.* Not that I mean, by all This to caſt the leaſt Aſperſion upon Religion, as if It Taught, or warranted, or countenanced any kind of Evil, (as ſome who from hence take occaſion to argue and rail at Religion in general, would pretend; (For this is not to ſhew their reaſon, but to betray their extreme Folly, or their extreme Malice) The falſeſt and moſt abſurd of all Perſuaſions that ever were, will not own any ſuch Intention. But the bottom of all this Miſchief ſeems to lie here; That ſuch Men have no taſte or ſenſe, no Idea or diſtinct Notion of Sincerity and Honeſty, but merely as it retains to Religion, and is entirely in its ſervice and devotion; and withal they know no other Definition of a Good Man, but One who is extremely diligent and warm in the propagating and promoting the Religion himſelf profeſſes; From which two Imaginations joined together, they eaſily and naturally ſlide into a Third; and preſently perſuade themſelves, that any the blackeſt and moſt barbarous Enormities, Treachery and Treaſon, Seditions and Murthers, are not only lawful and allowable, when ſheltered under the Colour of Sanctity, and the protection of a Zeal for the advancement of one's Religion; but they are even Sanctified by this pretence; ſo far from deſerving Puniſhment or Reproach, that they commence Commendable and Meritorious; and think nothing

leſs

leſs than a Canonization their due, if their own Party and Perſuaſion reap any advantage, or their Adverſaries ſuffer any damage or defeat from them. Thus the *Jews*, we read, were moſt unnatural and barbarous to their Parents; unjuſt to their Neighbours; they neither Lent nor Gave to thoſe in want; and were ſo far from contributing towards ſupplying the Neceſſities of the Poor, that they refuſed to pay their own juſt debts; and all this becauſe they contributed to the Temple; *Corban* was thought an anſwer ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of all the World, and He that could make this reply, look'd upon himſelf diſcharged from all Duties and Demands whatſoever. Let Parents ſtarve, or Creditors be cheated, yet all was well, ſo long as the Money that ſhould have paid the one, and fed the other, was devoted to pious Uſes. Matth. XV. St. *Hier.*

29. *Concluſion.* And now, to conclude what I have to ſay upon this Subject, I will ſhew you very briefly, how I would have my wiſe Man qualified, with regard to Piety and Probity, which is in one word by a ſtrict union, and inſeparable alliance of them both; and that in ſuch a manner, that, like Perſons in a conjugal State, each ſhould ſubſiſt and be able to act upon its own natural and proper Strength, but yet neither of them ſhould ever part, or be deſtitute of the other. And then to make the Union compleat, and the Virtue as Chriſtian and Noble as it is capable of being, I deſire that both the Former Qualifications may be crowned with the Grace of God, which, as I have obſerved before, he is not ſparing in to Them who do their utmoſt, but will be ſure to give his Holy Spirit ſufficiently and liberally, to all Them that ſincerely and devoutly ask Him.

THE Advertiſements thought neceſſary to be inſerted here, being not ſo much in the nature of Remarks upon little occaſional Paſſages, as Diſſertations upon Diſtinct Arguments, both here and in the Eleventh Chapter; the Reader will find them at the End of this Second Book. It appearing more Convenient to allow them a ſeparate place by themſelves; than to make ſuch very large Interruptions in the Body of this Treatiſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of a due Regulation of a Man's Pleaſures and Deſires.

ONE very conſiderable effect of Wiſdom, is the Teaching and Qualifying a Man, to be moderate in all his Pleaſures, and attain a perfect Maſtery over his Deſires. For, as for renouncing all our Pleaſures, and utterly extinguiſhing all Inclination, I am ſo far from expecting any ſuch thing in that Pattern of Wiſdom I am now endeavouring to form; that I look upon This, not only as a fantaſtical and extravagant; but, which is a great deal worſe, I verily believe it to be a Vicious and an Unnatural Notion. The firſt thing therefore requiſite to be done at preſent, is to confute that Opinion, which abſolutely condemns, and would fain exterminate all Pleaſures; and then, after the vindication of the thing in general, to lay down ſome directions, how Men ought to govern Themſelves in the Uſe and Enjoyment of them.

1. *Of the Contempt of the World.*

There is ſcarce any Opinion more ſpecious and plauſible, more admired by the generality of Mankind, and more affected by thoſe who pretend to be, and would fain paſs for the beſt and moſt knowing part of them, than the Contempt of the World. No Man ſets up for extraordinary Wiſdom and Sanctity, but One of his ſolemn and moſt pompous Profeſſions, is the Neglecting and abſolutely Deſpiſing all ſorts of Pleaſure; a perfect Diſregard of the Body, an Abſtraction of the Mind, and retiring within himſelf; ſo as to cut off all correſpondence with

with the World and the Body; raiſing and refining his Mind by the Contemplation of noble and ſublime Subjects; and thus contriving, that his life ſhall paſs away in a State of Inſenſibility; without ſo much as ever deſcending to taſte, or take notice of its Enjoyments. And indeed, the common expreſſion of Men's paſſing away their Time is in a peculiar manner applicable to theſe Perſons above any others: For they have a notion, that the beſt Uſe Life can poſſibly be put to, is to let it ſlide over without obſervation; to deceive the Time, and ſteal from the World, as if Living were a moſt miſerable Hardſhip, full of unavoidable Miſchiefs; and a Penance ſo burdenſome and tedious, that He only is happy, who can make his eſcape from it. Thus theſe great Sages dodge, and run away from the World; they do not only bring the common methods of Living into Suſpicion, and caſt an Odium upon the Recreations and Entertainments, and innocent Liberties in common uſe; but they even proclaim War upon the Neceſſities of Nature; and profeſs an Averſion to thoſe very things, which God in his Wiſdom hath ſeaſoned with Pleaſure, on purpoſe to recommend the Uſe of them to us. They never come in the way of theſe, but with Reluctance, and are rather dragged, than move willingly; they keep their mind ſtill in exerciſe and employment upon ſomewhat elſe, and are abſent in thought all the while; In ſhort, If you will believe the mighty boaſts they make, and all the mortified account they give of themſelves, Their whole Life is a Toil and a Burthen; Death is the only Eaſe and Solace they propoſe to themſelves. And that unnatural Sentence is ever in their mouths, * That they do indeed bear and can be content to Live, but if they might follow

* Vitam habere in Patientiâ, mortem in Deſiderio.

their

their own Inclinations, the thing they wiſh, and would much rather chuſe, is to Die.

But it will be no hard matter to take off all the ſeeming Virtue of this Opinion, and to blaſt the Glories and Commendations it pretends to. For when we come to a cloſe and impartial Conſideration of the matter, The Unreaſonableneſs, the great Wickedneſs indeed, of ſuch a Contempt diſcovers it ſelf in ſeveral Inſtances. For, Firſt of all, if we conſult Nature, and attend to the Condition and Deſign of our Creation, Reaſon will teach us, that nothing is more Graceful, no Duty more Obligatory, than the conſidering and maintaining the Character aſſigned to us; that is in plain *Engliſh*, the Learning to live here, in all reſpects, as becomes Men. It is in truth a very difficult Study, but withal a moſt divine Accompliſhment, to know how to Enjoy and Uſe the Being God hath given us, as he intended we ſhould do: To obſerve the Common Model of Nature, and then the particular Circumſtances and Qualifications of our own State and Caſe: And ſo to adjuſt and proportion our behaviour to the firſt of theſe, as at the ſame time to be guilty of nothing foreign to our private Condition, or any way diſagreeable to the part we are to play upon this Common Theatre. We are to follow and to act what is given us, but not to invent and make a new part of our own head. But now theſe Extravagant Singularities, Theſe Studied and Artificial Eſſays and Overtures, Theſe ways of living beſide the common road, are all of them Sallies of Men's own Folly, and Paſſion, and impertinent Additions of ſuch, as, becauſe they do not underſtand their part, miſtake and overdo it. They are the Diſeaſes and Phrenſies of the Soul, that put Men quite beſide their Senſes. They Spiritualize themſelves, only to be more refined Fools; and while they affect the perfection of Angels, degenerate into the ſtupidity of Brutes. It

2. *This Opinion diſapproved.*

was

was wiſely ſaid by him in the Comedy, *Homo ſum' humani à me nihil alienum puto*; which with reſpect to our preſent Subject is, I my ſelf am a Man; and therefore muſt think nothing that is Human, unworthy my concern. For this is the very State of our Caſe. Man is a compounded Being; a Creature conſiſting of Soul and Body both; and it is by no means commendable to maim Nature and take the Building to Pieces, by cutting off this Fleſhly Tabernacle. God hath United, and as it were Married theſe Two together, by all the Ties of Nature, and the moſt tender intimate Affection; and how impious an Undertaking is it for Us to create Jealouſies and Diſlikes, to drive things to Separation and Divorce, and thus to put aſunder thoſe whom God hath joined together? Quite contrary, we ſhould rather tye this Knot faſter, by all the good Offices and mutual Aſſiſtances they are capable of to one another. For indeed, they are well contrived for ſuch reciprocal Services. The Body of its ſelf is heavy and ſtupid, and therefore the Soul ſhould animate, and awaken, and render it Vigorous and Active. The Spirit of its ſelf is light and airy, and oftentimes very troubleſomely brisk; and therefore the Body is of uſe to check and fix it. In a word, The Mind ſhould govern, and cheriſh, and be helpful to the Body, (as a Huſband ſhould aſſiſt and direct his Wife) and by no means hate, or caſt it off; or deſpiſe the Infirmities and Neceſſities of this weaker Veſſel. It is an unbecoming Niceneſs and Pride, to refuſe the partaking in its innocent Pleaſures; ſuch as Nature ordains, and the Laws of God and Man allow, for our Recreation and Entertainment. For the thing required upon this Occaſion is not total Abſtinence, but prudent Moderation. Man is really bound to make this Life a conſiderable part of his Care; to taſte the Pleaſures of it; nay, to chew the Cud, and reflect upon them with Satisfaction; for all this is neceſſary

to

to give a right Reliſh and Value of them, and to make him duly thankful, and ſenſible of the Goodneſs of that Providence, which hath made ſo liberal a Proviſion for our Entertainment here below. Do not miſtake; There is no part of that which God hath in bounty beſtowed upon us, unworthy our regard: Were it below Us to accept, it would have been much more below Him to give. We ſhall do well therefore to remember, not only that we may receive it, but that we are accountable for every the leaſt mite of it. And therefore the Uſe of Life is no jeſting matter; but a Commiſſion, and a Talent, which requires our moſt ſerious Care; that the living in agreement to Nature, and governing our ſelves by ſuch Rules, as reſult from a due Conſideration of it, is an expreſs Duty, impoſed upon us in very good earneſt, and with an intent to be ſeverely reckoned for.

3. And Thus much may ſerve to convince us, how unnatural, and how fooliſh a Delicacy that is, which teaches Men to condemn Actions as Vicious, becauſe they are Natural; or to nauſeate and diſdain them, as mean and below their Character, becauſe they are neceſſary. Whereas in reality, Neceſſity and Pleaſure are the happieſt Marriage that ever God made in all the Courſe of Nature. It is a moſt convincing Demonſtration of his Infinite Wiſdom, that in thoſe Actions which are of greateſt Uſe and indiſpenſable Neceſſity to human Life, the matter ſhould be ſo order'd, that ſome agreeable Satisfaction ſhould always attend them; and that our Senſes ſhould be feaſted, as often as our Wants are ſupplied. Thus are we doubly invited to our Refreſhments; firſt by Reaſon and Neceſſity, and then by Appetite, and a certainty of being Gratified. Now your mortified and Philoſophical Contemners of the World take upon them to invert this Order, break the Rules of Nature, and utterly overthrow this beautiful

See B. III. Ch. 38.

beautiful Eſtabliſhment. Whereas in truth, it is every whit as unreaſonable and unjuſt to fall out with the World, and utterly renounce all Pleaſures, as it is to doat, and be fond of all, and abandon one's ſelf to all manner of Exceſs and Abuſe of them. In ſhort, We ſhould neither run after them, nor run away from them. But when they make their Approaches, and put themſelves in our way, we ſhould receive them kindly, love them moderately, and enjoy them ſoberly and diſcreetly; in ſuch manner as will be preſcribed hereafter, when our Method brings us to the Rules proper for this Occaſion.

4. He who values himſelf upon this Abſtraction of the Soul, and keeping it in a Separate and Independent State from the Body, let him give us a Trial of his Skill, when the Body is languiſhing under Sickneſs, or tortured with Pain; and ſhew that he can at ſuch a time preſerve it free, and above the reach of this Contagion. Then Experience will ſhew ſuch Attempts as much out of his Power, as Reaſon argues them to be againſt his Duty. For, if we will conſider this matter as in all Equity and Common Humanity it ſtands, it is certain the Soul ought not to abandon the Body, nor caſt off all Fellow-feeling of its Sufferings and Diſtreſſes. It is mere Apiſhneſs and Affectation for any Man to pretend to it. The Mind, if you pleaſe, ought to go thus far; It ſhould look both Pleaſure and Pain in the Face, without Commotion or Tranſport; with the ſame Compoſure of Countenance, and Evenneſs of Temper: Or rather let it meet the One with a Severe and Grave Mien, and the Other with an Air of Gaiety; But let the Circumſtances of the Man be what they will, the Mind is obliged upon all occaſions to ſtand by the Body; to lend it Aſſiſtance, to eſpouſe its Cauſe, and keep it in conſtant Diſcipline, and good Order.

Temperance

Temperance, which is the Rule and Standard of Pleaſure, conſiſts in a Mediocrity, and is no leſs diſtant from a Sullen Inſenſibility, which is the Extreme in point of Defect; than it is from Extravagance and Luxury, which is the other Extreme in Exceſs. For voluntary Rigor and Torment is unnatural; and 'tis as ridiculous to hate cheap and eaſy Conveniences, as it is mad and fooliſh to purchaſe expenſive and uncommon Delicacies.

5. The Contempt of the World ſounds big in the Mouth; they are very ſolemn and pompous Words, and ſuch as every Man proclaims his own Gallantry in, with great Triumph. But when we come to enquire into the true meaning of this Expreſſion, and what there is really in it; I cannot for my part think that the Perſons who uſe the Phraſe, know what they Intend by it; and much leſs does it appear, that any of them practice what it denotes, if it have any Senſe or Signification at all. For after all, What does this Deſpiſing of the World import? What is this World, which they repreſent as ſo juſt an Object of Contempt? Is it the Heavens, and the Earth, and in one word, what we call the Univerſe, or whole Frame of Created Beings? No; Theſe they allow are no ſuch deſpicable things. What are we to underſtand by it then? The Uſe and Profit, the Service and Convenience, which theſe Things are capable of yielding us? What monſtrous Ingratitude would this be to the Great Author and Maker of all theſe things, who in Kindneſs fitted them to our uſe, and provided for our Neceſſities by them? What a Reproach and Accuſation upon Humane Nature in general, which leaves us liable to ſuch Neceſſities? For after all their bluſtering, I would fain know how they can diſpenſe with the want of Theſe things, or which way they can continue Men, and ſubſiſt without them? If then you ſhall evade this Difficulty too, and ſay that you underſtand the World neither

in the one, nor the other of theſe Senſes; but All that you make the Object of your Contempt, is the Abuſe of things Good and Neceſſary; that is, The Vanities and Follies, the Extravagances and Vicious Exceſſes, which you ſee daily practiſed, and which are the Failings common to all that appear to be fond of living like the reſt of the World; I muſt tell you, That, however commendable your Virtue, or the Deſign of it may be in it ſelf, yet you give it a wrong Name. For what can be more injurious than to call thoſe Things *the World*, which are no part of it, nor hath the World any thing to do with them? So far from it, that Theſe are all of them directly againſt the Order and good Government of the World; and in truth, have no Being, no Foundation in Nature, but are purely Additions of Mens making, born and brought up within their own Breaſts. Theſe are Artificial Debaucheries, the effect of wicked Induſtry and Skill, to corrupt and pervert Nature; and therefore the preſerving a Man's Self from theſe, in ſuch manner as the Study of Wiſdom, and the Rules, which you will meet with preſently, direct; This is not Deſpiſing the World, which is not one whit the leſs, but would be a great deal more perfect, if all theſe things were taken out of it; but it deſerves much rather to be called, Making a good Uſe of the World, and behaving one's ſelf prudently in it: And thus Divines make a very juſt Diſtinction, between Uſing the World, and Delighting in it. Theſe Philoſophical Gentlemen, I know very well, imagine Themſelves great Maſters, and that they have got quite above the World, and all its Temptations, and Enjoyments, becauſe they practiſe ſome affected Singularities, and have put themſelves in a way of living, quite beſide the common Road of the reſt of Mankind. But alas! This is all a Jeſt. The World hath nothing in it ſo Worldly, and ſo particular as theſe very

very Men are; There is a great deal more trifling, and playing the Fool, by Thoſe that pretend to ſhun and live out of it, than by Them that are content to be thought in it; and if you would find Fondneſs and Concern for the World in Perfection, you muſt ſeek it in thoſe places, where you hear moſt of running away from it, and ſcorning all its Enjoyments. Upon the whole matter, This abandoning all Pleaſures, and ſtifling all our Deſires, is an Extreme as culpable, as abandoning our ſelves to them. What I ſay here, is intended as a juſt Reproof of Thoſe Men and their Hypocriſy, whoſe pretended Mortifications, and particular way of making a Figure in the World, ſerves only to ſwell them more with Pride, and fill them with impudent and cenſorious Malice againſt all who are not of Their way: But I would not be thought to caſt the leaſt Reflection upon any Religious Self-denial, or any ſuch Retirements and Auſterities as are practiſed for the Advantage of Piety and Heavenly Contemplation. But ſtill I ſay, To condemn and diſallow ſuch Appetites and ſuch Gratifications without Reſerve, is the Effect of a Sick Imagination; a fantaſtical, moroſe, and unnatural Opinion. God himſelf is the Creator and the Giver of Pleaſure; and our Duty is to receive it Thankfully, and not to diſparage the Gift, by charging it with Folly. All that we have to do in the Caſe, is to learn how to enjoy theſe things, and to uſe them ſafely; to harken to the Voice of Wiſdom, and conform our ſelves to thoſe Rules of Behaviour, which ſhe will not fail to furniſh us with upon this Occaſion.

See B. III. Ch. 38.

6. *The ſecond part, which concerns the regulating our pleaſures and deſires.*

Now the Direction, neceſſary for this purpoſe may very well be reduced to Four Particulars. Firſt, That our Deſires be Little. Secondly, That they be Natural. Thirdly, That they be Moderate. And Laſtly, That they be bounded within a ſhort compaſs, and with regard to one's own ſelf. And theſe are ſuch

Qualifications, as, if theſe mighty mortified Perſons, and magnanimous Contemners of the World would practiſe in good earneſt, I ſhould allow them to be Excellent Men indeed. Theſe Four generally go together. And, when thus in Conjunction, they make up one Perfect and Entire Rule. One might indeed contract them into leſs compaſs; And he that is diſpoſed to ſave his Memory, may comprehend all the Four Qualities in this ſingle Word, *Natural.* For in truth, Nature, if we would faithfully purſue her Dictates, is not only the Fundamental, but of her ſelf alone a Sufficient Direction to us, in the management of this whole matter. But however, to explain the Thing more fully, and for the making our Notions more clear and eaſy, we will allow each of theſe Particulars a diſtinct Conſideration.

1. The Firſt Branch then of this Rule concerns the Quantity of the Object, and commands us to deſire but Little. The reſtraining our Deſires, and cutting them ſhort, ſo that they ſhall extend to very few, if any Things at all, is of infinite Uſe and Advantage: It is the ſtraighteſt Road to Happineſs; a certain Defence againſt the Aſſaults of Fortune; it ſecures all the Avenues by which ſhe can attack us, and leaves her nothing to faſten upon; It is the only courſe we can take to live Contentedly, and Happily, and in one word, Wiſely. He that can bring himſelf to deſire nothing, the matter is not great if he have nothing; for even upon theſe Terms he is as Rich, and as Great, as he that poſſeſſes all things; They come both to one at laſt; for in ſumming up a Man's Wants, * *it makes no difference in the account, whether you actually have a thing, or whether you have no deſire of it.* For which reaſon it was well enough obſerved, that Wealth and Contentment were not

* Nihil intereſt, an habeas, an non concupiſcas.

to

to be attained by Variety and Abundance, but by Scarcity and Nothing; that is, by Scarcity of Deſires; for He that is Poor in Deſires is Rich in Contentation. * *The Want of Deſires is the true, the greateſt Wealth.* In a word, The Man who deſires nothing, hath made great Advances toward a State of Abſolute Perfection, and is in ſome degree like God himſelf. He approaches very near to the Condition of the Saints and Bleſſed Spirits in Heaven, whoſe Happineſs does not conſiſt in having and enjoying all that We value here below, but in not wanting, not deſiring, and being above it all. † *He that hath maſtered, and confined his Deſires, may vye Happineſs with* Jove *himſelf*; ſays a Heathen Author. But on the other hand; if we let the Reins looſe, and ſuffer Appetite to fly out at pleaſure; if nothing but Abundance will ſatisfy, and we grow Nice and Fanciful in the Propoſals we make to our ſelves, perpetual Miſery and Torment muſt be our Portion. Things in their own Nature ſuperfluous will then become neceſſary and indiſpenſable; our Mind loſes its Native Freedom, and is enſlav'd to the Body; and all we live for from thenceforward, is only Wantonneſs and Pleaſure. If we do not moderate our Pleaſures and Deſires, and meaſure all we have, and all we ſeek, by the Standard of *Reaſon*, Opinion will carry us away, and run us upon Pits and Precipices, without bounds, or bottom. For when we once have begun to indulge our Extravagances, there is no knowing where the Luxury will end. At this rate, for inſtance, we may cover our Shoes, firſt with Velvet, then with Gold, after that with Embroidery, and at laſt come to ſet them with Pearls and Dia-

* Summæ opes inopia Cupiditatum.

† Qui Deſiderium ſuum clauſit, cum Jove de fælicitate contendit.

monds; And thus when we lay the Foundations, and carry up the Walls of our Houſes, we may riſe from Stone to Marble, and then to *Jaſpar* and *Porphyry*.

This method of enriching one's ſelf hath likewiſe theſe farther Advantages, that it expoſes a Man to no Fraud or Injuſtice, but is agreeable to the ſtricteſt Rules of Equity; and it is alſo entirely in every one's own power and diſpoſal. There is no need of going abroad to ſeek for Contentment; it dwells at home; we need but ask our ſelves, and we may have it: Stop but the Current of our own Deſires, and the thing is done. How unreaſonable is all the Formality of Prayers, and Vows, and Wiſhes; all the Complaints we make of Vexations and Diſappointments; all the Blame we lay upon God and Nature, and the World, how wicked and unjuſt are they; when the Reſult of all is in truth no more than This, That we want ſomething to be given us, which none can give, none can procure, but our ſelves; and which we are ſo abundantly provided with Means and Opportunities of obtaining, that we cannot poſſibly fail of it, unleſs we will be wanting to our ſelves? For after all, Why ſhould I rather beg of another to grant me what I have not, than of my ſelf not to deſire or be uneaſy for the want of it? * *How abſurd is it to think Fortune will gratify my Deſires, when I cannot eaſe my ſelf by ceaſing to deſire? And wherefore ſhould I ſo far forget the frailty of my Condition, as to indulge my Deſires?* If I either cannot, or will not prevail with my ſelf, whom I have a Right to govern; with what confidence can I pretend to importune others, over whom I have no Right, nor Power; and hope to extort from

* Quare potius à fortunâ impetrem ut det, quàm à me ne petam? quare autem petam oblitus fragilitatis humanæ?
Senec. Epiſt. xv.

Them,

Them, what, without all this trouble of asking, might have come much better from my own Hand? Take this then for the firſt Rule neceſſary for the Regulating Mens Pleaſures and Deſires, That the Quantity be rightly adjuſted. For this *Little*, or to expreſs the thing in terms every whit as true, though more acceptable, A moderate Proportion, and Sufficiency of Mind, is the thing that brings Wiſdom and Satisfaction. This is what will content a Wiſe Man, and keep him always in a State of Eaſe and Tranquillity. Upon the full Conviction of this Truth it is, that I have choſen for my *Motto* thoſe two ſignificant words; *Paix & Peu. Quiet and a Little.* A Fool thinks nothing enough; he is fickle and irreſolute; knows not what he would have; nor when to have done; and conſequently can never be contented, becauſe he never knows what would ſatisfy him. Such a Man is well enough repreſented by the Story *Plutarch* tells of the Moon; which came to her Mother, and begged ſhe would give her ſome New Cloaths that would fit her; but received this Anſwer, That ſuch a Garment was impoſſible to be made, for ſhe was ſometimes very Big, and at other times very Little, and continually Increaſing or Decreaſing; and how then could ſhe expect to be fitted with a Garment, which muſt always be the ſame, when her own Body was ſo changeable, that its Bulk was never two days together the ſame?

2. The next Point is, That our Deſires and Pleaſures be *Natural*; and this in truth carries great Affinity and Reſemblance to the former. For we cannot but obſerve, that there are Two ſorts of Pleaſures; Some of which are *Natural*, and Theſe are Juſt and Lawful; They have a foundation in our very Temper and Frame, and are imparted, not to Men only, but are exactly the ſame in Brutes. Theſe Appetites and the Gratifications of them are ſhort, and bounded 7.

in a narrow compaſs; it is an eaſy matter to ſee to the End of them. Now with regard to ſuch, no Man is, or can be poor; becauſe all Circumſtances and all Places furniſh enough to ſatisfy theſe Inclinations. For Nature is Regular and Abſtemious, a very little contents her; and not only ſo, but ſhe is very well provided too, and puts into every Man's hand as much as will ſuffice to ſupport him. Thus *Seneca* obſerves, * *That the Suſtenance Nature requires, is always ready, and any-where to be had; and it is very eaſy to come at enough for the ſupply of our Neceſſities*; For that which Nature requires for the preſervation of its Being is in reality as much as we need; and ſure we ought to acknowledge it a particular Happineſs, and a ſpecial Favour, that Thoſe things which we ſtand in need of for the ſupport of Life; as they muſt be had or we periſh, ſo they are eaſy to be had, and no body need periſh for want of them; and that the matter is ſo contrived, that whatever is hard to be obtained, we can be without it, and ſuffer no great Prejudice. If we lay aſide Fancy and Paſſion, and follow Nature and Neceſſity, we are always rich, and always ſafe; for theſe will direct us to ſuch purſuits, as all the malice of Fortune cannot defeat. To this ſort of Deſires, we may add too thoſe others, which regard the Cuſtoms of the Age and Place we live in, and the Circumſtances and Quality of our Perſons and Fortunes. For I can eaſily allow, that They ſhould be comprehended under this Head too, though it muſt be confeſs'd, that they do not come up to the ſame degree of Neceſſity with the former. If we will ſpeak ſtrictly and conſider things according to their utmoſt rigour, Theſe are neither Natural, nor Neceſſary; but if they be not

* Parabile eſt quod Natura deſiderat & expoſitum; Ad manum eſt quod ſat eſt.

abſolutely

abſolutely ſo, yet they follow cloſe in order, and are next to Thoſe that are. They do indeed exceed the bounds of Nature, which hath done her part, when ſhe maintains us in Any Condition; but yet we are not tied to all that Exactneſs, but are permitted to enlarge our Deſires farther; and may, without any breach of Virtue, deſire a Competency, in proportion to the Rank Providence hath placed us in. We may, I ſay, deſire and endeavour this fairly and reaſonably; but yet with this Reſerve, that it is againſt Juſtice and Reaſon both, to murmur and be diſcontented, if we be diſappointed in our Hopes, or deprived of the Poſſeſſion of it. For Theſe are Additional Advantages, and the Effect of Bounty; all that Nature hath bound her ſelf to, is the Subſiſtence of our Perſons, and we have no Right to depend upon more.

But we muſt not omit to obſerve, that there are (as I hinted before) another ſort of Pleaſures and Deſires which we may truly call Unnatural, becauſe they are quite beſide and beyond the Bounds already mentioned. With Theſe Nature hath nothing at all to do; ſhe knows them not; They are of a Baſtard Race; Fancy and Opinion give them birth; Art and Induſtry Cheriſh and Improve them; They are ſuperfluous and ſtudied Follies; and muſt not be allowed ſo mild a Term, as Appetites, but are moſt truly, and in the worſt ſenſe of the word, Paſſions. I know not well indeed, what Title to diſtinguiſh them by; they are ſo fantaſtical, that it is not eaſy to find a Name, for them; but call them if you will, Luſtings, Longings, Any thing that expreſſes the Whimſy and Impatience of a wild and wanton Mind. Theſe we have therefore ſpoken to already, when in the Firſt Book we treated of the Paſſions at large; all that is neceſſary to be added here concerning them is only, That the Greateſt part of what Men call Deſires, are ſuch as Theſe; and that They are the proper ſource of

of that Miſery and Fretfulneſs we ſee Mankind ſo generally diſquieted by; and That a Wiſe man will think himſelf concerned to diſtinguiſh his Virtue in no one Inſtance more, than in keeping himſelf abſolutely and entirely clear from any Vanities of this kind.

8. 3. The Third Qualification requiſite upon theſe Occaſions, is, That all our Pleaſures and Deſires be Moderate; by which I mean, that they ſhould be guilty of no Exceſs in any reſpect whatſoever. Now This is a Rule of a very large Extent, and capable of being parcelled out into a great many ſubdiviſions, but I think All of them may be reduced to theſe Two; That neither, *firſt* our Neighbour, nor *ſecondly* our Selves ſuffer by them. When I mention other People's Sufferings, I deſign by it, that we ſhould indulge our Selves in nothing that may any way give any perſon diſquiet, by ſcandalizing him, or miniſtring juſt cauſe of Reſentment; nothing that may contribute to his loſs or prejudice, by hurting his Perſon, Eſtate or Reputation: By Our Own ſuffering I mean, that we ſhould have all due regard to our Health, our Leiſure, our Buſineſs, and particularly the Offices of our Calling and Capacity, our Honour, and above all, our Duty. And He that is content with being ſubject to theſe Reſtraints, and takes care not to break in upon any of the forementioned Boundaries, I admit to be ſuch a one, as exerciſes what I call Moderation in his Pleaſures and Deſires.

See Book III. Ch. 40.

9. 4. There remains yet a Fourth Direction, which is, a Short Compaſs, and a conſtant Regard to ones ſelf. For, beſides that our Deſires muſt not be let fly at large, nor our Pleaſures run wild without any Check or Controul; the very Courſe and Figures they move in, muſt be managed and rightly ordered. It is not enough, that a ſtop be put to their Career; but, if the Reader will permit that Alluſion, they muſt not move in a Right Line, but in a Circle, of which

which the Perſon himſelf is the Center. My meaning is, They muſt not run out into Lengths a great diſtance from us, as Right Lines do; but they muſt have a conſtant reſpect to, keep near, and quickly return again, to the Point from whence they ſet out at firſt: For This is to terminate in our ſelves; and to make our own Neceſſities and Enjoyments the Subject and the Meaſure of them. And what miſerable work do They make, who do not govern themſelves by this Reflection? How wretched, for want of keeping cloſe, and moving round their proper Center, are the Slaves to Avarice, and Ambition; and infinite others, who are ſollicitous for Poſterity, and contriving to keep up the Family in long diſtant Succeſſions, or upon any pretence, as vain as theſe, run beyond themſelves, and are perplexed for things that no way concern them? Such Actions are properly Excentrical and Irregular, Fanciful and Vain; and yet ſo very frequent withal, that, if all theſe Unreaſonable Projects were reduced, or quite taken away out of our lives, it is incredible, how great a part of Men's Cares and Anxieties would be cut off with them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Decent Deportment, and Evenneſs of Temper, in Proſperity, and Adverſity.

1. EVERY Man in this World hath two ſorts of Fortune to grapple with; a Good, and an Ill Fortune; or Proſperity and Adverſity, as we commonly call it. Theſe are the Rencounters, in which a Man ought to ſtand upon his Guard; the Trying Seaſons, when we are moſt obliged to have our Wits about us. The two Schools, by whoſe Diſcipline we are trained up in Wiſdom; the Eſſays, or Touchſtones, which bring Men's Minds to the Teſt; and diſcover whether they be Standard or not.

2. The Common and Ignorant part of the World have no notion of Trial, except in One of Theſe only; They can by no means imagine, how Proſperity, and kind Fortune ſhould poſſibly make a Man work, or involve him in any Difficulty or Trouble; they hear no Threatning, and ſo they fear no Danger. They are ſo tranſported, ſo giddy with their Joy upon theſe occaſions, that they loſe all Senſe; know not where they are, nor what they do; and ſo Inſolent, that there is no enduring them. And in Affliction again, they are ſo miſerably ſubdued, ſo perfectly ſtunned and confounded, that they have no manner of ſenſe left; but are affected with this Sickneſs and Feebleneſs of the Mind, as we generally ſee men with That of the Body, who are always uneaſy and in pain, can bear neither Heat nor Cold, but are reſtleſs and diſſatisfied in either Extreme.

But

But Wiſe Men have quite different notions of the matter; They obſerve and acknowledge a Difficulty in Both; and think it an inſtance of equal weakneſs, on Which ſide ſoever the miſcarriage happens. And indeed it is the ſame Vicious defect, and as egregious a Folly, for a Man not to be able to govern himſelf in Proſperity, as not to ſupport himſelf under Adverſity. But though all Men of Judgment allow a Difficulty on Either ſide, yet on which hand the difficulty is Greater, they are not ſo perfectly agreed. Some are of Opinion, that Adverſity is the harder Task of the Two; by reaſon of its extreme Severity, and that ſenſible ſharpneſs we feel under the ſmart of it. So ſays one Philoſopher, * *It is harder to endure, and bear up under Grief, than to deny one's ſelf, and be moderate in Joy*; and another, † *It is a nobler Victory to get well over Hardſhips, than to temper Pleaſures.* Others again rather incline to Proſperity, and think This the nicer and more dangerous State of the Two. They obſerve very truly, that Good Fortune charms and gets within us by her Smiles and kind Careſſes; That there is Treachery at the bottom of all this Fondneſs; that it unbends and ſoftens the Mind, enervates all its Powers, ſteals away its generous Qualities, and, as *Dalilah* dealt by *Sampſon*, betrays the ſtrength and vigour of the Soul, and reduces the beſt and braveſt Heroes to the Condition of common Men. And of This we have frequent Inſtances; Perſons who have been firm and inflexible, ſtood their ground, and born the ſhock of Adverſity with all the Reſolution and Gallantry in the World; and yet even Theſe Invincible Sufferers, whom Affliction could not break, Proſperity hath

3. *Which the harder.*

* Difficilius eſt Triſtitiam ſuſtinere, quam à delectabilibus abſtinere.

† Majus eſt Difficilia perſtringere, quam Læta moderari.

quickly

quickly vanquiſhed and melted down. Courtſhip and Flattery have effected what Threats and Blows never could; and Verified that Saying, That Proſperity is no ſuch eaſy matter, but This muſt be Endured too; (how odd ſoever that expreſſion may ſound) and † is really a difficult and laborious thing to be born. As Full Ears load and lay the Corn, ſo does too much good Fortune bend and break the Mind. It deſerves to be conſidered too, as another Diſadvantage, that Affliction moves Pity, and reconciles our very Enemies; but Proſperity provokes Envy, and loſes us our very Friends. Again, Adverſity is a deſolate and abandoned State; the generality of People are like thoſe infamous Animals, that live only upon Plenty and Rapine; and as Rats and Mice forſake a tottering Houſe, ſo do Theſe the Falling Man. Now This hath ſometimes that good effect, that when One perceives himſelf thus reduced and deſtitute, and that his own Endeavours are all he hath to truſt to; his Courage is awakened, he rouzes and ſhakes himſelf, collects and exerts all his Powers, and with wonderful Bravery and Succeſs forces his way through. In Proſperity, quite contrary, Every body is making their Court by Compliments, and Commendations, proffers of Service, and officious Aſſiſtances; and This is a Temptation to Negligence and Security, we truſt to Others, and neglect our Selves; apprehend no difficulty becauſe we feel none, and promiſe abſolute ſafety, while we ſee not our danger; Till at laſt our falſe Confidences deceive us, and we are ſenſible of our Error, when it is too late to retrieve it. Thus much, and a great deal more might be urged on both ſides of the Queſtion, which I ſhall not take upon me to determine on either ſide; For it may be, that it is not capable of any general and poſitive Deciſion, one

† Magni laboris eſt ferre proſperitatem.

way

way or other. And the moſt probable Reſolution we can come to in the caſe, is in my poor Judgment This; That Both the forementioned Opinions are true as it may happen; and that Proſperity is more difficult to ſome, and Adverſity to others, according to the different Diſpoſitions and Complexions of the Perſons concerned in making the Experiment. But if we look at the Thing itſelf, and the Uſefulneſs of it in general, the Advantage ſeems to lie on the ſide of Adverſity: For this is the ſeed and occaſion of great Virtues, the Field in which the Braveſt Heroes have ſignalized themſelves. For Wounds and Hardſhips provoke our Courage, and when our Fortunes are at the loweſt, our Wits and Minds are commonly at the beſt.

4. *Both in common.*

Now the Directions which Wiſdom gives upon this occaſion are, To preſerve an Evenneſs of Temper and Behaviour, through the ſeveral occurrences of Life, and to meet them all with the ſame ſerene compoſed Countenance. A Wiſe Man is Maſter of his Trade, and knows how to manage his Matters ſo, as to make every Thing turn to Account; Let the Accident be what it will, ſtill Virtue ſhall be the reſult of it; as the Painter *Phidias* ſhewed his Skill, in making the ſame Figure repreſented, what form or proſpect ſoever you put the Piece into. Thus Events are his Materials, and whatever comes to hand, he will not fail to convert into an occaſion of doing good; and how different ſoever the Aſpects of Fortune may be to Him, yet his own face always keeps the ſame Air. * *A Wiſe Man* (ſays *Seneca*) *is provided for occurren-*

* Ad utroſque caſus Sapiens aptus eſt; Bonorum Rector, Malorum Victor. In Secundis non confidit, in Adverſis non deficit. Nec avidus periculi, nec fugax; proſperitatem non expectans, ad utrumque paratus, adverſus utrumque intrepidus; nec illius tumultu, nec hujus fulgore percuſſus. Contra calamitates fortis & contumax; Luxuriæ non adverſus tantum ſed & infeſtus: Hoc præcipuum in humanis rebus erigere Animum ſupra Minas & Promiſſa Fortunæ. *Seneca.*

ces

ces of any kind, the Good he manages, the Bad he vanquiſhes. In Proſperity he betrays no Preſumption, in Adverſity he feels no Deſpondency. He neither raſhly courts danger, nor cowardly runs away from it; and for Proſperity, he ſets not his heart upon it, but ſtands well appointed for any thing that happens; He fears no attack in any kind; the hurry and diſorder of the one does not confound him, nor the ſplendor of the other dazzle or tranſport him. Calamities find him gallant, reſolute, and inflexible; Luxury and Eaſe he is not only no Friend, but an Irreconcilable Enemy to. And, in ſhort, this is his greateſt Excellence and the Juſt Commendation and Character of a Good Man, in all the variety of human Chances, to raiſe the Soul, and get above the Promiſes and Threats of Fortune. Thus Wiſdom equips us for the Fight; She puts proper Weapons into our Hands, teaches us to handle the Arms ſhe gives, and when we are well diſciplin'd, leaves us to engage, as the Laws of Combat, and the preſent Exigence of Affairs, require. When we are to encounter with Adverſity, She provides us a Spur to quicken us, raiſes and whets our Courage, calls up our Reſolution, and hardens our mind againſt it; and thus She inſpires us with the Virtue of Fortitude; When Proſperity engages us, She puts a Bridle into our Hand to curb and contain us, that our Flights may not be too bold, but all regulated by Prudence and Modeſty; and thus She qualifies us with the Virtue of Temperance. Theſe are the two great Cardinal Virtues, which enable us to manage the Two Extremes of Fortune, and are a Preparation ſure and ſufficient, againſt any kind of Accident, that can poſſibly befall us. All which the brave *Epictetus* intimated his ſenſe of, when he ſummed up the whole Syſtem of Moral Philoſophy in thoſe two ſignificant, and moſt comprehenſive words *, *Bear and Forbear.* Applying the former to what the

* Ἀνέχου καὶ Ἀπέχου.

World

World uſes to repute Evil, all manner of Misfortune and Diſtreſs; for Theſe things, as Burthens, are to be ſuſtained with Patience and Conſtancy. The latter, of *Forbearing* to all thoſe, which in common eſteem paſs for Good things; the Plenty, and Pleaſures, and proſperous Succeſſes of our Lives, all which require Moderation and Reſtraint. As for any particular Directions, ſuited to the particular Favours or Unkindneſſes of Fortune; The Reader muſt give me leave to beg his Patience, till the Third part of this Treatiſe; where I ſhall have occaſion to treat of this Subject more at large, under the Topicks of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. At preſent I ſhall only lay down ſome general Rules and Remedies, againſt Proſperity and Adverſity taken in the groſs; the deſign and buſineſs of this Second Book being to extend no farther than general Inſtructions to Wiſdom, without entring into reſpective Caſes, which call for the exerciſe of ſuch Rules; for This you may remember was the Scheme and Method of this whole Undertaking, laid down in my Preface, at our firſt ſetting out.

5. *Of Proſperity.*

All the general Inſtruction, which I think neceſſary in this place, with regard to Proſperity, conſiſts of theſe Three Conſiderations. Firſt, That it is a great Miſtake, nay, a great Injuſtice, which thoſe Men are guilty of, who eſteem Honours, and Riches, and other Gifts and Advantages of Fortune, Good things; and reckon them among the moſt ſubſtantial Happineſſes of Human Life. For with what pretence can they be called Good? They can neither impart nor improve Goodneſs; they reclaim no Man who lives amiſs; nor can they reform one vicious Habit; nor are they peculiar to, or any diſtinguiſhing Character of Good Men, but diſtributed promiſcuouſly, and, at leaſt in equal Proportions, to the Wickedeſt and worſt part of Mankind. And He, that calls them Good in the notion of Happi-

neſs, and places his Hopes and his Felicity in them, hath committed his Treaſure to a Rotten Cable, and anchored his Veſſel upon a Quickſand. For what is there in the whole World, ſo floating and unfaithful, as the Poſſeſſion of ſuch ſlippery Advantages? They go and come at randome, no body knows how nor why; flow in upon us, and Ebb off again like a ſudden Tide of Water: Like That, they come on with noiſe and obſervation, are violent and fierce in their motions, troubled and foul in themſelves; And like That too, they preſently diſappear, leave us drawn dry of all our overflowing Comforts and Joys, and nothing but Mud, and Stench, and Filth, left behind at low Water.

6. The Second part of this Advice, is, To entreat Men, that they would remember, what the Nature of Proſperity is; That nothing better reſembles it, than a Poyſon given in Honey; which, though it be ſweet and pleaſing upon the Palat, yet is fatal in the operation, and Certain Death at the Stomach; and therefore that Men ought to be conſtantly upon their Guard againſt its treacherous Flatteries. When Fortune ſmiles upon us, and every thing falls out to our hearts deſire; then is the ſeaſon eſpecially for Watchfulneſs and Fear; then we ſhould be more than ordinarily ſevere in the Government of our Paſſions, and draw the Reins tight, becauſe we are apter to grow skittiſh, and fly out at ſuch times. Then we ſhould be careful, that all our Behaviour be ſerious and compoſed, and above all things avoid Preſumption and Inſolence; which are exceeding apt to grow upon us in the midſt of Gaieties and fair Weather. Alas! Proſperity is a very ſlippery Ground, and all a Man's caution is little enough, to ſtand faſt, and tread ſure in it. There is not any Circumſtance in the World, in which Men are more diſpoſed to forget God; it is the very critical Seaſon that practiſes Religion leaſt, and yet needs it moſt. One tolerable

tolerable account whereof, among others, may be This; That you very ſeldom meet with any fortunate Man, who is content to aſcribe his Succeſſes to the Bleſſing and Providence of God; but all Men uſually think they owe their Advancement to their own Merit, and call themſelves the Makers of their own Fortunes. Since then this is ſo very hazardous a State, a Man ought leaſt to depend upon himſelf in it, and the greater his Proſperity is, the leſs ſtill is he fit to be truſted. This is the proper Time of calling in Succours, of making uſe of our Friends for their Counſel and Aſſiſtance, of giving what they adviſe more than ordinary weight and Authority; and in a manner putting our ſelves into their Guardianſhip and Protection. To be ſhort; a Man upon Theſe occaſions ſhould act, as he would, if he were walking in very ſlippery Ways, or upon ſome dangerous Precipice; he ſhould take every ſtep with deliberation and fear, and beg ſome faithful Guide to lend him his hand. For want of theſe Precautions it is, that ſharper Remedies become ſometimes neceſſary; and even Affliction it ſelf often proves a ſeaſonable and very ſucceſsful Application, to ſettle Men's Heads that were grown giddy; and bring them back to the knowledge of themſelves again.

The Third Admonition I would give at preſent, is, That Men upon theſe occaſions would put a Bar to their Deſires, and not ſuffer them to grow extravagant, and out of all meaſure. Proſperity naturally ſwells the Heart, dilates the Spirits, puſhes us on to new Undertakings, fills us with great Confidence of Succeſs, and will not ſuffer us to ſee the Difficulties ſufficient to defeat and diſcourage our Attempt; It makes us more impatiently eager of more and greater Attainments, (ſomewhat like a very vulgar Proverb, which ſays, *The Eating a good Breakfaſt gets a Man a keener Stomach to his Dinner*); In one word, it exalts, and carries us quite beyond our ſelves: 7.

And then it is, that by grafping at More, we loſe All; plunge into ruin, and make our ſelves a Jeſt and publick Scorn; Like the Monkey that skips from Bough to Bough, till he get to the Top of the Tree, and then turns up his Tail to the Company. It is really a very deplorable thing, to reflect how many brave Men have been loſt, and come to a miſerable End, merely for want of Prudence to govern themſelves, and check thoſe aſpiring Thoughts, which Proſperity and Greatneſs puſh'd them forward with. The moſt adviſable courſe therefore is to put a ſtop to theſe towring Imaginations; to move gently and warily; to reliſh our preſent good Fortune; and not loſe the Enjoyment of what we have already, by being perpetually upon the ſcent, and anxious purſuit of ſome freſh Advantages. For it is One conſiderable point of Wiſdom, to ſet up our Staff when we are well; to ſecure our Eaſe and Contentment, which can never dwell in that Breaſt, which is never at reſt; but eternally urging its Fortunes on farther, and fixes upon no Period of its Labours; no End where to ſit down, and make a final Settlement.

8. *Of Adverſity. It is not Evil.* The general Advice and proper Reflections againſt Adverſity, conſidered in the groſs, are ſuch as follow. Firſt of all, A Man ſhould take great care that he be not impoſed upon with that general Opinion (among the common ſort of People eſpecially) which repreſents Affliction, as a thing Evil in its own Nature. This is, like moſt of the vulgar Notions, extremely falſe and unjuſt, and the moſt contrary that can be to ſound Reaſon. They have indeed a ſtrange dread and abhorrence of all manner of Adverſity; and therefore, to propagate, as well as juſtify this Averſion, they render it as odious as is poſſible, by running it down, and loading it with hard Names; they call Afflictions, Calamities, Diſaſters, Dreadful Evils; Sore and Intolerable Evils; whereas in truth, none of theſe Outward Things are either

either Good or Evil in their own Nature; but of a middle kind, and in a state of perfect Indifferency. Adversity never made any one Man wicked, since the beginning of the World; but hath proved a very successful Instrument for reducing and reforming Persons very far engaged in Wickedness before; and hath in many other respects been the happy occasion of very great Advantages, to the Persons labouring under it: And it is too manifest to need a Proof, that it is by no means the Mark of Vengeance set upon Wicked Men; for the Good have large proportions also; and no Man can distinguish Virtue and Vice by Events; but all things in this present Condition of Mortality are order'd by a promiscuous Providence, and happen to all Men alike.

9. But though these severe Crosses and melancholy Accidents are scattered in Common, and all smart under the same Rod; yet all do not make the same use of them: The Events agree, but in the Consequences and Effects there is a mighty difference. In the Ignorant and Foolish, the Reprobate and Obdurate, their only Operation is, the Driving them to Despair; perplexing them with Trouble, and transporting them with Rage: The Extremity of their Sufferings does indeed sometimes bend them, whether they will or no; forces them to strike Sail, and humble themselves; extorts some Prayers and Complaints to the God that smites them; but if they look up and cry to Heaven, this is all; the Effects of it are of no continuance, nor does all their Affliction make them one whit the better Men. To Unthinking and Careless Transgressors they are so many lively and sensible Instructions, which by the sharpness of the Pain drive them to Recollection, and a Second Thought; and in a manner force from them Acknowledgments of God and their Duty. To Men of steady Virtue, they are Trials and Exercise to keep them in breath, and render their

Excellencies more conſpicuous and exemplary; to recommend and endear them the more to Almighty God, and exalt them to nearer degrees of Affinity and Reſemblance to his own Divine Perfections. To Perſons of Wiſdom and Conduct, they are, as Materials in the Hand of a Skilful Artiſt, who will be ſure to make ſomewhat Good out of them; they are, as it were, Stairs, by which ſuch Perſons aſcend to the higheſt Elevations of Honour and Greatneſs: Inſtances whereof Hiſtory furniſhes in Abundance; Perſons under moſt prodigious and unexpected Croſſes, ſuch, as when they happen'd, threatned no leſs than irrecoverable Miſery and Ruin; and yet by a ſtrange Turn, to theſe very Misfortunes have owed all their future Happineſs and Advancement; and had, but for theſe Accidents, ſtuck in the Dirt, never come to be ſignificant in the World; but lived, and died, and been buried in Obſcurity and Contempt. This Obſervation was made good to that *Athenian* Commander, who cried out upon a like occaſion, *We had been undone, if we had not been undone. (Perieramus niſi periiſſemus.)* How full and noble an Inſtance of this Nature is that Relation of *Joſeph*, which *Moſes* gives us? The Envy and Spight of his Brethren, the being ſold as a Slave to Strangers, and impriſon'd upon a falſe Accuſation, were ſo many Steps to the Throne of *Pharaoh*, and the Adminiſtration of one of the greateſt Kingdoms in the World. It muſt be confeſt indeed, Theſe are very extraordinary Events, and can be aſcribed to nothing leſs than a ſtrange over-ruling Providence; but ſtill Men are not without their part in it. For Human Prudence is the proper Inſtrument, which Providence makes uſe of for the finiſhing theſe works of Wonder; and upon this account that excellent Advice of Wiſe Men ought to be ſtudied by every one in theſe Circumſtances, which is, *To make a Virtue of Neceſſity.* For indeed, it is a Noble Inſtance of

of good Management, and the boldeſt and moſt beautiful Stroke of Prudence, when a Man can thus far imitate God, as to bring Good out of Evil; when he can give a Turn to his Affairs, and get the Weathergage of Fortune, with ſuch Dexterity and Addreſs, That even Ill Accidents themſelves ſhall turn to account, and, whatever happens to him, he will order matters ſo, that his Condition ſhall be the better for it.

10. *It proceeds from three Cauſes.*

All manner of Adverſity and Afflictions may be truly aſcribed to one or more of the Three following Cauſes; for they indeed are the Authors, and the Finiſhers of all our Sufferings. The firſt Inventer and Original of them is Sin; this gave them a Being, and without it they had never exiſted, nor had any place in Nature at all. The Second is the Anger and Juſtice of God, who being provoked by Sin, iſſues out his Commiſſions, and employs theſe, as the Miniſters and Inſtruments of Vengeance, to execute Wrath upon them that do evil. The Third is, the Polity of the World, as it ſtands at preſent; its Order diſturbed, its Adminiſtration corrupted, and its whole Frame vitiated and Changed by Sin. The State of Nature, by theſe lamentable Alterations, is like That of a Kingdom under a general Mutiny or Civil Inſurrection; where Every thing is out of its proper place, and no part does its Duty; and what can poſſibly be the Conſequence of This, but Calamity and Confuſion? The Miſeries of ſuch a Body Politick, are like the Pains, and Aches, which afflict the Natural Body; when its Limbs are diſjointed; the Bones bruiſed or diſlocated; and all the Ligaments, that ſhould knit and keep theſe in their Duty and proper Station, looſed or cut aſunder. Theſe three Cauſes therefore producing ſuch diſmal Effects, our Reſentments toward Them ſhould be proportion'd to the Injuries they do Us. The Firſt is the deteſtable Root of all our Unhappineſs,

and This we ſhould hate and avoid. The Second is the terrible Judgment of a juſt and provoked Deity, and This we ought to live in an awful Dread of. The Third betrays us into Miſchief, and This we ought to beware of as an Impoſtor, and manage our ſelves as would become conſiderate Men, to That which they know will decoy them into Ruin. But with regard to the Afflictions ariſing from all Three, the beſt courſe of ſecuring our ſelves, will be to ſubdue and kill them, as *David* did *Goliah*, with his Own Sword; that is, as I ſaid before, to convert this Neceſſity into Virtue, to make Advantage of our Afflictions, and retort the very Sufferings they bring upon us, back again upon their own heads. For Affliction, which is in truth the genuin Fruit of Sin, if well, and wiſely entertained, will choak and kill the bitter Root that bears it. It deals with its Author and Parent, as the Young Viper is ſaid to do with the Old One, that hatches it; and is like Oyl of Scorpions, the Sovereign Remedy for All that are ſtung by them: Thus Sin is made its own Deſtruction; and does not only breed the Diſeaſe, but provide the Cure. * *We ſuffer becauſe we have ſinned*, 'tis true; but it is as true too, that *We ſuffer, that we may not ſin any more.* The Roughneſs of Adverſity is like that of a File, it ſcours off the Ruſt We had contracted, cleanſes and purifies the Soul from Vice and Filth, and brightens the Mind and its Virtues. By this means the Anger of God conſequently is appeaſed, the Provocation removed, we releaſed from the Priſons and Fetters, which Guilt and Juſtice had bound us in; and brought out into the free and open Air, the glorious and cheriſhing Light of his Countenance lifted up upon us. The Storms are quieted, the Thunder laid aſide, and Grace and

* Patimur quia peccavimus, patimur ut non peccemus.

Mercy,

Mercy, and a clear Sky ſucceeds And, then as a farther Antidote againſt the Third Source of our Misfortune, Adverſity weans our Affections, and calls them off from the World; begets in us a diſlike and diſſatisfaction to a State of ſo much Miſery; and the Bitterneſs of our Calamities ſupplies the place of Wormwood, which Providence, like a wiſe Nurſe, puts upon the Breaſt, to make us loath the Milk; and be content to part with the luſcious Delights of that deceitful Life, of which we ſhould otherwiſe be moſt immoderately fond.

Now One great, and in reality the moſt effectual Expedient to qualify a Man for this Prudent Behaviour in Adverſity, and all the valuable Fruits of it, is for a Man to be ſtrictly Virtuous and Good. For a Man of Virtue is more eaſy, and hath a more agreeable Enjoyment of himſelf in Adverſity, than a Vicious Man hath in all the Sweets of Proſperity. As Men in Feveriſh Diſtempers feel more Uneaſineſs from their Cold and Hot Fits, than thoſe in perfect Health from the moſt ſcorching Heat of Summer, or the greateſt Severity of Winter-Blaſts. Thus it is with Ill Men. They carry their Diſeaſe within, and about with them; their Conſcience is feveriſh and diſorder'd, and this gives them infinitely greater Pain, than any that Good Men are ſenſible of. For theſe Perſons are ſound within; and nothing from without can hurt them: That which arms Affliction, and gives it a deadly force, is the Guilt and Reproach, the Miſgiving and Diſtruſt of one's own Mind; the Senſe of having drawn what we labour under, down upon our own heads, and the Amazing Expectation of more and worſe: But where Theſe do not put an Edge upon the Weapon, it cannot wound very deep; and how fierce ſoever the Aſſaults may be, yet He will ſuffer but little by them, who feels all eaſy in his own Breaſt; and hath the beſt Defenſive Armour in the World to oppoſe

II.

oppoſe againſt them, a Good Courage, becauſe a Clear Conſcience.

12. *More particular Advice.*

Adverſity is of two kinds; Either That, which truly and in its own nature is ſuch; what we cannot continue Men, and not be moved with; ſuch as Sickneſs, and Pain, and the Loſs of thoſe things which are very dear to us; or elſe That, which is not really ſuch, but falſly repreſented to be ſo, and owes its being reputed ſuch, either to ſome general Opinion, and Vulgar Error, or elſe to the private Interpretation, and Senſe of particular Perſons. When This is the Caſe, a Man hath both his Mind and Body at his own diſpoſal, juſt as before any ſuch Afflictions happened: And therefore in ſuch Notional Calamities, all that need or can be ſaid, is this; That what you make ſuch doleful Complaints of, hath nothing painful, or troubleſome in it; but all this is of your own creating, who put on an unneceſſary Melancholy, reſent things tenderly, cry out when you are not hurt, and fancy Miſery, where there is really none.

13. *Real Afflictions. Remedies againſt them.*

As for thoſe, which are Real and Natural, the moſt Obvious, and Popular, and Sound Advice is in this Caſe the moſt Natural and moſt Equitable; and therefore without propoſing nice, and ſtudied, and uncommon Arguments, I ſhall content my ſelf with theſe few following Reflections. *Firſt*, A Man will do well to remember, that nothing of this kind which he endures, is contrary to the Law of Nature, and the Condition of Mankind; Since *Man is born to Sorrow, as the Sparks fly upward*; that is; All ſuch things as theſe, are very ordinary and uſual; and from his Birth entailed and annexed, as Incumbrances upon this State of Mortality, into which he is admitted. Therefore upon every Accident that uſes to afflict us, we ought conſtantly to conſider Two things; The Nature of what happens to us; and our own Nature; and when once we come to regard things

things as they really are, and to behave our selves accordingly, we shall then deliver our selves from any Vexation and Disquiet, that can arise from them. Vexation and Fretfulness are a Disease of the Soul; a Distemper unnatural in it self, and what ought by no means to be allowed by us. For Nature hath been so bountiful, and so very provident for our Ease, that there is not any Accident possible to come upon us, which She hath not already furnished us with a Faculty to bear, and manage, and convert to our Good; and rendred capable of such Arguments and Considerations, as may very reasonably prevail with us to be contented under it. There is no one Condition of Life so destitute and deplorable, but it hath some Interval of Refreshment; some Solace, some mitigating Circumstance to soften it. There is no Confinement so close, no Dungeon so dark, but some Light will spring in; some Comfort may be found to chear the Prisoner, and drive the Sorrow from his heart. *Jonas*, we see, found Leisure for Devotion even in the Whale's Belly, and from thence poured out a Prayer, which God graciously accepted and answer'd. And sure This is a Privilege of considerable Value; and a great kindness in Nature, that she supplies us with Lenitives, and contrives ways for the qualifying and asswaging of our Pains, even in the instant of our labouring under them. This ought no more to be forgotten for our Consolation and Support, than that other Reflection, That our Condition necessarily exposes us to Suffering, and we were born liable to all kinds of Misery. For * *all those Grievances, which we either groan under, or tremble with apprehensions of their Approach, are but so many Taxes, or Rent-Charges upon Life.*

* Omnia ad quæ gemimus, ad quæ expaveſcimus, Tributa vitæ ſunt.

Secondly,

14. *Secondly*, It may be of great Advantage to conſider, that, notwithſtanding none of us are, or can be abſolutely exempt from the Power and Juriſdiction of Fortune; yet we are far from being entirely under it, and That by much the leaſt part of us is ſubject to it: The Principal and moſt valuable is ſtill in our own hands; no Attempts from without can ſubdue or wreſt it from us; nothing can loſe it, but our own Conſent and Voluntary Surrender. 'Tis confeſs'd, Fortune can reduce us to Poverty, waſte us with Sickneſs, haraſs us with Afflictions; but it cannot debauch our Manners, nor enfeeble our Spirits, nor make us ſubmit to baſe, and unmanly, immoral and diſhonourable Actions. And how happy is it that we are thus far out of her reach? how incomparably better, that ſhe ſhould tyrannize over our Riches, or Succeſſes, or even Health it ſelf, than that ſhe ſhould deprive us of our Probity, our Courage, and our Virtue? Let us ſupport and pleaſe our ſelves with this Reſerve; for, while we hold our Own, nothing can render us truly miſerable.

15. In the next place, I muſt beg of Men, that they will be Honeſt, and act according to the Rules of Reaſon and Juſtice. For the very truth is, Men are frequently very injurious to Providence, and complain without any Juſt cauſe. For, if at any time a croſs Accident befall us, ſhall we ſit down under it, full of Murmurings and diſcontented Thoughts? No ſure; let us rather recollect, how much oftener things have ſucceeded as we would wiſh; and then compute, and compare theſe, and balance one with the other. And I make no doubt to affirm, If this Reckoning were fairly and impartially ſtated, but the moſt Melancholy, moſt Unfortunate Man alive, might ſee greater reaſon to commend, and be thankful for the Good, the Succeſsful Paſſages of his Life, than to repine at any Loſſes and Diſappointments he may have ſuſtained in it. 'Tis a Reflection full of

Eternal

Eternal Equity, *Shall we receive Good at the hand of the Lord, and ſhall we not receive Evil?* But it is enough to ſilence all our Grumblings, and put all Complainers to the bluſh, when improved with this Small, but moſt True Addition; Shall we receive Good more and oftner, and ſhall we not be content to receive the Evil, which is but little and ſeldom? Nature hath taught us to ſhut, or turn away our Eyes from all ſuch Objects as are ſhocking or offenſive to us; to remove them from ſuch Colours, as hurt and ſtrain the Sight, and to fix upon others more gay and agreeable: There is the ſame Reaſon here, and Prudence and Duty both oblige us, to call off our Thoughts from melancholy ſubjects, and to divert them with others more pleaſant and entertaining. But we ſeem to be of quite different Diſpoſitions; to feed upon the Worſt, and indulge our ſelves in Peeviſhneſs and Spight. We are like Cupping-glaſſes, that draw only the foul and corrupt Blood, and let all the good alone; like Miſers, that put off their beſt Wine, and keep the worſt for their own drinking; like froward Children, who if you take one of their Play-things from them, throw all the reſt into the fire, for very Rage and Vexation. Thus upon every little Miſchance, we teaze and torment our ſelves, and for the loſs of a Trifle, ceaſe to enjoy; nay, perfectly forget, and overlook all that we have ſtill left. Nay, ſome there are, ſuch unthankful, ſuch ungodly, ſuch unreaſonable Creatures, that you ſhall hear them call themſelves Unfortunate in every thing, and tell you they never knew what Happineſs or Succeſs was; inſomuch that with theſe Wretches one Ounce of Adverſity gives more Pain, and provokes more Complaints, than Ten Thouſand times as much Proſperity excites Gratitude or ſenſible Satisfaction.

Another good Expedient in theſe Circumſtances, would be to look abroad into the World a little, and 16.

and there obſerve the infinite multitudes of Men whoſe Condition is more grievous, more lamentable than our Own; to think ſeriouſly and compare our ſelves with the many Thouſands who envy what we repine at, and would think themſelves very happy, to exchange, and be in our caſe.

* *When thou art bending under Fortune's frown,*
Obſerve the Ills, that preſs thy Neighbour down,
And from his heavier load learn to ſuſtain thy own.

Theſe querulous People would do well to conſider, and, if they pleaſe, to practiſe that Saying of a Wiſe Man; That if the Calamities of all Mankind ſhould be brought together, and laid in one common Heap, and afterwards an equal diviſion be made out of all theſe, to every Man in particular; The generality of People would find themſelves bid to their loſs; and the diſadvantages of ſuch a Diſtribution as This, would effectually diſcover the Injuſtice of their preſent Melancholy and Reſentment; when They complain of hard uſage, who have leſs of Misfortune, than comes to their Share, upon a ſtrict and impartial Dividend.

17. After all theſe Admonitions, we may ſay with great Truth, That there are Two very powerful Remedies yet behind; and ſuch as are of wondrous force and ſucceſs againſt all manner of Sufferings and Calamities. Tho indeed theſe Two do both amount to One and the ſame, and differ chiefly according to the Difference of the Perſons that apply them: *viz.* Cuſtom and Practice for the groſs, and ignorant, and vulgar Capacities; and Meditation for the wiſe and

* Cum tibi diſpliceat rerum fortuna tuarum,
Alterius ſpecta, quo ſit diſcrimine pejor.

conſiderate

conſiderate. Both of them obtain their intended effect by the help of Time, which is indeed the beſt Reſtorative, the ſureſt and moſt common healer of all our inward Wounds. Only it is not applied by all alike; for the Wiſe are before-hand, and prevent their Miſeries by Premeditation; the weaker Vulgar have a more expenſive and painful Cure; and that which in the Others is Foreſight, is in Theſe Experience. That Cuſtom produces wonderful Effects, we ſee moſt manifeſtly, and every day proves it by Ten thouſand Inſtances; inſomuch that what at firſt appeared to be inſuperable, and inſupportable, grows in proceſs of time very tolerable and eaſy. Your Gally-Slaves, when firſt put on board wring their Hands; and Sighs, and Tears, and Groans, are all their Muſick; but their Chains grow ſofter by degrees, and by that time they have plied the Oar one quarter of a Year, who more chearful and merry than They? Men that have never uſed the Sea, tremble with fear, when they weigh Anchor, even in the calmeſt Weather; and yet the Mariners will laugh and ſing in a Storm. The young Widow is inconſolable upon the loſs of her Husband, and thinks of nothing but Sorrow and Deſpair for the remainder of her Days; but a very few Months aſſwage this violent Paſſion, and the Concern wears off ſo faſt, that before the year of Mourning comes about, 'tis odds but you find her in the Arms of a Second Bridegroom. Thus Time and Practice overcome all things; and the greateſt grievance in moſt of our Diſaſters, is that they are new, and uncouth; but all That abates of it ſelf, and a little converſation and better acquaintance reconciles us very well to them.

18. *Foreſight.*

Now Meditation and provident Thought hath the very ſame efficacy with Wiſe Men, that Senſe and Smart have upon Weaker. For by repreſenting matters frequently to themſelves, the Images are ſo lively, and

and the Impressions so strong, that the very Realities themselves could scarce affect them more. Thus the Things that are not, are rendred as common and familiar, as though they were. * *What the Vulgar make light and easy by long-Suffering, the Wise Man softens to himself by long Thinking.* Let us then sit down, and take an exact Account of our Fortunes: Let us consider the Nature of all those Accidents which are capable of giving us any Disquiet; and let us reflect with our selves the worst, most dismal, most insupportable, that can possibly befall us; Whether it be Sickness or Poverty, Flight or Banishment, Injuries and Affronts, Disgrace or Reproach; and examine in all this whole Black Catalogue, what there is consistent with Nature, and what contrary to it. Foresight is therefore an Admirable Preservative against all manner of Misfortunes, because by this Attention of Mind we have formed the whole thing in our Imaginations before, and so they cannot make any mighty alteration in us, when they come in good earnest. And this is so considerable a Point gained, that you rarely find any great harm done by Calamities, except upon the Parties who suffer themselves to be surprized by them. Meditation and Reasoning is the very Temper of the Soul; this steels and hardens it, fortifies it against Assaults, and renders it impenetrable against all that can attempt to wound or break it. Let the Accident be never so grievous, yet the Man that stands upon his Guard, and puts himself in a posture to receive it, suffers but little by it. † *When a Calamity is foreseen, the blow is broken; and whatever was long expected, is less felt when it comes,* says *Seneca.*

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* Quæ alij diu patiendo levia faciunt, sapiens levia facit diu cogitando.

† Præmeditati mali mollis ictus venit. Quicquid expectatum est diu, levius accedit.

Now

Now the Method of attaining to this wise and profitable Foresight, is first to convince our selves, and be very duly sensible how craggy and rough a Standing Nature hath placed us in; That Nothing is stable in this World, but We and All about us totter, and are in perpetual danger of falling; That whatever hath happen'd to Another Man, might every jot as well happen to Us; and the Fate, which hangs over Every Head, may fall down, and crush Any; and in all our Designs and Undertakings, carefully to form to our selves the Disappointments, and Inconveniences, to which they are any way liable; that so, if any of These, shall afterwards fall to our Lot, we may not be confounded, as if some strange thing had happen'd to us. Alas! how infinitely do we cheat and fool our selves, by proposing only the fair and inviting Side, and turning all the discouraging Circumstances out of sight? How miserably do we betray our want of Judgment, by never considering, that our Neighbours Misfortunes to day, may be Ours before to morrow; that we are by no means exempt, and out of reach. But how foolishly do They argue, who prefer a blind Fool-hardiness before it, and pretend that a Computation of probable Accidents would discourage and put a stop to all Action? As if a Man might not be prudent without Despondency, nor distrust Fortune without Irresolution, and Cowardice, and Panick Fear. Whereas, if we would represent Things to our selves, according as they really are, and as Reason directs; we should be so far from Surprize at Crosses and Disappointments, that it would rather appear matter of Wonder and Astonishment, that so very few befall us, in comparison of what we had ground enough to expect; and when so many Accidents are always dogging us close at the Heels, that they should be so long before they overtake us; and when they have us in their Clutches, and we lye at their Mercy,

that they ſhould not treat us more ruggedly, than the Generality of them do. For He, that ſees another Perſon's Ill Fortune, and regards it as a thing ſo uſual and common, that his own turn may very probably be next, This Man is armed againſt it, and hath vanquiſhed his Foe, before he makes his Approaches. Nothing in theſe Caſes ſhould be left unconſider'd, and it is very adviſable to reckon upon the worſt; thus Events will mend upon us, and a great part of what comes, will be clear Gains. But it is fooliſh to ſink under a Miſfortune, and think to excuſe one's Weakneſs, by alledging, We never imagined Matters would be ſo bad. It is a very common Saying, *That when a Man is ſurprized, he is half beaten*; and then by the Rule of Contraries, a Man forearmed is worth Two others. A wiſe Prince will make Preparations for War in the Times of profoundeſt Peace; a skilful Sailor, lays in freſh Tackle, and all manner of Proviſions for the weathering a Storm, and refitting after it, before ever he ſets ſail out of Port; For when the Miſchief is actually upon us, 'tis too late to provide againſt it. Beſides, There is this farther Advantage attends a Premeditation, that let a thing be never ſo difficult in it ſelf, every Man finds himſelf dextrous to a wonder, in Matters that he hath been a great while prepared for; Preſence of Mind, Prudence in Choice, and Boldneſs in Execution, give infinite Advantage in ſuch Caſes, and almoſt inſure the Succeſs. Whereas on the other hand, there is nothing ſo obvious and eaſy in its own Nature, but Men are confounded and at a loſs, if they be utterly unacquainted with it. * *This therefore ſhould be our conſtant Care, That nothing happen unlook'd for*;

* Id videndum ne quid inopinatum ſit nobis, quia omnia novitate graviora ſunt.

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becauſe the being new and ſtrange to us, is really a very great Aggravation of any Accident whatſoever. Thus much I eaſily perſuade my ſelf, that were we in any tolerable degree ſo provident as we might and ought to be, all that Amazement and Perplexity would be ſaved, which we ſo commonly ſee in the World. For what is it that confounds Thee, Man? You expected the thing, and it is come upon you; Aſtoniſhment is not the effect of having our Expectations anſwered, but the direct contrary. Let us therefore order our Affairs ſo conſiderately, that it may never be in the Power of Fortune to ſurprize us; let us ſtand upon our Guard, diſcover things at a diſtance, and obſerve how they make their Approaches toward us. * *The Mind ſhould be fortified againſt all that can poſſibly happen*; that we may be able to ſay with that *Hero* in the Poet;

——*No Terrror to my View,*
No frightful Face of Danger can be new.
Inur'd to ſuffer, and reſolv'd to dare, [*Mr.* Dryden.
The worſt that Fate can do, hath been my early Care.

You foretel theſe things now, I have told them to my ſelf long ago; I have all along contemplated them; for I conſidered I was a Man, and made proviſion againſt all that could poſſibly befall me as ſuch.

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* Animus adverſus omnia firmandus, ut dicere poſſimus,
——Non ulla laborum
O Virgo, nova mî facies, inopinave ſurgit.
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ipſe peregi.
Tu hodie iſta denuncias; ego ſemper denuntiavi. Hominem paravi ad Humana.

CHAP. VIII.

Obedience to the Laws, Compliance with the Cuſtoms, and Obſervance of the Ceremonies in uſe. How, and in what ſenſe neceſſary.

1. WHAT a Man is in compariſon of a Beaſt, the ſame is a Wiſe Man in compariſon of a Fool; and as the Qualities, ſo likewiſe the Methods of ordering and managing Them reſemble one another. The Wild Beaſts, and ſuch as live by Prey, will not ſuffer themſelves to be taken, nor willingly ſubmit to the Diſcipline and Government of Man; they either flee from his Preſence, and hide themſelves in Dens and Coverts, or grow enraged, and make at him, if he offer to come near them; So that a Mixture of Arms and Artifice, of Fraud and Force, is neceſſary to tame and make them tractable: Juſt thus is Folly reſtive againſt Reaſon; deaf and inflexible to Wiſdom; it runs wild, grows peeviſh, and angry; and more extravagantly fooliſh, when mild Inſtructions, gentle Reproofs, and cool Arguments endeavour to reclaim it; ſo that Means more forcible are neceſſary; it muſt be managed and ſubdued, taken ſhort, and kept in Awe, and affrighted into Obedience, that by theſe terrifying and compulſive Methods, it may at laſt be brought to hand, and ſubmit to Diſcipline and Inſtruction. Now the proper courſe of effecting this Reformation, is by ſome over-bearing Authority, ſome Power, whoſe Severity may be perpetually thundring in its Ears, and whoſe amazing Splendor may be ever flaſhing in its Eyes, and, like ſome God in Human Shape, command

mand Submiſſion and Compliance. For, as is well obſerved, * *Nothing but Authority can prevail with Fools, to make any tolerable Advances toward Wiſdom.* The Efficacy of this is very often ſeen in the ſudden compoſing of Mutinies, and Management of the Rabble; by the Addreſs and Credit of ſome one Perſon of Reputation and Eminence; and proves, that the People are to be led by the Perſuaſion of Others, much better, than guided by their Own Judgment: A very lively and beautiful Deſcription whereof *Virgil* preſents us with, in that Similitude;

† *As when in Tumults riſe th' Ignoble Crowd,*
Swift are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud:
And Stones and Brands in rattling Vollies fly,
And all the Ruſtick Arms that Fury can ſupply;
If then ſome Grave and Pious Man appear,
They huſh their Noiſe, and lend a liſtning Ear;
He ſooths with ſober Words their angry Mood,
And quenches their innate Deſire of Blood.

Mr. Dryden.

The greateſt thing this World can ſhew is Authority. This is the Image of the Divine Power, a Meſſenger and Deputy from Heaven. If this Deputation (as to Men) be Sovereign, and immediately under God, we call it *Majeſty*; if it be ſubordinate to any Human Power, we then call it (in a more peculiar and reſtrained Senſe of the word)

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* Sola Authoritas eſt, quæ cogit ſtultos, ut ad ſapientiam feſtinent.

† —Veluti magno in populo, cùm ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus.
Jamque Faces & Saxa volant, Furor Arma miniſtrat.
Tum Pietate gravem ac Mento ſi forte Virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus aſtant,
Ille regit dictis animos & pectora mulcet. *Æneid. Lib.* 1.

Authority. And this is ſupported upon two Baſes; Admiration and Fear; both which muſt go together, and jointly contribute to the keeping it up. Now this Majeſty and Authority is principally and properly in the Perſon of the Supreme Governor, the Prince, and Lawgiver, and in him it lives, and moves, and acts, in its utmoſt Vigor. The next Degree of it, is, when lodged in his Commands, Orders, and Decrees, that is, in the Law, which is a Prince's Maſter-piece, and the Nobleſt Copy of that Incommunicable Majeſty, whereof himſelf is the Original; And by this Law it is, that Fools are reduced from Evil, informed in Good, governed and led to know and do, what is convenient for their own, and neceſſary for the Publick Intereſt. Thus you ſee in ſhort, of what Weight and Efficacy Authority and Laws are to the World; how neceſſary, and how beneficial to the preſent Circumſtances, and the greateſt part of Mankind.

2. *Cuſtom.* This Authority is ſtated, fix'd, and agreed upon; but there is Another, which comes neareſt of any up to it, commonly called Cuſtom; a very Powerful, but withal a very Poſitive and Imperious Miſtreſs. This Power is all gained by Encroachment and Uſurpation, by Treachery and Force; it gets footing by Inches, and ſteals in upon the World inſenſibly. The Beginnings of it are ſmall and imperceptible; gentle and humble; and frequently owing to Men's Tameneſs or Neglect; their Lazineſs, and Yielding; the Influence of Example, and the Blindneſs of Inconſideration; but when it hath once taken Root, and is fix'd by Time, it puts on a ſtern domineering Look, iſſues out its Orders, plays the Tyrant, and will be obſerved: It is to no purpoſe then to argue for Liberty and Right; no Man is ſuffered to ſpeak, to move, to look, in contradiction to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment. It ſtops your Mouth with Poſſeſſion and Precedent; which indeed are its proper

per and only Pleas of Title, grows great and more eminent, the farther it goes; and, like Rivers, enlarges its Name and Channel by rowling; inſomuch, that even, when the Miſchiefs and Inconvenience of its ſtill prevailing are manifeſt, yet is it not ſafe to reduce it to its firſt Infant-State; and Men are oftentimes better adviſed in ſuffering under it, than in attempting to diſuſe, or reverſe it.

3. *Law and Cuſtom compared.*

If now we compare theſe Two together; it will be found, that *Law* and *Cuſtom* eſtabliſh their Authority by very different Methods. Cuſtom creeps upon us by little and little, by length of Time, by gentle and acceptable Means, by the Favour and general Conſent, or at leaſt with the Approbation of the Majority; and its Beginning, Growth, Eſtabliſhment, are all from the People. The Law, admits none of theſe ſlow Proceedings; it is Born at once, and in full Perfection; comes to Vigor and Maturity in a Moment; it marches out with Authority and Power, and receives its Efficacy from the Supreme Commander; it depends not always upon the good liking of the Subjects, but is frequently full ſore againſt their Wills; and yet prevails, and takes place, though burdenſome and ungrateful to them. This laſt Conſideration is the Reaſon, why Some have compared Law to a Tyrant, and Cuſtom to a King. Again, Cuſtom, though otherwiſe never ſo engaging, yet never propoſes Rewards or Penalties; But the Law propounds both, and to be ſure threatens Penalties upon the Diſobedient at leaſt. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe Differences, the matter is ſo order'd, that theſe Two are frequently capable, either of ſtrengthning, and mutually aſſiſting, or of deſtroying and overthrowing each other. For Cuſtom, though in ſtrictneſs it be only upon Sufferance, yet when countenanc'd and publickly allowed by the Prince, will be ſtill more firm and ſecure; and the Law likewiſe gets ground upon the People, and

ſtands the faſter by means of Poſſeſſion, and long Uſage. On the Contrary; Cuſtom will be quaſhed by a Law prohibiting the Continuance of it; and a Law will go down the ſtream, and be loſt to all the purpoſes and effects of it, if a contrary Cuſtom be connived at. Thus, I ſay, they may interfere to the Prejudice of each other; but uſually they go hand in hand, and are in reality almoſt the ſame thing, conſidered under different reſpects; The wiſer and more diſcerning Men conſidering That as a Law, which the Ignorant and Vulgar, who have little Notions of a Legiſlative Power, or its Sanctions, obſerve purely as a thing Cuſtomary, and becauſe it hath been in uſe, without attending how it came to be ſo.

4. *Different and odd Cuſtoms.*

The ſtrange Variety of Laws and Cuſtoms, which have obtained in the World, and the Extravagance of ſome of them, is really prodigious. It is ſcarce poſſible to think of any Imagination ſo whimſical and odd, but ſome Country or other hath received it as a Cuſtom, or eſtabliſhed it by a Law. I will give my ſelf the trouble of inſtancing in ſeveral upon this occaſion, to convince Thoſe, who perhaps cannot eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded, how much Truth there is in this Obſervation. And here, not to inſtance in Religion, which in the Idolatrous and leſs civiliz'd Countries eſpecially, hath had groſſer Deceits, more abominable Abſurdities, and more amazing Variety of theſe, than any other Subject whatſoever; yet, becauſe it does not fall ſo directly within the Compaſs of our preſent Argument, I ſhall paſs it over at preſent; and confine my ſelf to the Head of Civil Commerce; in which alone Cuſtoms, properly ſo called, are uſed to take place; and where the Matter being exceeding obvious to every Underſtanding, it is ſo much the more aſtoniſhing, that Men ſhould be carried into ſuch Extravagances. Now Thoſe, which I think moſt remarkable, and fit to be men-

mentioned, are ſuch as follow. The Reputing it an Inſtance of Affection and Duty, when Parents live to a certain term of Years, for their Children to Kill, and to Eat them; In Inns and other Publick Houſes of Accommodation, inſtead of diſcharging the Reckoning with Money, to lend their Wives and Daughters to the Hoſt for Payment; The having Wives in common; The ſetting up Publick Stews for Young Men; The eſteeming it honourable, for Women to be Common, and wearing Tufts of Fringe at their Garments by way of Boaſt and Glory, to ſignify the Number of their Gallants; The ſuffering Single Women to abandon themſelves to all manner of Filthineſs, and publickly to procure Abortions when with Child; but of all Married Women requiring the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, and Fidelity to their Husbands imaginable; The Marrying of Men to one another; The Women going to War, and engaging in Battel along with their Husbands; Wives dying, and laying violent hands upon themſelves, either at the inſtant, or very quickly after the Death of their Husbands; The allowing Widows a Liberty of Marrying again, provided their former Hnsbands died by a Violent death; but if otherwiſe, then debarring them of that Privilege. Inveſting Husbands with an Abſolute, Unlimited, Uncontroulable Power over their Wives; to Divorce them at Pleaſure, without being obliged to ſhew Cauſe; to Sell them off, if they bring no Children; to Kill them without any manner of Provocation, merely by virtue of this Deſpotick Power, and the Relation the Wife ſtands in to him, and to borrow afterwards from other People; Women to Bear Children without any manner of Terror, or Complaint; Killing their Children, becauſe they are not Handſome, not Beautiful in Complexion; not well-Featured, Crooked, or ill Shap'd, or without aſſigning any Reaſon at all; The Feeding

ing altogether upon Man's Fleſh; The Eating Fleſh and Fiſh quite Raw; the Lodging Perſons of all Ages and Sexes indifferently, to the Number of Ten or Twelve together; Making the putting their Finger down to the Ground, and afterwards pointing with it up to Heaven, the common Form of Salutation; Turning their Back upon the Perſon they Addreſs, and make a Civility to; and taking it for a conſtant Rule, never to look at the Perſon, to whom you deſign Honour and Reſpect; Obſerving it as a Mark of Duty to gather up the Spittle of Princes in their Hands; Never ſpeaking to the King, but through a long Trunk; Never cutting the Hair or Nails during their whole Lives; To Shave the Hair on One ſide, and Pare the Nails of One Hand, but never to do it of the Other; The Boring Holes in the Cheeks, and other parts of the Face, to wear Pendants, and Jewels at, and the ſame at the Breaſts and Nipples; Abſolutely to deſpiſe Death; to welcome it with Feaſting and Joy; to contend and quarrel for it; nay, to plead and ſue for it in publick, as if it were ſome remarkable Dignity, or extraordinary Favour; and to look upon the granting theſe Suits, and being preferred before other Competitors in them, as a ſingular Honour; The Eſteeming it the moſt Honourable way of diſpoſing their dead Bodies, and much more glorious than any Burials, to be Eaten up of Dogs, and Fowls of the Air, and to be Boiled or Baked, Dried and Pounded to Powder, and that Duſt mingled with Men's ordinary Drink.

5. *Cuſtoms Examined and Judged.*

Now, whatever Diverſion the relating ſuch Cuſtoms as theſe, or whatever wonder it may create, yet if we come a little cloſer to the matter, and once undertake to paſs a Judgment upon them, all then is noiſe and ſcuffle, eager and endleſs quarrel. The Common People are ſo over-run with Prepoſſeſſion and Pedantick Folly, that They, according to their

their uſual Wiſdom, run all down at a venture; and without more ado, condemn every thing for Barbarous and Brutiſh, which is not juſt according to their own Palate, that is, which does not agree with the received Practice and Cuſtoms of their own Country. For they, never looking Abroad, nor underſtanding what is done there, can ſee no manner of Reaſon, why their own Local Uſages at Home, ſhould not be the only, and unalterable Standard of Truth, and Juſtice, and Decency, all the World over. If you endeavour to infuſe ſome larger Notions of Theſe Matters, by telling them, That Other People of their Capacity are even with them; That they are every jot as much out of conceit with Our Methods, as we can be with Theirs; they cut you ſhort immediately, by replying, *You may ſee by that how Barbarous and Brutiſh they are*; which is but ſaying the ſame thing over again; and here they reſolve to ſtick. But now a Wiſe Man is more reſerved, and allows a greater Latitude; he gives them a fair hearing at leaſt, and does not determine haſtily, for fear of too much warmth, and wronging his Judgment; and he is certainly in the right; for there are really a great many Laws and Uſages, which, at firſt ſight, appear inſufferably Barbarous, contrary to all the Notions of Humanity and ſound Reaſon, and yet if they were ſoberly conſidered, (all Paſſion and Prejudice apart) if they did not ſo far approve themſelves to our Judgment, as to be allowed Juſt and Good, yet it would be found that they are not deſtitute of all Colour of Reaſon; but have a great deal to be ſaid in their Vindication; and Arguments plauſible enough to excuſe Other Men's Practice, though not enough to recommend them to our Own.

Let us now, for inſtance, make the Experiment in thoſe Two firſt mentioned, which, I muſt confeſs, ſeem extremely odd, and the moſt diſtant that can

can be, from all the Apprehenſions we commonly entertain of the Duty and Affection we owe to Thoſe who brought us into the World, and were at the Trouble and Expence of our Suſtenance and Education. Theſe Cuſtoms then are the Killing one's Parents, when they come into ſuch particular Circumſtances; and Eating their dead Bodies. The People who receive this Cuſtom, look upon it as the higheſt Teſtimony of Piety and Reſpect; the laſt and fulleſt Proof of their Tenderneſs and ſincere Affection. The great deſign they have in it is Compaſſion to their old decrepit Parents, whom they think themſelves under the ſtricteſt Obligations to deliver from a ſtate of Miſery and Infirmity; a State, that renders them, not only utterly Uſeleſs to Themſelves and to every Body elſe, but even a Trouble and a Burthen; a State of Languiſhing and Decay, of Uneaſineſs and Pain; that makes Life a Wearineſs and a Torment to themſelves and all about them; and therefore they think That Death which gives them Eaſe and Reſt, and puts them paſt Suffering any more, a very profitable Exchange, a Gain, which they might be glad to chuſe, and thankful for receiving. When they have done them this Kindneſs, (as they eſteem it) the next Proof of their Dutiful Regard, is to give them the moſt honourable Burial in their power: And for this purpoſe they make their own Bodies their Repoſitory; lodging theſe Carkaſſes and precious Relicks in their own Bowels; thus in ſome meaſure conveying a new Life, and recruiting their periſhed Nature, by Digeſting, and turning to Nouriſhment this dead Fleſh of their Parents, and Tranſubſtantiating it into their own living Fleſh. Theſe Reaſons are not ſo very Contemptible; at leaſt, I am apt to believe, they may ſomewhat abate that Deteſtation, which the prejudice of a contrary Opinion is apt to produce in the generality of People. A Man that conſiders

ſiders impartially, will, I believe, allow, That the Perſons who have been brought up to this Cuſtom, may think it ſo plauſible a one, that it will not be eaſy to bring them off from it; Nay, that it may appear in the Eyes of theſe Perſons, a horrible Cruelty, and Abomination, to ſee their Aged Parents lie Languiſhing before their Eyes, in the midſt of Sickneſs and Pain, and Faint Strugglings for the wretched Remnants of Life; without any kind Hand to do the good Office of ſetting them at Reſt. And when Declining Nature hath finiſhed its own Courſe, it is no hard matter to imagine, that Theſe People ſhould with Reluctancy and Horror Interr theſe Spoils of Thoſe, who gave them Being; that they might think it a Neglect and a Reproach to caſt thoſe Remains they ſo dearly Love into a Hole, to Rot in the Earth, to Corrupt and become Food for Worms; that This is the greateſt Diſregard they can poſſibly be guilty of, and a very ill Expreſſion of Tenderneſs and Duty.

And, that this Suppoſition is not ſo very much out of the way, we have plain matter of Fact to prove: For *Darius* made the Experiment, and found it to be exactly as I have put the Caſe. He firſt demanded of ſome *Grecians*, upon what Terms they would be content to take the *Indian* Cuſtom of Eating the Bodies of their Deceaſed Parents; and their Anſwer was; What! do ſo Barbarous a thing, as Eat our own Fathers? We could not do it at any rate! Then again he attempted to perſuade the *Indians*, That they would Burn the Bodies of their Parents, after the manner of the *Grecians*; and he found Theſe a great deal more averſe to his Propoſal, and more difficult to be perſuaded, than the Other. Give me leave here only to add one Inſtance more of Men's different ways of Reaſoning in a Trifling Matter, and ſuch as only concerns Decency and Civility. A Man that uſed to wipe his Noſe upon his

his Fingers, being reproved for ſo unmannerly a Trick; deſired in his own vindication, to know, what Privilege that filthy Excrement had above all the reſt, that we muſt pay it the reſpect of a fine Handkerchief, and then, as if it were ſome valuable Treaſure, wrap it up cloſe, and carry it in one's Pocket: That in all reaſon this ſhould rather turn one's Stomach, and give offence, than throwing it careleſly away. Thus you ſee how few things there are, for which ſome probable Reaſon may not be alledged; and This ſhould be a warning to us, not to condemn Things haſtily and raſhly, but to conſider both ſides of the Queſtion.

6. *The force of Cuſtom.* But after all, the Power of Cuſtom is incredible; no Man can conceive eaſily, how abſolute and uncontrouled an Authority it exerciſes over Mankind. He that called it a Second Nature, came far ſhort of the Truth; for it is equal, it is ſuperior to Nature; it even contends with, it triumphs over, Nature. Whence, I pray, comes it to paſs that Fathers never fall in Love with their own Daughters, though never ſo charming and deſirable Creatures? Or why are Siſters ſeldom or never ſmitten with their own Brothers, though infinitely handſomer, better accompliſh'd, and more engaging than Strangers? This Reſervation and Coldneſs does not properly proceed from Nature; She makes no ſuch Diſtinctions; Theſe are the Effect of general Cuſtoms and Poſitive Laws, who forbid ſuch Mixtures, pronounce them Scandalous, and Horrid, Inceſtuous and Wicked; but again, I ſay, theſe Characters are fix'd by Divine or Human Inſtitutions; for Nature knows no ſuch thing as Inceſt, nor condemns any Alliances, let the Line or Relation be what it will.

This is ſufficiently plain from Scripture, not only if we conſider the Children and firſt Deſcendents of *Adam*, whoſe Caſe made the thing unavoidable.

But

But obſerve the Marriages and Relation of *Abraham* and *Nahor*, and the Deſcendents from Them; the Matches of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*; the Fact of *Judah* one of the Twelve Patriarchs; *Amram* the Father of *Moſes*; and other Holy and Eminent Perſons. It was indeed the Law of *Moſes*, which Prohibited theſe Mixtures within the neareſt Degrees; And yet this very Law Diſpenſed with that Rule in certain Caſes, not only in the Collateral Line, that of taking the Brother's Wife for inſtance, which was an expreſs Command, and not barely an Indulgence, but between Brother and Siſter of the Half Blood; nay, even in a Right Line of Alliance, as betwixt the Son and his Father's Wife; for as to a Right Line in Blood, This indeed ſeems a Crime againſt Nature, and the Example of *Lot* can give no Countenance to it; whatever Excuſes ſome great Men have found for his Daughters, who ſeem to have done this for the ſake of preſerving Mankind, which in the Conſternation they were then in upon the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, they thought All extirpated but Themſelves. But the Law of Nature is an Original Law, and Eternal one too, ſuch as none but God can diſpenſe with, and ſuch as we never find any Example of his having ever diſpenſed with. But then, as for ſuch Inceſts as are Accidental, and Ignorant, and Involuntary, 'tis very likely *Tertullian's* Complaint may be too true, *That the World is full of them.*

Gen. ii. xx. xxix. xxxviii. Exod. vi. Levit. xviii. Deut. xxii. 30. 2 Sam. xiii. 13. 1 Kings ii.

See *Cajet.* in Loc.

Farther yet; Cuſtom commits a Violence upon the Rules of Nature, and overbears them; witneſs that daily practice of Phyſicians, who frequently forſake the Theory, and ſet aſide what Art and Reaſon do both concur in, ſo far as the Rules and Grounds of their Profeſſion can diſcover or direct; and take a different courſe with their Patients, in Deference to Experience, and common Succeſs; Witneſs again thoſe People, who have wrought a perfect

perfect Change in their Conſtitutions, even ſo as to Eat, nay to live upon Poiſon; Spiders and Ants, Lizards and Toads; as ſeveral whole Nations are ſaid to do in the *Indies*. Cuſtom does likewiſe ſtupify our Senſes, and alter the Temper of the Organ, and the quality of the Impreſſion, and the Report made from it. To this purpoſe are the accounts we read of thoſe People, who dwell near the Cataracts of the River *Nile*, and indeed a Mill-pool, or a Steeple, or a Brazier's Shop will in proportion have the ſame Effect; and, if you give credit to ſome Old Philoſophers, All the World are deaf to the Muſick of the Spheres, which is nothing elſe, but the different Motions of the ſeveral Orbs turning round upon their own Axis, and variouſly juſtling and interfering with one another. In one word, The great and Maſter-workmanſhip of Cuſtom is, That it ſubdues and conquers Nature, vanquiſhes every Difficulty; makes thoſe things eaſy by degrees, which ſeemed unattainable and impoſſible; and the Bitterneſs of pain and Suffering it wears out, and ſoftens, till at laſt our Complaints ceaſe, and we are reconciled, even to our Miſeries themſelves. Nay it does not only produce Content, and lay aſleep the ſenſitive Soul, but it manages and domineers over the Rational one too; and exerciſes a moſt unjuſt, and arbitrary Power, over our Imaginations, and Judgments. It makes and unmakes at pleaſure: Gives and takes away Reputation and Eſteem; without, nay ſometimes, againſt Reaſon. It brings Notions in Philoſophy, in Religion, in Politicks, Opinions and Ceremonies, Faſhions and Modes of Living into credit; though they be never ſo fantaſtical and extravagant; never ſo uncouth and diſtant from what Reaſon and Judgment would teach and approve. Nor is its Tyranny leſs formidable in the contrary Extreme; for it as frequently does great wrong, to things in themſelves noble, and worthy of univerſal Advan-

Advantage, by diſparaging and leſſening them, and even bringing them into Neglect, and univerſal Contempt. So unreaſonably does Cuſtom and common Fame raiſe or lower the Market; ſo precarious and uncertain is the greateſt intrinſick Worth, if it happen to be lodged in an Obſolete Opinion, an Antiquated and Unfaſhionable Virtue; For all theſe things have their Seaſons of Improvement and Declenſion; and the Sentiments of the World upon them will vary, though the Reaſon and Nature of the thing be conſtantly the ſame.

* ——*What we now with greateſt eaſe receive,*
Seem'd ſtrange at firſt, and we could ſcarce believe;
And what we wonder at, as Years increaſe,
Familiar grows, and all our Wondrings ceaſe. [Creech.

Thus you plainly ſee the vaſt Influence, and exceſſive Power of Cuſtom. *Plato* was once reproving a Youth, for playing often at Cob-nut; who replied in his own excuſe, *Methinks, Sir, under favour, you chide me for a very ſmall matter: No,* (ſaid *Plato*) *you are mightily miſtaken; for be aſſured, Young Man, that Cuſtom is never a ſmall matter.* A Sentence this, which well deſerves the Serious Attention of All, who have the care of educating Youth. Once more. Cuſtom is ſo very tyranniçal in the Exerciſe of its Power, and expects ſo unreſerved a Compliance, that it will not give us leave to ſtruggle with it, or retreat from it; nay, does not allow us ſo much as the Liberty to conſider, and reaſon with our ſelves, whether what it impoſes be fit for us to comply with, or not. It ſo perfectly charms our

* Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam
Principio, quod non deſinant mirarier omnes——Paulatim.
Lucret. L. II.

Senſes and Judgment, as to perſuade us that every thing which is new and ſtrange, muſt needs be contrary to Reaſon; and that there can be no Juſtice or Goodneſs in any thing, which Cuſtom hath not confirmed, and made current by its Approbation. *We do not govern our ſelves by Reaſon, but are carried away by Cuſtom; whatever is moſt in uſe, that we eſteem moſt virtuous, moſt becoming; even Error it ſelf, when it is become Epidemical, hath the Authority of Truth with us.* Theſe Complaints of *Seneca* are but too true in every Age and Place; and, were only the Plain, and Mean, and Ignorant People concerned in them, the Calamity were ſomewhat tolerable: Becauſe theſe Men are not really qualified to enter into the true Reaſons and Differences of things; they have not Sagacity enough to ſee, nor Solidity enough to ſearch an Argument to the bottom; and Therefore 'tis the beſt thing They can do, ſince they are not able to diſtinguiſh and judge for themſelves, to pin their Opinions upon the Sleeves of Thoſe that are able, and let Them ſpeak for them. This is a ſafe and a peaceable way, and the Publick finds great Eaſe and Convenience from it. But for Wiſe Men, who are under a very different Character, and have another part to Act; to ſee Them led thus about by the Noſe, and enſlaved to every Folly, that puts on the Venerable Face of Cuſtom; is very much below their Judgment and Quality; and may juſtly be allowed to move our Indignation, that They ſhould ſo far forget themſelves, and what they are qualified for.

7. *Advice with regard to Laws and Cuſtoms.*

I do not mean by this, that a Man, who would approve himſelf Wiſe, ſhould be Singular and Preciſe, and denounce War upon all Mankind, and their Manners; for my Deſire and Advice is, that he ſhould be very obſervant of the Laws and Cuſtoms which are eſtabliſhed, and in preſent force in the Country where he dwells: Yet that, not with a Servile

Servile Superſtitious Spirit, but from a Manly and Generous Principle: That he ſhould ſpeak of them with Deference, and great Reſpect; and conform his Actions and whole Behaviour to the Rules and Meaſures they preſcribe. And all this I would have him do; not merely from a Conviction of their Agreement with the Principles of Juſtice, and Equity, and Reaſon; but without regarding ſo much what they are in themſelves; and upon this Conſideration only, that they are Laws and Cuſtoms: Then I deſire he ſhould be very cautious and conſiderate in his Judgment of Foreign Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions, and not raſhly condemn, or take offence at them, upon ſlight and ſuperficial Pretences. And Laſtly, I would have him with all poſſible Seriouſneſs, Freedom, and Impartiality, examine into both the Domeſtick, and the Foreign; and engage his Judgment and Opinion in the behalf of either, no farther than Reaſon will bear him out; Theſe are the Four Inſtructions, which I ſhall a little enlarge upon, and they contain the Whole, of what ſeems to me neceſſary under this Head.

1. *They ought to be complied with.*

In the Firſt place, All Wiſe Men agree, that the obſerving the Laws, and being governed by the Cuſtoms of the Countrey where we dwell, is the Great and Fundamental Principle; the Law of Laws; becauſe indeed it is This, which gives Life and Vigor to all the reſt. All affected ways of living that are particular, and out of the common Road, give juſt Cauſe of Indignation and Jealouſy; betray a great deal of Folly, or Conceitedneſs, or Ambition; confound the Order, and diſturb the Government of the World.

2. *Not merely for the Juſtice and Equity of them.*

I add in the Second Place, that This be done out of Reverence to Publick Authority. For ſtrictly ſpeaking, theſe Laws and Cuſtoms ſupport their Credit, and ought to preſerve an Authority, not merely with regard to any inherent Equity or Reaſonable-

neſs to be diſcovered in them; but they are ſacred upon this ſingle Conſideration, That they are Laws and Cuſtoms, though there be nothing elſe to recommend them to our Obſervance. This is the Myſtical Foundation upon which they ſtand, and the great Secret of Government; and, properly ſpeaking, they have no other Motive but their Sanction to enforce them. My meaning is not from hence, That any Eſtabliſhment, though never ſo ſtrong, can derive a Right to our Obedience, upon Laws and Uſages, manifeſtly Unreaſonable and Unjuſt; but that He who obeys a Law, merely for the ſake of its Subject-matter being juſt, though he do the thing commanded by it, yet he does it upon a wrong Principle. For at this rate every Law muſt ſubmit it ſelf to the Judgment of every private Man; and each Subject ſhall call it to account, arraign and try it at the Bar of his own Breaſt; bring all Obedience to be a Matter of Controverſy and Doubt, and by conſequence, all the Right of Adminiſtration, and the whole Civil Polity muſt truckle and ſubmit, not only to the Fickleneſs and Variety of infinite ſeveral Judgments; but to the Changeable and Humourſome Sentiments of one and the ſame Perſon. That which binds the Law upon Men's Conſciences, is the Authority of the Legiſlative Power; and the Sanction it receives from thence; the Reaſonableneſs of the Duty contained in it is only an additional and collateral Obligation. How many Laws have there been in the World ſo far from any appearance of Piety or Juſtice, that they have really been exceeding trifling, extravagant, and ſenſleſs; ſuch as no Man's Reaſon knew what to make of? And yet Mankind have ſubmitted, nay, and enjoyed as much Peace, and good Order, and been as regularly governed, as highly contented; as if they had been the Juſteſt and moſt reaſonable, that ever Human Wiſdom and Policy enacted. Now, he that ſhould

ſhould have gone about to create a Diſſatisfaction and Diſlike to ſuch Laws, or attempted to repeal, or to amend them, would have deſerved to be ſuſpected as an Enemy to the Publick, and not to be endured or harken'd to in a wiſe Government. There are very few things, but Human Nature may in proceſs of Time reconcile it ſelf to; and when once the Difficulty is overcome, and things ſit eaſy upon People, it is no better in effect, than an Act of Hoſtility, to offer at the diſſetling them again. We ſhould always be content to let the World jog on in its own beaten Path; for it is but too often ſeen, that your Removers of Ancient Land-marks, and buſy Politicians, under their plauſible Pretences of Reforming, ſpoil, and ruin All.

There is ſeldom or never any conſiderable Alteration made in eſtabliſhed Laws, received Opinions, acknowledged Cuſtoms, and ancient Ordinances, and Diſcipline; but it is of very pernicious Conſequence. The Attempt is always extremely hazardous; there is commonly more Hurt than Good done by it; at leaſt this deſerves to be duly weighed; That the Miſchief, if leſs in it ſelf, is yet ſooner felt; for the Diſorders every Change creates are certain and preſent, but the Advantages it produces are diſtant and doubtful; ſo that we exchange a Good in Poſſeſſion, for one in Expectation only; and where we ſubmit to That, there ought to be very great Odds in value, to juſtify the Prudence of our Proceeding. This is certain, that Men are but too fond of Novelties, before they have tried them; and Innovators never want ſome very fair and plauſible Pretences, to catch and feed their Fancies with; but the more of this kind they pretend, the more ought we to ſuſpect and be aware of them. For how indeed can we forbear deteſting the vain and ambitious Preſumption of Perſons, who undertake to ſee farther, and be wiſer than all Mankind be-

ſides? What an intolerable Arrogance is it in ſuch Turbulent and Factious Spirits, to perſuade Men into Compliance with their Humours, at the Expence of the Publick Peace, and to think it worth while, that the Government ſhould run the Riſque of its own Ruin, merely for the ſake of eſtabliſhing a freſh Scheme, and paſſing a private Opinion into an Univerſal Law?

I have already hinted, and do repeat it here again, That we are not by any means obliged to obey all Laws and Conſtitutions whatſoever, which our Superiors ſhall think fit to impoſe, without any Diſtinction or Reſerve; For where we find them evidently to contradict the Laws of God and Nature, in ſuch caſe, we muſt neither comply on the one hand, nor diſturb the Publick Peace by our refuſing to do ſo on the other. How Men ought to behave themſelves in ſuch Critical Junctures, will fall more properly under Conſideration, when we come in the next Book to treat of our Duty to Princes. And indeed this Inconvenience is much more frequent upon Subjects, with regard to Their Arbitrary Commands, than the Eſtabliſhed Laws. Nor is it ſufficient, that we ſubmit to Laws and Governors, upon the account of their Juſtice, and particular Worth; but this muſt not be done ſervilely, and cowardly, upon Motives of Fear and Force; This is a Principle fit only for the Meaneſt and moſt Ignorant; it is part of a Wiſe Man's Character, to do nothing unwillingly and upon Compulſion, but to delight in his Duty, and find a ſenſible Pleaſure in a reaſonable Obedience. He keeps the Laws, for his own ſake; becauſe he is jealous and tender of doing any thing he ought not, and a rigid Maſter over himſelf. He needs no Laws to conſtrain him, in what is decent and good. This diſtinguiſhes Him from the Common Populace, who have no other Senſe or Direction of their Duty, but what Poſitive

Laws

Laws can give. In ſtrictneſs, according to the old *Stoical* Notions, the Wiſe Man is above the Laws, and a Law to himſelf. But however, he pays all outward Deference to them, and a free voluntary Obedience, This is due from him as a Member of Society, as the inward Freedom of his Mind is owing to the Prerogative of a Philoſopher.

In the Third Place, I affirm it to be the Effect of extreme Levity, a Preſumption, vain in it ſelf, and injurious to others; nay, a Mark of great Weakneſs and Inſufficiency of Judgment, to Condemn all thoſe Laws and Cuſtoms abroad, which are not conformable to thoſe of our own Native Countrey. This indeed is owing either to want of Leiſure and Opportunity, or to want of Ability, and Largeneſs of Mind for the conſidering the Reaſons and Grounds impartially, upon which Foreign Eſtabliſhments are founded. It is a great Wrong done to our own Judgment, to pronounce a Raſh Sentence, which, when we come to a more perfect underſtanding of the Cauſe, we ſhall in many Inſtances, find our ſelves obliged to retract, and be aſhamed of. And it is an Argument that we forget the Extent and Condition of Human Nature; how many, and how different things it is ſuſceptible of. It is a ſhutting the Eyes of our Mind, and ſuffering them to be laid aſleep, and deluded, with the often repeated Impreſſions of the ſame thing, the daily Dream of Long Uſe; and to ſubmit ſo far to Precedent and Preſcription, that Theſe ſhould overbear the plaineſt Reaſon; and give Example the Aſcendent over Judgment. 3.

Laſtly, It is the Buſineſs and the Character of a generous Mind, and ſuch a Wiſe Man, as I am here drawing the Idea of, to examine all things. Firſt, To take each apart, and conſider it by it ſelf; Then to lay them one over againſt another, and compare them together; that ſo the ſeveral Laws and Cu- 4.

ſtoms of the whole World, ſo far as they ſhall come to his Knowledge, may have a full and a fair Trial; and that, not for the directing his Obedience, but to aſſert his Right, and execute his Office. When This is done, he ought to paſs an honeſt and impartial Judgment upon them, as he ſhall find them, upon this enquiry, to be agreeable, or otherwiſe, with Truth, and Reaſon, and Univerſal Juſtice; For This is the Rule, This the Standard, which all of them are to be Tried and Meaſured by. To Theſe we are Principally and Originally engaged; nor may we ſo far falſify our Obligations, as to depart from Them in favour of any Cuſtoms; or to ſuffer our Judgments to be debauched with falſe Notions, though our National Conſtitutions were Ten thouſand times dearer to us, than it is poſſible to ſuppoſe them For Theſe can only claim a Secondary Obligation; the Former was general, and concerned us as Men; This only binds us as Subjects, or Natives of ſuch a determinate place; and ſo the Obligation is limited and particular; and if we pay our outward Obſervance, and ſubmit in our Behaviour to theſe Municipal Injunctions, this part of our Duty is diſcharged; and all Parties have reaſon to be ſatisfied. It is true, Things may ſo fall out, that in compliance with this Second, this particular, and Local Obligation, (that is, in conformity to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Place where we dwell) we may do ſomething, that does not appear to Us in every point Agreeable to the Primitive and Univerſal one; that is, ſuch as Nature and Reaſon do not dictate, nor evince the Equity of; but we ſtill are true to this Obligation, by reſerving our Judgment for it, acknowledging that what Nature ſuggeſts, and Univerſal Equity dictates, ought to be preferred; and continuing firm in our Opinions, that This is always beſt, though it be the Unhappineſs of our particular Conſtitution not to be regulated

lated according to it. For after all, our Judgment is the only thing we can call our Own, and all we have left to diſpoſe of; the World hath nothing to do with our Thoughts. Our External Behaviour, 'tis true, the Publick lays claim to, This we ought to pay, and muſt be accountable for it; and therefore thus far our Laws and Uſages take place. We may very juſtly do, what we cannot approve for any Juſtice or Goodneſs of its own; and Obey Laws, which have nothing of that intrinſick Excellence, that, had we been in Power, or perfectly Free, we ſhould either have Enacted, or made Choice of them. A great deal muſt be foregone for the ſake of Order and Quiet; for, in ſhort, there is no Remedy; This is the Condition of the World, and, as matters ſtand, Mankind could not ſubſiſt without it.

8. Next in order to the Two former Governeſſes, Law and Cuſtom, ſucceeds a Third; who with a great many is eſteemed of equal Authority with Either of the Former; and indeed, Thoſe that ſubmit, and enſlave themſelves to her, ſhe treats with a more tyrannical, and unrelenting Severity, than Either of the Former does. And This is *Ceremony*, which in plain Engliſh, is for the moſt part no better, than a ſet Form of Vanity. But yet, through Littleneſs of Soul, and the ſpreading depravation of Mind and Manners, ſo very general among Men; it hath gained ſo undeſerved Honour and Reputation, and uſurped ſuch a Power, and is ſo inſolent in the Exerciſe of it, that a great many People are poſſeſs'd with an Opinion, That Wiſdom conſiſts in a nice Obſervance of it. Under this Notion of the Thing, they tamely come to the Yoke, and liſt themſelves its moſt willing Slaves; inſomuch, that their Health, their Convenience ſhall ſuffer and be loſt; Buſineſs be diſappointed; Liberty be ſold or given up; Conſcience violated; God and Religion

gion neglected; rather than they will ſuffer themſelves to offend againſt one of the leaſt, and niceſt Punctilio's. This is manifeſtly the Caſe of Formal Courtiers, and Others, that affect the Character of Civility and good Breeding; This *Mint*, and *Aniſe*, and *Cummin*, is punctually paid, when the weightier matters of the Law are paſſed over; and the Idol *Ceremony* ſet up in the place, and to the infinite prejudice, of plain downright Honeſty, and ſincere Friendſhip. Now I am very deſirous, That the Wiſe Man of my Forming ſhould by no means ſuffer himſelf to be thus Captivated and Impoſed upon. Not that I would have him Singular and Moroſe, as if Wiſdom conſiſted in Rudeneſs, and acting in Defiance of Ceremony; for ſome Allowance muſt be made to the way of the World; and all the outward Conformity we can ſhew, is fit to be paid to the Manners of it, provided always, That this Compliance do not thwart other more weighty Conſiderations. For thus much I muſt needs inſiſt upon, That my Scholar never bind himſelf without reſerve, nor be ſo abſolutely Devoted to theſe ſorts of Reſpect, but that, when he ſhall find it Neceſſary, in point of Duty, or otherwiſe ſhall ſee fit, he may have the Courage to Diſpenſe with, and ſhew, that he can Deſpiſe theſe little Niceties. And This I would have done with ſo viſible a Prudence and Gallantry of Soul; that all the World may be ſatisfied, it is not Humour and Affectation, nor Ignorance, or ſordid Neglect, which moves him to a Behaviour different from Theirs; but that he is acted by a right Judgment, and juſter Notions of the matter; which will not let him value theſe poor things more highly than they deſerve; that even where his outward Comportment is ſuited to the Practice, his Will and Judgment are entire and uncorrupted, and have not been perverted to a falſe Approbation and Eſteem: In ſhort, That, however he

he may lend himſelf to the World when he ſees occaſion, and not be Sullen, and Reſtiff, and Particular; yet he will not, nor can it ever become any Wiſe or Good Man, to ſell, or give himſelf up to the World, by being eternally Supple and Ceremonious, and devoted entirely to the Rules, and Modes of it.

CHAP. IX.

Modeſt and Obliging Behaviour in Converſation.

THIS Particular is properly reducible to the Topick of Juſtice; a Branch of that Virtue, which inſtructs us how to live and converſe with all Mankind; and to render to every Man, what by any ſort of Right becomes his due. And the proper Place for Treating of This will be in the following Book; where the different Rules and particular Directions will be laid down, ſuitable to particular Perſons and Occaſions. At preſent you muſt expect only general Advice, That being agreeable to the Scheme at firſt Propoſed, and ſuch as the Deſign and Matter of this Second Part of my Treatiſe is confined to.

Now this is a Subject, which offers it ſelf to us under a Twofold Conſideration, and conſequently this Chapter which diſcourſes of it, muſt of neceſſity be divided into Two Parts; according to the Two different ſorts of Converſation, which Men uſe, and are engaged in, with the World. One of theſe is ſimple, general, at large, and in common; ſuch as is made up of our ordinary Company, and that Indifferency in Commerce and Acquaintance, which 1.

which ſome accidental Occaſion, or Buſineſs, or Travelling together, or Meeting in Third Places, or frequent interviews at places of Publick Reſort, or the Civilities of Viſits and Complemental Ceremonies, do every day lead us into; and ſo increaſe, or leſſen the number of our Acquaintance, introduce new Familiarities, or change our Old; All, or ſome of which, happen not only with thoſe we know, but with ſuch as we never knew nor ſaw before: And This is a Correſpondence and Converſation wholly owing to Fortune, and Formality; our own Choice hath nothing to do with it, nor did we ſeek or take pains to procure, or contract it. The Other ſort of Converſation may be called Particular; becauſe conſiſting of ſuch Companions as we like and love; Acquaintance of our own deſiring; ſuch as we either induſtriouſly ſought, and choſe to recommend our ſelves to; or elſe ſuch as when offered to Us, was moſt willingly embraced, and that with a proſpect of Advantage to our ſelves; either for the improvement of our Minds, or the advancing our Intereſt, or ſome other Profit or Pleaſure, which we hope to reap from an Intimacy with them. And here, we are not to conſider ſuch a ſuperficial Commerce as before, but that which is ſtricter and more endearing, cloſe Conferences, mutual Communication; ſecret Confidences, and great Familiarity. Each of which require diſtinct Rules, and ſhall have Directions apart. But before we enter upon either of theſe Conſiderations, I beg the Readers leave, to lay down One general Rule, which regards them both; and is in truth a Fundamental Principle in the Caſe before us; for which reaſon I chuſe to place it here, as a neceſſary Introduction to every part of the ſubſequent Diſcourſe.

2. *Evilneſs of Humour.* One very great Vice, which, the Wiſe-man I am all this while forming, muſt be ſure to keep himſelf clear of; (and indeed a moſt Unſeaſonable and Trouble-

Troubleſome ill Quality it is, both to ones ſelf, and to all he converſes with) is the being particularly addicted to ſome certain Humours, to keep always in the ſame road of Converſation. This brings a man into ſlavery to himſelf, to be ſo inſeparably wedded to his own Inclination, and Fancy, that he can upon no occaſion be prevailed with to comply, nor be agreeable to other People; and 'tis a certain ſign of a perverſe and unſociable Diſpoſition; the Effect of ill-nature and ill-breeding; of unreaſonable Arrogance, Partiality, and Selfconceitedneſs: The Men of this Temper have a rare time on't; for, whereever they come, they are ſure to meet with Objects enough, either to try their Patience, or to raiſe a Controverſy. On the other hand, It argues great Wiſdom, and Sufficiency, when a Man hath an abſolute command of his Temper, ſo that he can accommodate himſelf to all Companies; and is of ſuch a flexible and manageable Spirit, that he can riſe and fall with the Company, be pleaſant or ſerious, keep pace, and conſtantly make one, with what he finds the reſt diſpoſed to. And indeed the beſt and braveſt Men have always the largeſt and moſt general Souls; and nothing argues Greatneſs of Mind more, than this univerſal Temper; the being always in good humour, free, and open, and generous in Converſation. This is a Character ſo beautiful, that it in ſome meaſure reſembles God himſelf, and is a Copy of his Communicative Goodneſs: And among other things ſaid in Honour of Old *Cato*, this is one Noble Commendation; * *That he was of a Diſpoſition ſo dextrous and eaſy, that nothing ever came amiſs to him; and whatever you ſaw him engaged in at that time, he was ſo perfectly Maſter of it, that you would imagine this, the very thing, which Nature had cut him out for.*

* Huic verſatile ingenium; Sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcunque ageret.

Having

3. *Firſt part. And Advice upon it.* Having premiſed this general Conſideration, which is of uſe in both the following Branches of the Subject, I am now upon; let us return to the former part of the Diviſion, which concerns what I called Simple, and General, and Common Converſation; in diſtinction from that other, which is Choſen, and Intimate, and Particular.

Now for Our Behaviour in this Point; there are ſeveral things very proper and neceſſary to be obſerved; and the Firſt thing I would adviſe, is, To be very Reſerved and Modeſt in our Diſcourſe. 1.

4. The Second is, Not to be out of humour with every fooliſh, or indiſcreet thing; every little Indecency, or Levity, which want of better Senſe, or better Breeding, or ſome unthinking Gaiety of mind may betray Men to: For we are to conſider, when in Company, that we are in ſome degree diſpoſed of to Others, and no longer entirely our Own; ſo that, allowing the Thing to have been otherwiſe than it ought, and better let alone; yet it is troubleſome, and impertinent in Us to take offence at every thing, which is not juſt as we would have it, or think it ought to be.

5. The Third is, Not to be too profuſe of ſpeaking all we know; but to play the good Husbands, and manage the Stock of our Underſtanding prudently. For Reſervedneſs is not unbecoming even the wiſeſt, and beſt provided for Diſcourſe; ſo far as it argues a Deference to the reſt of the Company, and declines that Aſſuming way of talking All. But generally it is adviſeable, that Men ſhould be more inclined to hear, than to ſpeak; and converſe, rather with a proſpect of informing Themſelves, than with an Intention to teach the Company. For indeed 'tis a very great fault, to be more forward in ſetting ones ſelf off, and Talking to ſhew ones Parts; than to Learn the Worth, and to be truly acquainted with the Abilities of other Men: He that makes it his buſineſs not

to

to Know, but to be Known, is like a fooliſh Tradeſman, that makes all the haſte he can to ſell off his old Stock, but takes no thought of laying in any new.

The Fourth is, Not to lie upon the Catch for Diſputes; nor to ſhew our Wit, by perpetually entring into Argument; and even, when it is proper to do ſo, with regard to the Subject, yet to make a difference, as to the Perſons, with whom we are to engage. We ought not to conteſt a Point with Perſons of Honour, and thoſe that are much above us; it is a breach of the Deference and Reſpect due to their Character. Nor will it become us to do it with thoſe that are much below us, either in Quality, or in Parts; for neither of theſe are an equal Match for us; To the One we are reſtrained by Good Manners; and the Other is to Triumph, where we ought rather to be aſhamed of the Victory. 6.

The Fifth Rule is, To be Modeſtly Inquiſitive: For there is a decent and very commendable Curioſity, ſuch as with great Innocence and Temper, and genteel Addreſs, endeavours to be informed of all things fit to be known; and when a Man hath attained to this, his next care muſt be to manage his Knowledge to the beſt advantage, and make every thing turn to ſome account with him. 7.

The Sixth and moſt important Direction is, To make uſe of his Judgment upon all occaſions; for the examining and conſidering Matters well is the Maſter-piece of a Man; 'Tis This, that acts, and influences, and finiſhes All. Without the Underſtanding every thing is void of Senſe and Life, and in all reſpects as if it were not. Thus in Hiſtory particularly, How poor a thing is it to remember the Paſſages we read? The judging of what is done is the Soul and Energy of Reading: But this perhaps you will think a little out of ſeaſon here; and ſo far I confeſs it is, that the acting this judicious part in Converſation, 8.

is

is what concerns a Man's ſelf, and not the Company he is engaged in.

9. The Seventh is, Never to talk poſitively, nor be peremptory in any thing: And above all things, to avoid that Magiſterial and Imperious Air, that pretends to Dictate to all the Company; That Stiffneſs and Opiniatrety, which is, of all things in the World, the moſt nauſeous and offenſive. An inſolent dogmatical Humour is what no body can help being provoked at; and indeed it is uſually a ſign of a Senſeleſs Ignorant Fellow. The Style of the Ancient *Romans* was ſo extremely modeſt, that even the Witneſſes in their Depoſitions, and the Judges in their Sentences and Decrees, when they ſpoke nothing but from their own poſitive and certain Knowledge, did always ſoften their Expreſſions with an *Ita videtur*, *To the beſt of my Knowledge*, and *This is my Judgment*. And if theſe Perſons were ſo much upon their Guard in thoſe moſt Solemn Occaſions; what ought the Generality of People to be in Common Diſcourſe? Sure it were convenient, for a Man to accuſtom himſelf to all thoſe Expreſſions, that may any way ſweeten the harſhneſs, or take off from the raſhneſs of what we ſay; ſuch as, *Poſſibly*, *As they ſay*, *In my Opinion*, *In ſome ſenſe*; And ſo again, when we reply to others, to qualify our Anſwers thus, *Sir, I do not apprehend you*; *what is the meaning of that? nay poſſibly it may be ſo, ſay you ſo?* or the like. By all which we ſufficiently make our own Senſe underſtood, but convey it in a leſs ſhocking manner.

I will conclude this firſt general part of the Chapter with this ſhort Admonition; That the true Qualifications for converſing with the World, are * *an open good-natur'd face, a free air, pleaſing and agreable to*

* Frons aperta, Lingua parca, Mens clauſa, Nulli fidere. Vide, Audi, Judica.

every

every body; *a mind cloſe and ſecret, open to no body*; a *Tongue ſober and reſerved*, ſuch Diſcretion as is always upon its Guard, and lays not too much ſtreſs upon other People; in ſhort, The Man that ſees and hears a great deal, that talks little, and judges every thing, is perfectly accompliſhed, as to this Point.

Let us now proceed to the other Conſideration, and that part of Converſation which is Choſen and Particular. And here theſe following Hints may probably be of ſome uſe, for the due Government of our ſelves. 10. *Second part. Particular Converſation.*

The Firſt concerns the Choice of our Acquaintance; in which it ſhould be our great care, to find out Men of the beſt Senſe, and ſoundeſt Judgment; and to frequent the Company of ſuch. For by conferring with Wiſe and Judicious Perſons, the Mind whets and fortifies it ſelf; it improves every day, hath ſtronger and higher Notions of Things, and is elevated above its common pitch. As on the other hand, it degenerates and falls off, grows poor, and weak, and deſpicably low; by uſing the Converſation of People that are ſo: For Ill Qualities are catching as well as Diſeaſes; and the Mind is at leaſt as much, if not a great deal more, liable to Infection, than the Body.

The Second is, Not to be Surprized, or much Offended with the Opinions of other People; for how different ſoever they may be from our Own, or from Thoſe commonly entertained in the World; how odd and extravagant, how frivolous and abſurd ſoever they may appear to Us, yet ſtill they are ſuited, it ſeems, to the Notions and Nature of a Human Mind; which, like a fertile Soil, is in a capacity of producing all manner of Seed; and therefore it is a Weakneſs in us to be amazed at a Crop, ſo very unlike what grows in our own part of this common Field. 11.

12. The Third is, Not to be afraid of Correction, nor ſurprized or troubled for any rough Treatment, or ſharp expreſſions, which it ſhall fall to our Lot to receive. For Theſe are Things, that a Man ought by all means to harden himſelf againſt, and learn to bear them without being moved. Brave Men expreſs themſelves boldly; they ſpeak and ſpare not; This nice and ceremonious Softneſs, this tender Complaiſance, ſo fearful to give the leaſt umbrage, is fit for none but Women, and formal Coxcombs: Men ought to Converſe like Men; their Familiarity ſhould be open and free, maſculine and generous, full of courage and becoming confidence; they ſhould dare, both to give and take Reproof, when occaſion requires. It is but a dull and inſipid Pleaſure, to have always to do with ſuch ſupple and well-bred Fools, as Conſent, and Flatter, and Applaud all you ſay, be it True or Falſe, Right or Wrong, Indifferently.

13. The Fourth is, To make Truth our Conſtant Aim and End; to direct all our Diſcourſes hither, to acknowledge it whereſoever we meet it, to yield to it fairly and chearfully; For This is a Mark of Ingenuity, to make no difference or reſpect of Perſons, but give up our Aſſent to Truth, let it come from what hand it will; To be Honeſt and Sincere upon all occaſions, and in all our diſputes; and not like Pedantick Wretches, who affect to ſhew their Parts, maintain an Argument, right or wrong, and wrangle for Victory, and the laſt Word; and think it a Reproach to give out, and not Silence their Adverſary. The nobleſt Conqueſt, after all, is to conquer one's own Vanity; and the trueſt Glory, is to ſubmit to Reaſon; for This we are ſure is Victory indeed; but an Adverſary may be baffled by Art and Management; a Good Cauſe may ſuffer by a weak and unskilful Defence; This is not carrying a Point, but triumphing over an Infirmity; and therefore

fore all Heat, and Poſitiveneſs, and Paſſion, ſhould be avoided. When a Man confeſſes his Miſtake, owns his Scruples, or his Ignorance; and acknowledges his Faults, when made ſenſible of them; when he can yield quietly and decently to ſtronger Reaſons; This Man ſhews more than common Marks of Judgment, and Candour, and Sincerity; which are indeed the principal Qualities of Honeſty and Wiſdom; But Stiffneſs and Obſtinacy is an irrefragable Evidence of an ill Mind; and a ſure ſign of great, and many Vices and Defects.

Fifthly. When we engage in any Diſpute, it will be very adviſable, not to trouble one's ſelf with muſtering up all the Arguments that can any way be ſerviceable to us; but rather out of that Variety to cull out a few of the beſt, moſt pertinent, and ſuch as come up to our purpoſe; and to put Theſe into as cloſe and ſhort a method, as conveniently we can. For let a Man talk never ſo well, yet he may ſay too much; and the beſt Subjects may be rendred tedious. And indeed, this Affected way of Enlargement, and Spinning out our Diſcourſes; our Repetitions and formal Amplifications, are a certain ſign of a Man's Oſtentation, and Vanity, and loving to hear himſelf Talk; and as ſuch, it is certain too, to be troubleſome and offenſive, and never fails to tire, and to prejudice the Company againſt us. 14.

The Sixth, and indeed the Chief, Direction is, To obſerve due Form and Order, and not to make impertinent Digreſſions and Excurſions in our Diſcourſes. Oh the horrid Confuſion, and Vexation, that there is in diſputing or talking, with an impertinent Coxcomb; that ventures at All, knows nothing of the Matter, will be kept to no Method, but is eternally out of Time! This ſeems the only reaſonable excuſe for breaking abruptly, and renouncing all Meaſures; nay, for leaving the Field, and giving 15.

quite out. For, what can you expect but Teazing and Torment, from a Fellow, that is Untractable, and Incorrigible? Not to diſcern the Strength of what you offer againſt him, to take his own courſe, to run away with his own Notions, and never Reply to the Objections of an Adverſary; to hang upon ſome one word; to catch hold upon a thing accidental and by the by; and let go the principal and deſigned Argument of Diſcourſe; to confound and jumble all; ſuſpect every word; deny every thing at a venture; to proceed in no order; to weary you with formal Prefaces, and unprofitable Digreſſions; and after a world of words, nothing to the purpoſe, to grow Loud and Clamorous; to ſtick to his own Senſe, and not to be one whit moved by all one can ſay; to inſiſt upon Forms and Terms of Art; and never come to the true head of an Argument, nor know the real Merits of the Cauſe; Theſe are the Qualities, and common Practice of Pedants and Sophiſters, Arrogant and Affected Coxcombs. And from this Deſcription we may very eaſily learn, how to diſtinguiſh between judicious and pertinent Wiſdom, and prating Impertinence and Folly. This is Bold and Raſh, Hot and Fierce, Arrogant and Aſſured; the Former is never Confident or Poſitive; but Cautious and Fearful; Modeſt and Reſerved; Calm and Peaceable. The Wiſe Man is full of Reſpect, and free in making Allowances; obtains his Victory fairly, and uſes it generouſly; but the Impertinent is full of Self-ſatisfaction and Joy; leaves the field with an air of Gaiety and Boaſting; as taking for granted that the Day is his own; all his Countenance and Behaviour is triumphant, and proclaims to the Company, that he looks upon himſelf as abſolute Conqueror.

16. Laſtly. When we are reduced to a neceſſity of contradicting any thing ſaid; particular care ſhould

be

be taken, that we do it not after a bold and aſſuming manner; nor betray any thing that looks like Eagerneſs and a Spirit of Contention. For, if it have any of theſe ill Symptoms, it can never be well received; and the Miſchief will be much greater to the Author himſelf, than to the Perſon whom it is directed againſt. The only way to render any oppoſition tolerably eaſy to the Company, and to be ſecure from any of thoſe ill Reſentments, which are apt to follow upon it, is to contrive, that it ſhould be produced upon the ſpot, and immediately applied to the Matter, which gave the Provocation; that it be not far fetched, not foreign to the preſent Diſcourſe, nor ripping up ſomewhat long paſt and forgotten. It muſt alſo be levelled at the Thing alone, and be free from any Perſonal Reflections; nor muſt we contradict any thing becauſe ſuch a one ſays it, but merely becauſe the Thing it ſelf deſerves, and the vindication of Innocence or Truth requires it. In which caſe, if there be any manner of occaſion put into our hands, it is a very proper expedient, to ſoften the difference of Opinion, with ſome particular Commendation of the Perſon we oppoſe; But above all things, we muſt be ſure that in all matters of this Nature, we command our Temper; and Reaſon with all the Coolneſs, and calm Argument; the gentleſt Terms, and moſt inoffenſive Language, that is poſſible.

CHAP. X.

Prudent Management of Buſineſs.

THIS Particular does in ſtrictneſs belong to the Virtue of Prudence; of which our intended Method hath not as yet led us to treat, but reſerved that to the following Book. And there indeed is the proper place, for inſiſting ſeverally upon the many Rules and Admonitions, which anſwer to the ſeveral Kinds and Branches of Prudence; and provide againſt that infinite variety of Occurrences, which call for the exerciſe of it in Human Life. But in the mean while, I will ſo far enter into that Subject at preſent, as to lay down ſome of the principal Points of Prudence, which may ſerve for common and general Topicks; Thus to inſtruct my Scholar in the Groſs, how to behave himſelf well and wiſely in the common Correſpondence and Commerce of the World; and to make him a Maſter of his Buſineſs. For the due Management whereof, I would recommend theſe Eight Directions that follow.

1. *Knowledge of Men and Things.* The Firſt of theſe is, That he would be ſure to get good Information, and a competent Knowledge of Men and Things. For the Men he hath to deal with, it is requiſite he be well acquainted with their particular Humour and Diſpoſition, their Underſtanding and Capacity, their Inclination, and governing Paſſions; their Intention and Deſign, and the Methods by which they move. The Things, or particular Buſineſs, in which a Man is engaged, or which he propoſes to undertake, ought likewiſe to be well underſtood; Whereby I mean, not ſuch a ſlender

ſlender and ſuperficial Knowledge, as conſiders the Appearances only, but a thorough Examination to the very bottom: Such a Diſquiſition, as does not only conſider the Things themſelves in their own Nature, but enlarges and extends it ſelf, to the Accidents which they in any probability may be incumbred with, and the ſeveral Conſequences they are like to draw after them. Now, in order to attaining this Knowledge, it is neceſſary to take a cloſe and particular view of our Affairs; to turn them all manner of ways, eye them in all the different Proſpects they are capable of, and nicely ſcan all the Forms, and Circumſtances of them, which our own Imagination can repreſent them under. For there are a great many Attempts, which have a fair and beautiful ſide, full of Invitation and large Promiſes; and yet if you turn the other ſide, look horrid and forbidding, and ſhew nothing but Deformity and Danger. Now there is no occaſion to prove the Neceſſity of ſuch a Knowledge as This; becauſe it is ſo very evident, that This is the very Compaſs Men muſt ſteer by; For no Man doubts, but that the different Tempers of Men, and conditions of Things bring us under an abſolute Neceſſity of changing our Meaſures, and making all our Scheme ſuitable to them. A Man in this caſe ſhould be as vigilant, and as dextrous, as the Seamen are; who immediately gibe their Sails, and ply their Oars differently; as the Wind ſhifts, or their Courſe they run, brings them upon different Roads and Shores. And as They could never make their Ports by ſteering always the ſame Courſe, no more could a Man, who always governs himſelf alike in Buſineſs, expect any other effect at laſt, than that his Affairs ſhould be ruined and come to nothing, and that all the World ſhould deſpiſe and laugh at his Folly. Now, if we do but reflect a very little, how intricate the Affairs of the World are, and how much more intricate

and full of Diſguiſe Human Nature is; The Perplexity will appear ſo great, as to convince us, that the Knowledge I have here been adviſing, is no ſuch eaſy matter; but that we muſt be content to come at it ſlowly and painfully; for it requires much Attention, long Study, and repeated Conſideration; a Judgment clear and ſtrong, and a Mind unprejudiced and free from Paſſion.

2. *Juſt Valuation of 'em.* The next Leſſon to be learnt upon this occaſion, is That of knowing how to make a juſt Eſtimate of Things, ſo as to give each that real Value, and proper Place in our Opinion, which of Right belongs to it. And this is a certain Effect of Prudence and Sufficiency. It is indeed a very high pitch of Philoſophy, to be able to do this; and ſuch as a Man ſhall never riſe up to, except he firſt get clear of his own deceitful Paſſions, and the Common received Errors of the World. There are ſome ſix or ſeven Qualities, that ſtrangely captivate Vulgar Minds; and ſeduce them into very miſtaken Valuations of a Thing, which Wiſe Men will take good Care not to be deluded by. Theſe are, The Novelty, The Rarity, The Strangeneſs, The Difficulty, The Artificial Compoſure, The Quaintneſs of the Invention, The Abſence or preſent Want, The loſing or being refuſed it; but eſpecially, and above all the reſt, the Noiſe, and Show, and Pomp it creates in the World. Thus the generality of People look upon all things to be little better than deſpicable, which are not exalted by Art, and Study, and Human Skill; they muſt have them raiſed and refined, to recommend them. Thoſe that are plain and ſimple, and have nothing but their own Native Excellencies to ſet them off, (let thoſe Excellencies in reality be never ſo valuable) are ſo far from being had in any regard, that they are ſcarce taken notice of at all. They paſs off in the common Crowd, unobſerv'd and unſeen; or, if they are ſeen, yet do they not move

move us, but are look'd upon as low, flat, and inſipid: Than which we cannot have a plainer Proof of the Vanity and Weakneſs of Mankind, who thus take up with Air and Emptineſs, and are content to accept Baſe Metal, and Counterfeit Coin in Payment, rather than True Standard and Current Money. Hence it is, that Art is ſo much preferr'd before Nature; Acquired Excellencies to Thoſe that are Innate; Things difficult and elaborate, before Thoſe that are eaſy; ſudden Guſhes, and Flights, and impetuous Sallies, before the Conſtancy and Calmneſs of Habit and Temper; Things extraordinary, above Thoſe that are ordinary and uſual; Oſtentation and Pomp, above intrinſick and private real Worth; Things that are Another's, above our Own; Foreign above Domeſtick, Borrowed before Natural. And how egregiouſly fooliſh now is all This? This, I ſay, is the Folly of the Vulgar and the Undiſcerning; but Wiſe Men obſerve other Meaſures. They take care not to be thus impoſed upon, nor carried away with fantaſtical Notions; but to paſs a ſevere and critical Enquiry; and judge of Things, firſt by their True, Subſtantial, and Natural Goodneſs, which many times is internal, and lies far out of ſight; And then by the Advantages they are capable of bringing. Theſe are ſolid Foundations of Eſteem, all the reſt is mere Cheat and Deluſion.

Now, it muſt be confeſs'd, the being able to make theſe Diſtinctions judiciouſly, is exceeding difficult; for the World is full of Sophiſtry and Diſguiſe; Things have a Thouſand Falſe Faces; and it often happens, that Thoſe which are really Counterfeit and worth nothing, look fairer, more gay, more inviting; than Thoſe that are truly valuable and good. (Nay, *Ariſtotle* hath ventured to ſay, That in Matters of Speculation, there are a great many Falſities, which carry more ſhew of Probability, and bid fairer at firſt ſight for engaging our Aſſent, than ſeveral Truths

Truths do:) But then, for our Encouragement, we ought to remember, that as This is a very difficult and laborious, ſo is it likewiſe an incomparably Noble and moſt Divine Attainment; and withal, that it is of infinite Uſe, and Abſolute Neceſſity. * *How neceſſary is it* (ſaith *Seneca*) *to ſet a true rate upon things*? And ſo without queſtion it muſt needs be. For, to what purpoſe does a Man inform himſelf in the Rules and Directions for living well, till he be firſt rightly inſtructed, what account he ought to hold thoſe ſeveral Objects in, which his Deſires and Actions are converſant about? Riches, for inſtance, and Health, and Beauty, and Quality, and Learning, what degrees of Good theſe can pretend to, and what Evil he is to expect, or can ſuffer from their Contraries. It is a great Inſtance of Skill in Moral Heraldry, to know the Places of all theſe, and what Precedences are due to them reſpectively; and eſpecially, when ſeveral of them meet together, it is not eaſy to proportion our Reſpects, becauſe the Number confounds us; and indeed all People are not, nor ever will be agreed as to their Quality, which of them is moſt honourable. The Taſtes and Judgments of particular Perſons differ exceedingly; And it is very well they do, for if all Mankind were fond of the ſame thing, they would conſtantly be interfering, and hindring one another.

For an Inſtance of what I have ſaid; let us take theſe Eight Principal Sources of all the Happineſs, we can propoſe to our ſelves in this World; whether of Body or Mind. I ſhall pair them together by mentioning Four of each ſort; And they are Probity and Health; Wiſdom and Beauty; Good Parts and Quality; Learning and Riches. Theſe Terms I underſtand here in the common and received

* Quàm neceſſarium pretia rebus imponere?

Senſe,

Senſe, and do not confine them to a Philoſophical Nicety. By Wiſdom I mean a Prudence and Diſcretion in the Government of our Selves, and in all our Converſation and Deportment with Others: By Good Parts, that Capacity, and thoſe Abilities for Buſineſs, which ſuch Perſons are known to be prepared and provided with, above others, to whom Nature hath been leſs bountiful. And by Learning, that Knowledge of Things, which is acquired by Books and Study. The Reſt are ſo perſpicuous, that they need no Explanation.

Now what a prodigious Difference do we find in the Opinions of Men, in adjuſting the Place and Precedence, which is pretended to belong to theſe Eight Things? What infinite and irreconcilable Competitions are there among them? I, for my own part, have delivered my own Judgment freely already in this Treatiſe; I have here mingled them together, and tacked them to one another in ſuch order, that each Advantage of the Mind hath one belonging to the Body, joined; and ſo joined as to be correſpondent, to it; for as Nature hath united Body and Soul together, ſo ſhe ſeems to have given each of them Accompliſhments extremely agreeable, and alike. Thus Health is to the Body, what Probity is to the Mind; it is the Probity or good Diſpoſition of the Body, as Probity is the Health of the Soul. Theſe ſhould be the Sum of our Wiſhes.

* *Forgive the Gods the reſt, and ſtand confin'd*
To Health of Body, and a Virtuous Mind.
Says the Poet.

Beauty is commenſurate to Wiſdom; the Juſt Meaſure, exact Proportion, and Comelineſs, is the Wiſ-

* —Mens ſana in Corpore ſano.

dom

dom of the Body; and Wiſdom is the Regularity, the Decency, the Beauty of the Soul. Quality and Good Birth is a wonderful Capacity, a mighty Diſpoſition to Virtue; and theſe Spiritual Abilities again, and Good Parts, are the Nobility of the Mind. Learning is the Wealth of the Soul, and Riches the acquired Advantage of the Body. Others, I know, will differ from me in the Method and Order of ranging theſe Qualifications; for ſome put all the Advantages of the Mind firſt; and are of opinion, that the leaſt of Theſe is more valuable, than the beſt and higheſt of Thoſe that belong to the Body; and others, who go not ſo far, yet may not agree in the Preference due to each Particular. Every Man in this Caſe follows his own Senſe, and from that we cannot but expect great Variety of Judgments will enſue.

3. *Wiſe Choice.* In the next place, ſucceeds a Third Qualification, which indeed naturally ſprings out of the former; For, from the Sufficiency of paſſing a juſt Eſtimate upon Things, is derived an Ability of making a Wiſe Choice; and this is, not only a matter of Duty and Conſcience, but very often an Eminent Inſtance of Wiſdom and good Conduct. There are indeed ſome Caſes extremely plain and eaſy; as when Difficulty and Vice, Honeſty and Profit, Duty and Intereſt ſtand in competition; For the Preeminence in this Compariſon is ſo viſible and ſo vaſt, on one ſide above the other, that whenever theſe things encounter each other, the Advantage lies, and the Balance ſhould always fall, to the ſide of Duty, though attended with never ſo great Difficulty and Inconvenience. In the Caſe of Private Perſons, I mean, for poſſibly there may ſometimes be room for an Exception; but then this does not often happen, and if it do, 'tis generally in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs; and then too, it muſt be managed with great Tenderneſs and Circumſpection. But of This I ſhall

I ſhall have a more proper ſeaſon to ſpeak, when my Third Book brings us to treat of Prudence in particular. But ſometimes there is ſuch a Conjuncture of Circumſtances, that a Man is driven to a very hard Choice: As for Inſtance, When we ſtand inclos'd, as it were, with Two Vices, and there is no getting clear of both. Thus Hiſtory deſcribes that Eminent Father *Origen*, who had it left to him, Whether he would commit Idolatry, or ſuffer his Body to be carnally abuſed by a *Moor:* The firſt was the Thing he choſe, and ſome ſay he choſe amiſs. Now, when we are unhappily involved in ſuch Perplexities, and at a loſs which way we ſhould incline, in the choice of Matters not morally evil; the beſt Rule we can be guided by, is to go over to that ſide, where there is the greateſt Appearance of Juſtice and Honeſty. For, though every thing ſhould not afterwards ſucceed according to our Wiſh or Expectation, yet there will reſult ſo pleaſing an Applauſe, ſuch Glory, and Self-gratulations from within, for our having taken the better Part, as will make us ample Compenſation for our Misfortunes, and abundantly ſupport us under them: And beſides all this, If the Worſe, but ſeemingly Safer Side, had been choſen, what Security can we have, that the Event would have proved more favourable? and why may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Governour and Lord of Us, and all our Fortunes, would have been provoked to puniſh, and diſappoint us that way too? When Matters ſeem to be ſo equal, that we cannot diſtinguiſh, which is the better, and ſhorter courſe, we ſhould take that which is the plaineſt and ſtraighteſt. And in Things manifeſtly Immoral (of which properly ſpeaking there cannot be any Choice) we muſt avoid that which is moſt deteſtable, and hath more of Villany and Horror in it. For this indeed is a Point of Conſcience, and is more truly a part of Probity than of Prudence. But it is very often

often exceeding hard to ſatisfy one's ſelf, which of Two things of the ſame kind is the more agreeable to Juſtice, or to Decency, or which is preferable in point of Advantage: And ſo likewiſe of Two Ill Things, which is the more Unjuſt, more Indecent and Diſhoneſt, or attended with worſe Conſequences. Upon the whole matter then, though the Act of chuſing is an Act of Probity and Conſcience; yet the Ability of making this Choice aright is a part of Prudence and ſound Judgment. I am apt to believe, that in ſuch Straights as theſe, the beſt and ſafeſt way will be to follow Nature; and to determine, that thoſe Things which are moſt agreeable to Nature, are the more juſt and becoming; and that what is moſt diſtant from, or contrary to Nature, is more eſpecially to be avoided and abhorred by us. This agrees well with what was formerly delivered in our deſcription of Probity, That we ought to be Good Men, by the Dictates and Impulſe of Nature.

Before I go off from this Point of Choice, give me leave to ſay one word or two for the reſolving a Doubt, which ſome People have ſtarted, with regard to the Determination of our Wills in theſe Caſes. The Queſtion is, When Two Things are propoſed ſo Equal and Indifferent, that we can give no reaſon, why One ſhould be valued more than the Other; what it is that diſpoſes the Soul to take the One, and leave the Other? The *Stoicks* pretend, that it is a raſh Operation of the Soul, ſomewhat Foreign, and Extraordinary, and beſide its proper courſe. But let Them ſay what they will, We may be bold to affirm, That there is no ground for the Queſtion; and that no Two Things ever do, or can preſent themſelves to our Conſideration, ſo as to be perfectly Equal and Indifferent to us: It frequently happens indeed, that the Difference is very ſmall and inconſiderable; but ſtill ſome difference there

there is; ſomething we apprehend in One, and not in the Other, which caſts the Scale, and draws us on to a Choice; though the Motion be ſo gentle, that we ſcarce feel it; and the Motive ſo ſlender, that we know not how to expreſs, and can very hardly give out ſelves any account of it. But ſtill certain it is, that were a Man evenly poized between Two Deſires, he would never chuſe at all: For all Choice implies Inclination of the Mind, and all Inclination ſuppoſes Inequality.

4. *Conſultation.*

Another very neceſſary Direction in this Matter, is, That of conſulting with our Friends, and taking good Advice. For there is great danger in acting upon our own heads, and depending entirely upon our ſelves; Others will ſee further, and judge better of our Affairs, than Partiality and Concern will ſuffer Us to do. Now in this Point of Conſulting, there are Two Cautions very neceſſary to be obſerved for the prudent management of our ſelves, and the making this method turn to account with us.

The Firſt regards the Choice of fit Perſons to Adviſe with: For Many are much better let alone than applied to, and a Man is as highly concerned to be upon his Guard, and conceal his Deſigns from Some ſort of People, as he is to communicate them, and addreſs for Counſel to Others. Thoſe then, who are proper for ſuch purpoſes, muſt Firſt of all be Men of Integrity and Fidelity, that is, fit to be truſted; and then they muſt be Men of ſound Senſe, Sober and Diſcreet, Wiſe and Experienced; otherwiſe they will not be fit to Direct. Honeſty and Sufficiency are the Two Indiſpenſable qualifications of good Counſellers; and indeed, to Theſe we may add a Third Conſideration which ought to weigh with us very much in our Choice; and This is, That neither They themſelves, nor any of their Relations, or particular Friends, be at all concerned in the matter we conſult about. For, though you may

may poſſibly Reply to this, That I have ſufficiently prevented any Miſchiefs of that kind, by providing already, that they ſhould be Perſons of Integrity, and whoever is ſo, will not be biaſſed by his own, or his Friend's Intereſt; yet to that I muſt rejoin, in juſtification of this Advice; Firſt, That Honeſty ſo ſtanch, and firm, and Philoſophical, as ſhall be Proof againſt all the Impreſſions of Advantage, is to be met with in very few. It is indeed what ought to be; but as the World goes, it is rather to be wiſh'd for, than found and practiſed. And Secondly, Allowing the Party we Conſult, to have attained this Perfection of unmovable Sincerity; yet it is neither Wiſdom, nor Kindneſs, nor good Manners, to drive him to ſuch Difficulties, and ſuch Anxieties of heart, as the asking his Advice in ſuch Circumſtances muſt needs involve him in. This is what we call putting him in between the Milſtones, where he muſt either cruſh himſelf, or us.

The other part of Caution, requiſite upon theſe occaſions, regards the receiving Advice, when our Counſellers are choſen. And this muſt be ſure to have a patient Hearing, and kind and grateful Entertainment allowed it; we ſhould follow and put it in practice betimes, and not delay, till we are reduced to Extremities; we ſhould conſider and proceed upon it with Judgment and Candour, and be well pleaſed that our Friends ſhould ſpeak their Minds freely, and declare the Truth, though it happen to be ſevere and unpalatable to us. When we have taken our Meaſures according to it, in full confidence of the Prudence and Friendſhip with which it was given, we muſt not afterwards repine, or be ſorry that we have been guided by it, though the Event fall ſhort, or prove contrary to our Expectations. For it is a very common thing for good Counſel to be very unſucceſsful. But a Wiſe Man ought to take greater Satisfaction in proper Meaſures, and

and prudent Conduct, though the Conſequence be calamitous; than in the greateſt good fortune imaginable, when his Meaſures were falſe and ill-adjuſted; When as the Hiſtorian obſerves of *Marius*; * *The Raſhneſs of the General was corrected by the Event, and his fault received Honour and Commendation.* It is below a Man of Senſe, and agreeable to the Character of Vulgar and Ignorant Souls only, to ſit down and wiſh they had done otherwiſe; and, after the matureſt Deliberation, and the beſt choice their caſe will admit, to fancy they took a wrong Courſe: For ſuch People in their Croſſes and Diſappointments, only weigh the Reaſons for the contrary Methods, without having Greatneſs or Preſence of Mind to counterbalance Theſe, with Thoſe other, once more forcible Arguments, which induced them to act as they did. Thus much was not amiſs, I thought, to be hinted briefly for the uſe of thoſe who want, and ask Advice; but as for the Perſons addreſs'd to, the Rules fit to be obſerv'd by Them in giving of it, ſhall be ſpecified at large under the Head of Prudence. For indeed Counſel is a very conſiderable and extenſive Branch of that Virtue.

5. *Moderation between Fear and Aſſurance.*

The Fifth Thing, which I apprehend adviſable for the prudent Management of Affairs, is a Steadineſs of Temper; conſiſting in a middle ſtate, between the Extremes of Confidence and Diſtruſt; Aſſurance and Fearfulneſs. And this is neceſſary to be well Moderated, both with regard to our Selves, and Others.

To repoſe too great Confidence in a Friend, and reckon our ſelves abſolutely ſure of him, is very often Prejudicial to our Affairs; and to diſtruſt his Ability, or his Inclination to do us Service, is offenſive to Him; Inſomuch, that where we enter-

* Sic correcta Marij temeritas gloriam ex culpâ invenit.

tain Suſpicions, though never ſo juſt in themſelves, yet it is not prudent to give any Demonſtrations of our Jealouſy. For no Man loves to be Diſtruſted, (becauſe every Man loves to be thought to have Power and Sincerity) and therefore to betray our Diſtruſt is ſure to Diſpleaſe; nay, likely to Provoke, and turn a Friend into an Enemy. But then, on the other hand we muſt be careful too, not to be ſo entirely depending, ſo lazy and ſecure in our Confidences, as not to be very much upon our Guard, except it be with ſome very choice and tried Friends: A Man never Rides ſafe without the Reins in his own Hand; only, the Skill of the Horſeman muſt be ſhewn, in neither letting them hang too ſlack, nor drawing them too ſtiff. A Man ſhould never diſcloſe all his Thoughts, and Intentions; but, ſo far as he thinks convenient to communicate his Mind, he ſhould do it with Truth and Sincerity; he muſt by no means Deceive or Enſnare his Friend, and therefore let him tell True; but he muſt take heed too, that he be not Deceived or Abuſed Himſelf, and therefore he ſhould take care not to tell All. He ſhould follow that excellent Advice of our Bleſſed Maſter; to Marry the Serpent with the Dove; tempering and qualifying that Innocence and Simplicity which reſtrains a Man from hurting Others, with that Wiſdom and Subtlety, which keeps him from injuring Himſelf; ſo ſtanding upon one's Guard, and Defending one's Self againſt the Cunning Inſinuations, and Treacherous Deſigns, and unſeen Ambuſhments of our pretending Friends. For Policy and Stratagem is as commendable a Weapon, when uſed Defenſively, as it is Diſhonourable and Baſe, when Offenſive. And therefore every Motion ſhould be wary and well-adviſed; and in our Advances of Familiarity and Confidence, we muſt never engage ſo far, as not to ſecure a Retreat to our Selves, whenever our Inclination ſhall diſpoſe, or the

the Neceſſity of our Affairs oblige us to it: Nay not only ſo, It is not enough, that our Retreat be poſſible, but it muſt be ſafe and eaſy, without any great Reluctancy in our Selves, or any Damage from Thoſe, in whom we Confided.

On the other hand, we ſhould not ſo far be confident of our Selves, as to let this grow into Security and Preſumption. If we have Friends, though they do not bear our whole Weight, yet it is not convenient to let go our Hold; nor for any Opinion, either of our own Abilities, or the proſperous Condition of our Affairs, to diſdain Another's Help, or grow negligent and remiſs in our Own Care. And yet this is oftentimes the Caſe of Men, who think no body ſo Wiſe as themſelves, or have that Opinion of their own Power and Addreſs, to imagine every thing will bow before, and truckle under them; that no body will dare to attempt any thing to their Prejudice or diſſatisfaction; and from Theſe fond Poſſeſſions, come to abate of their Pains, to deſpiſe all Care; and ſo at laſt are abominably overreached, ſurprized into Miſchief and Ruin, and become a Jeſt and publick Scorn.

6. *The laying hold on Occaſions.*

Another, and That indeed a very important piece of Advice, is, To take every thing in its proper Time, while it is ſeaſonable, and Occaſion ſerves. And in order hereunto, we muſt be ſure to avoid Precipitation, which is a mortal Enemy to Wiſdom, the bane and confounder of all good Deſigns: And a Vice very uſual, and much to be feared, among People in heat of Youth, and all others of a warm and ſanguine Complexion. And in truth, the knowing how to take every thing in the Nick; to lay hold on every Opportunity and Advantage, and make the beſt of all times, and all means of Action, is one of the maſterly Perfections of a Wiſe and Dextrous Manager. For we are to conſider, that every thing hath its Seaſon, and even the beſt things,

as we may order them, may be irregular, and out of due Time. Now Haſt and Hurry is the moſt contrary to that good Quality, that can poſſibly be imagined; for This diſorders, and confounds All; and ſo at laſt ſpoils All. You know the common Proverb, * *Haſty Bitches bring blind Whelps.* This Precipitation is uſually the Effect of ſome Paſſion, which ſpurs us on too faſt, and will not endure to wait till Matters are ripe for Execution; † *The impatience of deſire puts us upon haſtening, and Haſt diſorders and undoes all; ſo that This is always improvident and blind; Haſtineſs and Anger are the Two things in the World moſt diſtant from a Sober and Judicious Mind.* Such is the account generally to be given of it; though it cannot be denied, but theſe Haſty proceedings are frequently owing to Weakneſs, and want of Judgment. Now the contrary Vice of Heavineſs, and Sloth, and Negligence in our Affairs, which is ſometimes miſtaken for Solidity, and Thought, and wiſe Caution, is no leſs dangerous, and deſtructive to our Affairs, eſpecially then, when all Preliminaries are adjuſted, all Reſolutions taken, and nothing remains but the Executive part. For it is well obſerved, That in Deliberation and Conſultation a Man is allowed to ſpend a great deal of Time, becauſe then every Particular is to be nicely weighed, every Advice canvaſſed, and out of All compared together, the Beſt to be pitched upon; but when we come to Action, the caſe is much otherwiſe, for the Mind is then ſuppoſed to be ſettled, and all Doubt over; upon which account it is, that we are commanded by the Maſters of Wiſdom, to to be Slow in Counſel, and Swift in Execution; to

* Canis feſtinans cæcos parit catulos.

† Nam qui cupit, feſtinat; qui feſtinat evertit; unde feſtinatio improvida & cæca; duo adverſiſſima rectæ menti Celeritas & Ira.

deliberate

deliberate at leiſure, but to finiſh apace. It is true indeed, this Rule is not ſo univerſally efficacious, but that ſometimes we ſee Events contrary to it. A Man ſtumbles upon Succeſs, though he run headlong upon it; and proves as Fortunate in the Event, though the Time he took to conſider, was very ſhort; and the Reſolves he made, as raſh and imprudent, as they were haſty; But this is very ſeldome ſeen; and the few Inſtances we have of it are owing purely to Chance; And Chance is ſomewhat ſo diſtant from the ordinary courſe of Affairs, that a Man can never depend upon it, or govern himſelf by ſuch Events. On the contrary, He ſhould take great care, That theſe lucky Hits, like a winning hand, do not tempt us to run too great a Riſque, and venture upon them boldly. For, commonly ſpeaking, Gameſters give out Loſers; and all they have to ſhew for their daring Haſtineſs, is only That Proverb, *Of Reſolving in Haſt, and Repenting at Leiſure*; Ruin and a fruitleſs Remorſe being commonly the End of ſuch inconſiderate Undertakings.

Theſe then are the Two Extremes, which like Rocks muſt be avoided, and with equal care too; for if we Split upon Either, our Affairs will be ſhipwrack'd and loſt. It is as great a Fault to anticipate a fair occaſion, and ſnatch it, while it is Green and Crude; as it would be to let it Wither and Rot in our Hands. The Former is a Defect moſt incident to Young Men; whoſe Spirits move briskly, and their Blood boils in their Veins; and whoſe Deſires are ſo eager and impetuous, that they want Patience, and cannot be content to let Time and Providence bring things to Maturity, and work for them; and ſo theſe ſprightly Men, by ſtarting too quick, run, and catch nothing; The Latter is more proper to Stupid Men, the Cowardly and Irreſolute; the Lazy and Unactive. For there is need of a Sprightly and Vigilant Soul to diſcern and to lay

hold on favourable Junctures; but then at the ſame time that the Soul muſt be awake, we muſt ſee, that it be not Reſtleſs and Impatient. A Man muſt look before him; deſcry Opportunities at a diſtance; keep his Eye conſtantly upon them; obſerve all the motions they make towards him; make himſelf ready for their approach; and, lying thus upon the catch, when he ſees his time, lay faſt hold, and not let go again, till he hath done his Buſineſs.

7. *Induſtry and Fortune.* The Seventh Direction I would give at preſent, is for a Man to govern himſelf well, and do his Duty to the Two great Diſpoſers, and Superintendants of all Human Affairs; Induſtry I mean, or which in this place comes to the ſame thing, Virtue, and Fortune. It hath long been matter of Controverſy, which of Theſe carries the greateſt Sway; and the Queſtion never was or will be decided to the Satisfaction of all People; for ſome have a greater reſpect for One, and ſome for the Other. Thus much at leaſt is paſt all doubt; that both the One and the Other do a great deal; both have Power and Credit; and both have a Title indiſputable to ſhew for it; for nothing can be more palpably falſe, than that either of theſe Two does All, and the other Nothing. Perhaps indeed Matters would go better, if it were not thus; and Men have reaſon to wiſh, That the whole Authority were veſted in one of them ſingly. For then we ſhould know what to truſt to. Then our Task would be eaſy, becauſe all our Thought and Diligence would be fixed, and determined to one Object; whereas now we float between both, the Diſtraction of the Mind renders our Attempts infinitely laborious and full of hazard; and we can very hardly attend to both, and bring them friendly to conſpire together. Daily Experience proves this Truth to us; for uſually thoſe who are very much taken up with the One, diſregard and

and perfectly deſpiſe the Other. Thus the Young and Sanguine, the Forward and Daring Men keep Fortune in their Eye, and lay the main ſtreſs there, as you ſee plainly by their large Hopes, and the mighty Succeſſes they promiſe themſelves in every Undertaking: And Fortune often rewards this Reſpect they pay her, and declares them her Favourites, by the many Prodigious and moſt Surprizing things wrought by them. On the Other hand, Men in Years, whoſe Blood is cold and heavy, and They conſequently calm and ſlow, place all their Expectations in Induſtry: And it cannot be denied, but Theſe act the more reaſonably of the Two. If a Man were diſpoſed to compare them both together, and obſerve what can be alledg'd to determine his Choice on either ſide; we may ſtate the Matter very fairly Thus. He that depends upon Induſtry, takes the Safeſt Side, the more Virtuous, and the more Reputable: For admit, that Fortune run counter, and ſpightfully defeat all his Diligence; yet is there ſtill this Satisfaction left, that he hath made no falſe Steps, that he ſuffered in his proper Poſt, doing his Duty; and that he hath acquitted himſelf, as became a Wiſe and an Honeſt Man. Thoſe that take the other courſe, are in great danger of waiting and hoping in vain: But if all ſhould ſucceed to their hearts deſire, yet ſtill this is none of Their doing; nor is there really any Credit or Commendation due to them for it. But indeed, Wiſdom takes a middle Courſe; ſhe adviſes no Man entirely to devote himſelf to either of theſe; and though One may be preferred, yet not to that degree, as to bring the Other into abſolute Neglect and Contempt. For ſince Neither can be excluded from our Affairs, it is fit we ſhould allow Both a place in our Regard; and indeed they are often beholding to one another; and an obſerving Man will eaſily diſcern a great deal of Mutual Aſſiſtance, and a very good Underſtand-

ing between them. We muſt take care then to diſcharge our part to Both, but Both do not challenge our Reſpects alike. For the Preference is abundantly on the ſide of Induſtry; for according to that old Motto, * *Virtue ſhould lead, and Fortune go along with us.*

8. There is yet one neceſſary Caution behind, which is, In all our Behaviour to act with Diſcretion. For This ſeaſons every Action, and gives it an agreeable Reliſh. Now Diſcretion is not any One Particular Quality, but a Large and Comprehenſive Virtue; that mingles with every part of our Duty. Indiſcretion ſpoils all; and the very beſt Actions, if tainted with it, loſe all their Beauty, and Commendation. If a Man deſign an Act of Beneficence or Charity, This is neceſſary to direct it; for neither all Kindneſſes are fit to be done; nor all ſorts of Perſons fit to receive them. If a Man would vindicate or excuſe himſelf, he muſt do it diſcreetly; for there are ſome ways of Apologizing, which in effect are Bills of Indictment againſt one's Self; and increaſe the Suſpicion, inſtead of clearing our Innocence. If a Man would pay Civilities, and appear courteous and well-bred; he muſt diſtinguiſh and moderate himſelf here too; otherwiſe he will run into the Exceſs of Foppery and Affectation; or degenerate into Clowniſh Rudeneſs; and the ſame may be ſaid of Offering, or Accepting, or any other Inſtance of Courteſy and Converſation; or indeed of Virtue in general; for without this Prudence, and diſcreet Managery, even Virtue, and the beſt Intentions, can never recommend, nay, can ſcarce juſtify themſelves to the Spectators.

* Virtute duce, comite Fortunâ.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Fruits, or Good Effects of Wiſdom.

The Firſt,

Living in a conſtant Readineſs for Death.

THE Day of our Death is the Principal and moſt Important, of any that belongs to us; That which gives the finiſhing Stroke, and fixes the Character upon all the reſt; for indeed all the Actions of our whole Life muſt be ſubmitted to this Teſt. This is moſt truly what we commonly call it, *The Great Trial*; The Eſſay, that diſtinguiſhes our Alloy and True Standard; and it is in the good Succeſs of this Trial, that we are to expect the greateſt Fruit of all our Studies. In order to make a true Judgment of Life, we muſt of neceſſity inform our ſelves what ſort of Concluſion it hath; For the End compleats and crowns the Work; and as a Good Death is an Honour to our whole Life, ſo an Ill one caſts back Infamy, and ſullies all that went before. You can never give a Juſt Character of the Player, till his Part be at an End; and the Caſe of Common Life is ſo far the ſame, that the Management of the Laſt Act is incomparably the moſt difficult of any, that belongs to either of them. *Epaminondas*, one of the Braveſt Men that ever *Greece* bred, when his Opinion was asked, To which of the Three, he thought the Preference due, *Chabrias*, *Iphicrates*, or Himſelf; made anſwer, That this was a Queſtion incapable of being reſolved; For (ſays he) the Man that would determine juſtly of ſuch a Competition

1. *The Day of Death.*

tition for Honour, muſt ſtay till he hath ſeen how we all Three dye. The Reaſon is evident; becauſe every other Action of a Man's Life is capable of Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation; but in this Laſt Scene alone All is Natural, and no room left for Counterfeit or Diſguiſe.

* *For then Mens Words will with their Thoughts agree;*
And, all the Mask pull'd off, ſhew what they be.
Creech.

Fortune in truth ſeems to way-lay us here; to drive us upon this as her laſt Reſerve; to make the utmoſt Effort upon our Virtue; and in one moment overturn all that Character and Credit, which we have for many Years with infinite Toil, and Anxiety, been ſetting up. Oh what a Triumph it would be then, to make a Man expire with *Laberius* his Exclamation; † *I have lived this one day more, than it was for my Honour and Advantage to have lived!* So truly as well as wiſely, ſo every way worthy of *Solon*, was that Obſervation made to *Cræſus*, which one of the Poets hath illuſtrated thus:

∴ ——*Man muſt cenſured be by his Laſt Hour,*
Whom truly we can never Happy call,
Before his Death, and cloſing Funeral. Sandys.

'Tis without all diſpute a moſt Excellent Attain-

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* Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur Perſona, manet Res. *Lucret. Lib.* 3.

† Nimirum hâc die unâ plus vixi mihi, quàm vivendum fuit.

∴ ——Scilicet ultima ſemper
Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, ſupremaque funera debet.

ment,

ment, to have learnt how to dye: It is the Study of true Wiſdom, and that in which all its Rules, and all its Labours determine: He that hath laid out his whole Life upon it, hath put it to no ill uſe; and He, who among all the reſt of his Qualifications is not Maſter of This, hath thrown away all his Time and Pains to no manner of purpoſe. *That Man can never Live well, who knows not how to Dye well; and he hath lived to very good purpoſe, who makes a happy End,* (ſays *Seneca.*) A Man can no more govern and direct his Actions as he ought, who does not keep Death in his Eye; than an Archer can ſhoot well, who never looks at the Mark. In one word, The Art of Dying as becomes us, is the Art of Liberty, and an Eaſy Mind; the way to get above all Fear, and to live in perfect Happineſs and Tranquility; Without this there is no Pleaſure in Life; it is impoſſible indeed there ſhould; for who can enjoy That with Peace and Satisfaction, which he eſteems moſt valuable and dear, and is tormented with perpetual anxious Fear of loſing every Moment?

2. *Of knowing how to dye.*

Now the Firſt and Principal Step toward this, is to make it our Care and conſtant Endeavour, that our Vices may dye before us; and then our next Care muſt be, to live in conſtant Readineſs and Expectation of dying our ſelves. Who can expreſs the happy Condition of that Man, who hath husbanded his Talent, and finiſhed the Buſineſs of Life, before Death approach to interrupt him? So that when he comes to dye, he hath nothing elſe to do but to dye; no occaſion to ask longer time; no farther Buſineſs for this Body; no need of any thing; but can walk out of the World, pleaſed and ſatisfied, like a Gueſt after a full Meal: All this I take to be comprehended in the Notion of our being always in a Readineſs for Death: There remains yet One Qualification more to be attained, which is the being Willing, as well as Ready; for no Man dies well, who

3.

who goes out of the World with ſuch Loathneſs and Reluctancy, that it is mere matter of Conſtraint; and plain, he would fain, but cannot, ſtay here any longer.

4. *Five Sorts of Behaviour with regard to Death.*

The ſeveral Sentiments and Sorts of Behaviour, which Men are capable of with regard to Death, may, in my Opinion, be reduced to theſe Five that follow:

1. They may Fear and Avoid it, as the Laſt and greateſt Evil.

2. They may expect and wait for it with great Eaſineſs, and Patience, and Reſignation of Mind, as for a Thing which they look upon as Natural, Unavoidable, and not only Neceſſary, but alſo Reaſonable to be undergone.

3. They may deſpiſe it, as a Matter Indifferent, and of no great Concern to them.

4. They may wiſh for it, pray for it, make toward it, as the only Safe Harbour which can give them Reſt and Protection from the Troubles of This Life; nay, as that which will not only be a Deliverance, but a Happineſs; a mighty Advantage, as well as a perfect Security.

5. They may bring it upon Themſelves.

Now, if we examine theſe Particulars, the Second, Third, and Fourth will appear Commendable and Good; the Thoughts and Reſentments of a Virtuous and a Judicious Mind; though it muſt be allowed, that as they differ from each other, ſo they are expected to move and affect the Man differently, according to his preſent Circumſtances. For All of them are not commendable equally, and at all times. But for the Firſt and Laſt, they never are or can be ſo at all; as being the Vicious Extremes of Weakneſs and Want of Virtue; for how different ſoever the Effects may appear, This is the ſame common Cauſe of them both. I ſhall enlarge a little, and

and try to illuſtrate each of theſe Particulars, in this Chapter.

The Firſt is what no underſtanding Perſon hath ever pretended to approve, though indeed it be the Practice (the Failing I ought to ſay,) of almoſt all the World. And what can be a greater Reproach? what a more undeniable Evidence of the Weakneſs of Mankind, than that Every body in a manner ſhould be guilty of That, which No body dares undertake to defend? But on the contrary, againſt Thoſe, who labour under this painful Folly, in Tenderneſs for Themſelves; or are thus concerned upon the account of Others, we can never want Plenty of Arguments. Among others, Theſe following Conſiderations may perhaps do ſomething toward ſoftning the Approach of our own Death, or that of our Friends to us. There is not in the World any Calamity, which Mortals have ſuch amazing Notions, and live in ſuch conſtant Terror of, as Death; and yet it is very evident, there is nothing they call a Misfortune, dreaded upon ſuch Poor, ſuch Inſignificant Grounds; nay, I muſt revoke thoſe words, *Dreading* and *Misfortune* too; and dare venture to affirm, there is not any thing which ought to be received with greater Satisfaction, and a more reſolved Mind. So that we muſt be forced to confeſs, in deſpight of all the Sophiſtry of Fleſh and Blood to the contrary, that This is a mere Vulgar Error; Opinion hath charm'd and captivated all the World; for Reaſon hath no hand at all in it. We take it upon truſt from the Ignorant and Unthinking Multitude; and believe it a very great Evil, becauſe They tell us ſo; but when Wiſdom aſſures us, that it is a Deliverance and ſure Repoſe from all the Evils that can poſſibly befall us; the only Haven where we can lye ſafely, after the Waves and Storms of a Troubleſome Toſſing World, we turn the deaf Ear, and believe not one word ſhe can ſay.

5. *Fear of Death.*

The effect of vain Opinion.

ſay. Thus much is certain: Death, when actually preſent, never did any body hurt; and none of thoſe many Millions, who have made the Experiment, and now know what it is, have made any Complaints of this nature concerning it. If then Death muſt be called an Evil, it hath this to ſay in its own Vindication; That of all the Evils which are, or ever were in the World, This is the only one that does no body harm; and in truth, the mighty Dread of it proceeds merely from ghaſtly and monſtrous Ideas, which Men's vain Imaginations form of it at a diſtance. There is nothing of Foundation or Reality at the bottom: 'tis all Opinion and Fancy; nay, 'tis the very Inſtance, in which Opinion pretends moſt to ſet up againſt Reaſon; and attempts to fright us out of our Wits, by ſhewing the hideous Vizor of Death: For, Reaſon to fear it there can be none, becauſe we are ſo perfectly ignorant what it is. How Unaccountable is our Concern, how almoſt Impoſſible indeed, for a Thing, of which we have little or no Notion? Upon which account, He, who had *Apollo*'s Teſtimony for the Wiſeſt Man living, ſaid, that To fear Death, was to pretend to be more knowing than one really was; and a vain Affectation of Wiſdom; for it was to make the World believe a Man underſtands a thing, which neither He, nor any body elſe underſtands: And we find, that this was his real Senſe, by the Teſtimony his Practice gave to it. For when his Friends importuned him to plead for his Life, and juſtify himſelf againſt the Calumnies of his Accuſers, the Addreſs he made upon that Occaſion, we are told, was to this Effect.

"Gentlemen. If I ſhould make it my requeſt, "That you would not put me to Death, I am un- "der ſome apprehenſions of asking a Puniſhment, "inſtead of a Favour; and ſuing to my own Diſ- "advantage. For I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, I do

"not

" not at all know what it is to Die; nor what Good " or Ill is conſequent upon it. They who fear " Death muſt in reaſon preſuppoſe ſome Notices of " it, for my own part, I declare I have none; nor " can I tell at all, either what ſort of Paſſage that " is, which leads into the other World; or how " Matters ſtand there; ſo that for ought I know to " the contrary, both the One and the Other, the " Condition and the Way to it, may be exceeding " Deſirable, and full of Felicity. As for thoſe " things, which I know to be Evil, ſuch as Inju- " ſtice and Wrong, I have the greateſt abhorrence " of them, and avoid them with all poſſible Cir- " cumſpection and Care; But for ſuch as I know " nothing of, I know as little how to Hate, or to " Fear them. Now Death I own is one of Theſe; " and therefore, Gentlemen, I leave the Matter " wholly to You. For really I cannot be ſatisfied, " whether is beſt for me; to Die or not to Die; " and therefore I hope you will Order what is " really beſt; and I am perfectly content you " ſhould determine and diſpoſe of me, as you think " fit.

6. Of Weakneſs.

And why this mighty Trouble and Concern upon the account of Death? This in the Firſt Place is moſt deſpicable Weakneſs, and ſcandalous Cowardice. The mereſt Woman, the moſt tender-hearted Wretch alive can Compoſe her ſelf in a few Days, and put an End to the juſteſt Paſſion, for the Loſs of a Husband, or a Child; and what a Diſparagement is it to Reaſon, and Wiſdom, that They ſhould not effect that preſently, which in a little while will do it ſelf? The moſt Ignorant and poor Spirited Man alive can do it with the help of Time; And why ſhould not a Wiſe and Brave Man do it without that Advantage? For what is Wiſdom, and Reſolution, and Gallantry of Soul good for, or how ſhall we diſtinguiſh it, if it do not quicken a Man's pace, and

and render him more expert and dextrous; ſo that he ſhall be able to do Greater things, and to diſpatch them with greater eaſe and ſpeed, than Others, who are deſtitute of theſe Accompliſhments? From the ſame Weakneſs and Irreſolution it is, that the Generality of Dying Men, are never ſenſible of their laſt Hours; but ſtill flatter themſelves with Expectations of perfect Recovery, or longer Delay at leaſt; and perhaps, there is no one paſſage of our Lives comparable to this part for Cheat and Deluſion; none that equally ſooths, and amuſes us with vain hopes. Not that I aſcribe this wholly to Weakneſs neither; for poſſibly Vanity may contribute a great deal toward it. We look upon our Death, as a matter of mighty Conſequence, a ſtrange and moſt important Revolution; in which the whole World is concerned; and can ſcarce be brought to imagine, that Providence will permit a Calamity, in which all Nature muſt ſuffer, and this orderly and Beautiful Syſtem of the Univerſe End, and Periſh. So extravagant are the Notions we entertain of our Selves, and of the importance we are of to God and the World.

7. *Of Injuſtice.* Beſides all this; ſuch a Man is evidently guilty of Injuſtice. For if Death be really a Good and a Deſirable thing, Wherefore are we afraid of it? And if it be otherwiſe, Why do we make it worſe? This is to aggravate and multiply upon our ſelves the very Thing we pretend moſt to be afraid of; and to create new Pains, and Torments, which Death knows nothing of, nor would ever bring upon us. This is a Fool-hardy Madneſs, like his, who, when an Enemy had Robbed him of one part of his Goods, threw the reſt into the Sea, to ſhew how little he valued the Injury his Plunderer had done him.

8. *'Tis prejudicial to Life.* Laſtly. To Live in fear of Death is the greateſt Injury a Man can be guilty of to Himſelf; the ſpightfulleſt way of deſtroying his own Life. For

no

no Man, who hath this Dread perpetually upon him, can ever have any tolerable Enjoyment of himſelf or the World. He only lives truly free and at eaſe, who is got above the Fears of Death: And on the other hand, Life were no better than perpetual Slavery, if the Liberty of Dying were taken away. Death is in effect the only Foundation, and Support of all the Freedom we can make any Pretenſions to; The ſure, and common Retreat from all our Sufferings and Hardſhips. A Man therefore muſt needs be very wretched and uneaſy, (and yet thus wretched are almoſt all Mankind) who takes off the Quiet and Enjoyment of Life, by an anxious Concern and Fear to dye; and loſes all the Benefit of Death too, by an immoderate Fondneſs, and afflicting Solicitude for Life.

9. And yet, as full of Diſcontent as People generally are with the preſent Order and Conſtitution of Things; what loud Complaints, what Eternal Murmurings, may we very reaſonably ſuppoſe, would have filled their Mouths, if it had been otherwiſe? How would Nature and Providence have been curſed, condemned, and blaſphemed, if Men had been under a fatal Neceſſity of dwelling always here, whether they would or no; and no ſuch kind Relief, as Death is, had been provided for them? Think with your ſelf, how much more Inſupportable, how much more Grievous and Burdenſome a Life muſt needs be, without any Period aſſigned for it; than that Life we now lead, which is attended with a Neceſſity of leaving it, but of laying down the Load that oppreſſes us along with it too? To this purpoſe it is, that the Poets tell us, *Chiron* refuſed to be Immortal, when it was proffered him, upon receiving Information from the God of Time (his Father *Saturn*) what hard Conditions the Gift was clogged with. On the other hand, What would become of the World, if there were not ſomething

of Pain and Bitterneſs, which ſhould diſcourage us, and create in us ſome Averſion to Dying? There is no doubt to be made, but were it not for this Check upon our Nature, Men would run out of the World eagerly, greedily embrace Death, and upon every little Pett take Sanctuary here, without any manner of Judgment or Diſtinction, how far the Provocation ought to carry them. We muſt therefore upon ſecond Thoughts confeſs, that this Mixture is made with Diſcretion; fit to preſerve us in a due Moderation; ſo as neither to be fond of Life, nor peeviſhly weary of it; and ſo again, as neither to be afraid of Death, nor to court and haſten to it; both the One and the Other are tempered with Sweet, and allayed with Bitter; enough of the One to recommend and make it Tolerable; and ſo much of the Other too, as will keep it from being the Object of any Paſſion in Extremes. So neceſſary are the Ingredients, ſo juſt the Proportions; ſo skilful, and withal ſo tender of our Good, the Hand that mingled them.

10. Now the Remedy, which the Vulgar preſcribe againſt the Fears I have been condemning, is much too dull and ſtupid; For They adviſe a Man to baniſh all Uneaſineſſes of this kind, by ſtriving to forget the Occaſion of them, and drawing off the Mind to ſomething elſe. 'Tis upon this Account, that you find them always bid their Friends never Think of Death, and can by no means bear to hear it Named: But ſure This is for many Reaſons a very improper Preſcription. For, in the firſt place, ſuch an odd careleſs Temper as This, is ſomewhat ſo contrary to a Man of Parts and Judgment, ſomewhat ſo like a State of Thoughtleſsneſs and Inſenſibility, that none but the Ignorant and the Heavy ſeem capable of the Medicine: Application and Good Senſe cannot Doze away a Life at this rate. But if every Body could bear the Phyſick, yet what Opera-

Operation, what good Effect is to be expected from it? where would all this End at laſt, and what a miſerable Account ſhould we find when we come to the upſhot, and feel how dear this Courſe hath coſt us? For do but imagine the Condition of a Man ſurprized by Death; the Tears, the Agonies, the Groans and Lamentations, the Rage, the Deſpair, in a word, the inexpreſſible Confuſion of being ſeized all on the ſudden, by a Mercileſs, Invincible, and Unſeen Enemy. Theſe are ſuch dreadful Circumſtances, that Wiſdom ſure gives much ſafer and better Advice, in directing Men to ſtand their Ground; to face their Enemy; to obſerve his Approaches; and provide for the Combat. Nay rather indeed, to encounter him perpetually, by following a Method the direct contrary to That of the Vulgar; which is, by fixing their Eyes and Thoughts ſteadily upon Death; to converſe, and grow intimately acquainted with it; to render it gentle and tame by Familiarity and long Uſe. To carry the Idea and the ſtrongeſt Repreſentations of it that we can poſſibly form, conſtantly about with us. To harden our ſelves in the Expectation of it; and that, not only in Times of Sickneſs, and Danger, where we have reaſon to ſuſpect our Selves; but in our moſt confirmed Health; in the midſt of what we call Safety. Death ſhould not be the Companion of our black, and ſullen, and melancholy Hours only; but of our greateſt Gaieties, beſt Humour, and moſt ſolemn Entertainments and Delights. The Sawce to every Diſh; the Burden to every Song ſhould be this Reflection; That we are always in danger, ſet as fair Marks, and that Death is aiming at us; That ſeveral others have been ſnatched away, who thought themſelves as far out of the reach of his Dart, as we can ſuppoſe our ſelves to be now in the heighth of all our Jollity; That an Accident, which happen'd at One Time, or to One Perſon, may as well hap-

pen to Another: And thus we are adviſed by the Wiſeſt Men, to check our Pleaſures, and abate our blind Security, by imitating, as well as ſupplying by Theſe never unſeaſonable Meditations, that Ancient Cuſtom of the *Egyptians*, who at their Feaſts ſerved up a Death's-head; and that of Chriſtians, and other Perſuaſions too, who contrive, that their Burying-places ſhall join to their Temples, or be in ſome other Parts the moſt conſpicuous and frequented of any: The Original whereof ſeems to have been, That theſe Publick Monuments might awaken Men's Minds, and preſerve the Reflections and Remembrances of Death always freſh and vigorous. Where Death awaits us, is very uncertain; and therefore we ſhould expect to meet it every where, and every moment; and make ſuch conſtant and ſure Proviſion againſt its coming, that let it ſteal upon us never ſo Cunningly, never ſo Suddenly, it may find us always in readineſs. This is no ſuch mortifying Exerciſe, as ſome fondly imagine; quite otherwiſe, it rather ſweetens Life, and recommends its Enjoyments, by ſetting us above the Fears, and Diſappointments, and amazing Terrors, which Worldly and Senſual Men feel and labour under. It abates our Loſſes, by foreſeeing and preparing for them; and it doubles our Advantages, by looking upon them, as Clear Gains, and adding a pleaſing ſort of Surprize to the Fruition. Thus the Poet very juſtly hath obſerved to his Friend:

* *While 'midſt ſtrong Hopes and Fears thy Time doth waſte,*
Think every Riſing Sun will be thy laſt.
And ſo the grateful unexpected Hour
Of Life prolong'd, when come, will pleaſe thee more.

Creech.

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* Omnem crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum,
Grata ſuperveniet, quæ non ſperabitur, Hora. *Hor. Lib.* 1. *Ep.*4.

But,

But, that we may not be thought guilty of Injuſtice, in condemning People unheard; let us examine a little into the Grievances they complain of, and the Excuſes they make for themſelves upon this occaſion; and then it will appear, how frivolous and fooliſh all the Apologies are, by which they would palliate their Fears, and put ſome ſpecious Colour upon their Melancholy Apprehenſions. And here you may obſerve throughout, that Men are generally aſhamed to own their being afraid to dye, ſimply conſidered; and therefore they bethink themſelves of ſome ſad aggravating Circumſtance or other; by which they hope to juſtify their uneaſy Dread for themſelves, or their inordinate Grief for their Friends, who have been taken from them. 10.

The Firſt of theſe is Dying Young; and This they think a very lamentable Caſe; for what Reflection can be more diſturbing, than that Death ſhould ſnatch them rudely before their Time; that he ſhould crop this lovely Fruit, while green, and in the Bud; and mow down the Glory of the Field, before it was ripe for the Sickle? This indeed is a Complaint moſt uſual, and moſt becoming Mean and Vulgar Souls, who meaſure every thing by the Length; and count nothing valuable, but that which laſts a great while: Whereas on the Contrary, we find, that Things rare, and excellent, and exquiſite in their kind, are generally the moſt fine, and ſubtle, and ſubject to Diſſolution and Decay. 'Tis eſteemed a Maſter-piece in Art, to contract a great deal into a narrow room; and God and Nature have ſo far taken the ſame Method in their choiceſt Pieces, that a Man would almoſt think it a Fate upon Extraordinary Perſons to be ſhort-liv'd. Eminent Virtue, Great Parts and Attainments, and Old Age very ſeldom meet together. But the ſolid Comfort is, that the true Eſtimate of Life is to be taken from its Uſe and End; and if it be well employed and well 1.

finiſhed, all the reſt hath its due proportion. Years are good for nothing but to make a larger Sum; nor does the Number of them contribute one whit to the rendring Life more or leſs Happy, more or leſs Deſirable. But the ſhorteſt Term is capable of Virtue and Felicity, and hath its proper Perfections, which are no more increaſed by Quantity, than the Largeneſs of the Circumference makes the Perfection of a Circle: The Leaſt Round is as truly ſo as the Greateſt; and as the Figure in Lines, ſo the Quality and Manner in Life, does all. A Man of ſmall Limbs and Low Stature, is as truly a Man, as the Talleſt Giant that ever Story deſcribed; and to be ſhort, neither Men nor their Lives are to be Eſtimated by their Bulk and Length; but by having All their Parts entire, and every Qualification requiſite or poſſible to the Condition of their Nature.

2. Another could be well enough content to Die, but to do this in a remote Country, at a diſtance from all his Relations; to be cut off with a Violent Death, and have his Carkaſs lie Unburied, and ſtink above ground; This is what he cannot bear; and ſure every body muſt allow ſuch a Death to have a world of Horror in it, in compariſon of that gentle and eaſy Paſſage which Thoſe have, who dye in Peace and Quietneſs; by the ſlow and gradual Decays of Age, or ſuch as we call dying a Natural Death at leaſt, decently and in their Beds; with their Relations and Friends about them; taking and giving the Laſt ſolemn Ceremonies of Parting; Comforting Thoſe they leave behind, and receiving Support, and Aſſiſtance, and Conſolation from them. Now how Reaſonable or Natural ſoever theſe Notions may ſeem, 'tis evident all Mankind are not of the ſame Opinion. How many Brave Men do we ſee every day, who follow the Wars, and contend for the Poſt of Honour in the Engagement, without any of theſe tender Thoughts? They put them-

themſelves in the way of Dying, when Life and Vigour are at their higheſt pitch; they go into a Foreign Land for Graves, and think the Heaps of Slain, and the Throng of Fallen Enemies the nobleſt Monument; ſo far are They from grieving that They cannot Lie among their Family and their Friends. And as for the Terrors of a Violent Death, they are exceeding Childiſh and Vain; and would eaſily be cured, could we prevail with our Selves to ſee Things as they are. For, as little Children Cry and Tremble at Men in Vizors, but are preſently quiet and lay aſide their Fears, aſſoon as you uncover their Faces; ſo it is here. Remember then, Man, That Fire, and Sword, and all other Inſtruments of Violence, and Caſualties, and ſurprizing Aggravations of this kind are only the hideous Diſguiſe of Death; a Vizor put on to affright us; but all this Effect is owing to the diſmal Idea's we form to our Selves; for take but off this Mask, and you will find that Death is always one and the ſame. And he, who Dyes in Battel, or is Burnt in his Bed; he that falls in an inſtant by the hand of an Executioner, and he that Expires upon a Rack, meet all in the ſelf-ſame State, though they do not come to it the ſame way, and dye the very Death that Women and Children, and all that ſeem to us to Depart in the Eaſieſt, Gentleſt, and moſt Peaceable manner, Dye. The Difference lies only in the Pomp, and Noiſe, the Preparation and Prefacing of Death; but let the Ceremonies be what they will, in the Subſtance and Thing it ſelf, there neither is, nor can be any Difference at all.

Another ſore Grievance is their Concern to leave the World. But what occaſion of Grief is there in This? Alas! here is nothing new; all your Curioſity hath been ſatisfied over and over; and You have ſeen all that is to be ſeen already. Each Day is equal and exactly alike to every other Day. Four and twenty 3.

Hours brings the World round, the ſame Succeſſion of Light and Darkneſs: There is no freſh Sun to be Lighted up, nor any other Courſe or Revolution, than what Nature hath Travelled in from the very Beginning. But put the longeſt Period the thing can bear, and One Year is ſure to preſent you with all the Viciſſitudes: In the Change of theſe Seaſons you ſee the ſeveral Stages of the World and your own Life; The Sprightlineſs of Infancy, and a new Born Univerſe in the Spring; The Gay and Chearful Youth of Summer; The Maturity and Manhood of Autumn; and the Decrepit Age, the Decays and Deformity of a dying World in Winter. All the Trick is to play this Farce over again, and begin where this time Twelvemonth we left off. So that they who Live longer, do not ſee any more Objects than Others; but only more of the ſame Objects oftener repeated to them.

4. But Friends and Relations are very dear to us, and it is a hard thing to part with Theſe. Never fear, Man, thou wilt find a great many of thy Family and Acquaintance in the Place whither thou art going. Thou art rather parted from thy Friends, here at preſent; for the Number of Thoſe thou leaveſt behind, is not comparable to Thoſe thou wilt meet in another World. Thy Acquaintance will be infinitely increaſed, and abundance of thy Kindred are there, whom yet thou haſt never ſeen. All, who were too Little, or too Great; too Remote, or too much before thy Time, to be known and taken notice of here. And as for Thoſe, whoſe Correſpondence is ſweet and valuable now, remember that the Separation is like to be very ſhort; for They too are Travelling the ſame Road, and follow Thee apace to thy Journies End.

5. Oh! but a Man hath a Family of Dear Pretty Children, and what will become of Theſe poor Orphans? What a World of Difficulties muſt all this ſweet

ſweet Innocence ſtruggle with? How will They be Expoſed for want of a Parent's Care? What a Prey will They be made, if They have Fortunes? And if They have none, How will They be Supported, or where will They find the Kindneſs of Inſpection and Good Advice? For They who are Deſtitute of a Competence, and ſtand moſt in need of Friends, are leaſt likely to have Their Aſſiſtance. This is ſurely, a very cutting Conſideration, a natural Anxiety, and a neceſſary Conſequence of thoſe Tender Regards thought due to a Man's Poſterity.

But, hark you my Friend; conſider again, whoſe Children Theſe are; Are They not God's as well as Yours? Nay, Are They not His a great deal more than Yours? He hath an Original Right in them; He is Their True, Their Firſt Father; You are only ſo in a ſubordinate Senſe; as One who by his Permiſſion were an Inſtrumental Cauſe of Their Being. He is able to Provide for his own Family; never fear it; All Your Care without His Bleſſing is Vain and of no Significance while you Live; but though His Aſſiſtance be neceſſary to You; Yours is not in any degree ſo to Him. He will feel no Difficulty at all in Suſtaining Theſe Orphans, when You are taken from Them. Every Condition, and all Times are equal to Omnipotence. And if You cannot queſtion His Power, Have You any pretence to doubt His Diſpoſition? You have daily Experience of This; They Subſiſt by His Bounty, even now; His Bowels are not leſs Tender than Yours; and as He is more truly and properly, ſo is he a more, Infinitely more Affectionate Father to Them, than Your ſelf are; It is moſt abſurd to think, that You can either Do, or Wiſh better for Them, than He. Nay, if upon any other Conſideration ſuch an Imagination could be endured, yet even common Experience contradicts it. Do but obſerve the Circumſtances of ſuch as ſeem to be left entirely upon Providence;

dence; deſtitute of all Human Advantages; and you ſhall find more thriving Men in the World, more that have been raiſed to great Honours, and eminent Poſts, and plentiful Fortunes, who have had nothing but His Favour, and their Own Induſtry to depend upon, than Others, who begun upon good Funds, and thought They might reaſonably promiſe Themſelves much greater Succeſs. So particularly, ſo viſibly, is He the Father of the Fatherleſs.

6. But it may be you are afraid to venture into this dark Place all alone. Never trouble your ſelf; you need not fear a Solitary Journey. That Road is always very full of Company. There are abundance of Men, that Dye when you do; nay more than you can imagine, ſet out the very ſame Hour with You.

7. To be ſhort, You are going to a place, where you ſhall be ſure never to grudge at the Loſs of this Life. For what room, what pretence can there be for any ſuch Diſcontent? If a Man, who hath felt all the Troubles of Life, had it in his Choice, whether he would live the ſame over again; without all Controverſy he would refuſe it. And, if before one is firſt called into Being he could See and Know what he is going about, he would rather chuſe to ſleep ſtill in Non-entity. * *Were People throughly acquainted with the Conditions, and Incumbrances of Living, no body* (ſays a Wiſe-man) *would accept Life upon thoſe Terms.* What ground of Diſſatisfaction then can occur to Them who have felt and ſuffered under Theſe? What Temptation can They have to wiſh a Second Torment, or to repine, that Their Firſt was not of a longer Continuance? The Old Philoſophers fixed upon this Argument for Comfort, and thought it an irrefragable one. Either we are Nothing at all after Death, or we are in a much better State than at Preſent; and Either way we

* Vitam nemo acciperet, ſi daretur Scientibus.

have

have Reaſon to be well Content to Dye, becauſe Either way Death puts an End to all our Suffering and Pain. "There is, I confeſs a great Alteration in "the Caſe, when we come to conſider the matter as "Chriſtians; becauſe thus we are aſſured that there "is a State, infinitely Worſe than the moſt exqui-"ſite, and moſt durable Miſeries of this Life. But "then This is what we have fair warning of, and "may avoid if we pleaſe. A Chriſtian who Lives "as he ought, is better fortified with Arguments "againſt the Fear of Death, than any Other Perſon "can be. And They who will not Live ſo, have no "reaſon to repine; for even thus, the ſhorter the "Life, the leſs Meaſure of Their Iniquities; and "the Damn'd Themſelves would not wiſh to Live "again, but upon a ſuppoſition, that they ſhould "Live better than before. But be that State to "which Death turns ſuch Men over never ſo dread-"ful, yet ſince this is a Miſery of their own making, "it comes not within the compaſs of our preſent "Argument, which only undertakes to ſhew, That "Death hath nothing formidable, ſo far as Nature "and Providence are concerned in it. And That comes to thus much, and no more. You came out of Death, that is, out of a State of Inſenſibility, into Life, a Scene of Buſineſs and Action; and this you did without any Horror, or Paſſion, or the leaſt Diſorder; You are now going back again into the Former Condition of Sleep and Inactivity. Travel then the way you came, with the ſame unconcernedneſs you did before. For after all, * *What mighty Calamity can it be to return from whence you came*, and where you lay hid for many Ages?

It may be the Gaſtlineſs of Death affrights you, 8.
becauſe Dying Perſons make but a very ill Figure.

* Reverti unde veneris quid grave eſt?

'Tis

'Tis true, You ſee their Countenance diſcompoſed, their Features diſtorted with Convulſions, and all their Body ſtruggling and labouring under Agonies and Pains. But all This is only that ugly Vizor, which (as I ſaid before) Death puts on to ſcare us; it is not Death it ſelf in its own Natural Viſage; for That hath nothing of Horror or Deformity, but is all Quietneſs and Compoſure. We ſend our Senſes and Paſſions out to diſcover this unknown Land; and They, like cowardly Spies, bring us an ill Report of the Countrey. They never penetrated far enough to get true Intelligence; they ſpeak nothing of their own Knowledge, but make a Report only from the common Rumour of Ignorant People, and their own Fears.

9. But it ſnatches ſo many things away from Us, or rather it takes us away from Them; nay, takes us away from our Selves, removes us from all that we have been ſo long acquainted with, and accuſtomed to, and puts us in a State of Darkneſs and Horror; ſuch as we have no knowledge of; and from this Condition of Light, ſhuts us up in Eternal Night: In a word, It is our End, the Ruin, the Diſſolution of our Perſons. Theſe are the cutting Conſiderations, which Men aggravate to Themſelves, and magnify the terrible Ideas. To all which we may return a ſufficient Anſwer in one word; by ſaying, That Death being the neceſſary Law and Condition of Human Nature, from which there is no poſſibility of an Eſcape (as will be ſhewn hereafter) it is to no purpoſe to diſpute, or create theſe Uneaſineſſes to our own Minds; and wretchedly fooliſh, to torment our ſelves with Fears of a Thing, which there is no getting quit of. Things that are doubtful and contingent may be a proper Object of Fear; but for thoſe that are fixed and irreverſible, we have nothing to do but to ſit down, and expect, and prepare to meet them. But waving That, I rather chuſe to obſerve

ſerve at preſent, how extremely miſtaken theſe Men are in their Account; For the Matter is in very Truth, the direct Reverſe of all the terrible Repreſentations theſe Perſons form to themſelves. For Death, inſtead of taking away from us all that is valuable and dear, puts into our Poſſeſſion all we are capable of receiving; Inſtead of taking us from our Selves, it enlarges us from our Confinement, and reſtores our Souls to perfect Liberty, and true Enjoyment: Inſtead of locking us up in the dark, it ſets us in the cleareſt and brighteſt Light; and ſerves us as we uſe to deal by the beſt Fruits, when we take off the Skin, or Shell, or other Covering, that ſo we may ſee, and uſe them, and taſte their Natural Excellence. It removes us out of a ſtreight, inconvenient Dwelling, from a Dark, and Rheumatick, and Diſeaſed Place, where we can ſee but a very little Spot of Heaven, and only receive Light by Reflection, and at a vaſt diſtance, through Two little Holes of our Eyes; into a Region of abſolute Liberty, confirmed and uninterrupted Health; perpetual and inceſſant Light, a Sun that never ſets, and Endleſs Day without any gloomy Intervals: * A Place where our Faculties ſhall be enlarged, and all Heaven will diſplay it ſelf to us; where we ſhall not only ſee Light, but dwell with it in its own proper Sphere. In a word, It delivers us from the very Thing we dread moſt, by making us Immortal, and putting a final and full Concluſion to that Death, which took place from the Inſtant we came into the World, and was finiſhed at our Paſſage into Eternity. † For the Day we have ſuch

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* Æqualiter tibi ſplendebit omne Cœli latus. Totam lucem ſuo loco prope totus aſpicies: quam nunc per anguſtiſſimas oculorum Vias procul intueris & miraris.

† Dies iſte, quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni natalis eſt.

dreadful

dreadful Apprehenſions of, as if it were to be our Laſt, is really our Firſt, the joyful Birthday into a Life, which can never have an End.

12. We come now to conſider the Second Sort of Reſentment, which Men are affected with, upon the account of Death; which is, Waiting for, and entertaining it with contented and chearful Minds, when it comes. This is indeed the Quality of a Good, a Gentle, and well-governed Spirit; and the Practice of it is peculiar to a plain, eaſy way of living; and to Perſons, who, as they make the beſt of Life, and enjoy the Quiet of it, ſo know very well how to eſteem it as it deſerves; but ſtill they make Reaſon the Standard of all their Affections and Actions; and, as they are well ſatisfied to ſtay here, ſo they readily obey, when Providence thinks fit to call them out of the World. This is a Medium very juſtly tempered, a Maſterly Greatneſs of Soul; and ſuch an Indifference to all here below, as a Life of Retirement and Peace ſeems beſt qualified for; and the Two Extremes between which it lies, are Deſiring and Dreading; Courting and Running away from Death; according to that of the Poet:

* *With Courage firm, and Soul ſedate,*
Attend the Motions of thy Fate;
And whether Death be far or near,
Live free from eager Wiſh, and anxious Fear.

Now theſe Extremes, except there be ſome very particular and uncommon Reaſon to give them countenance, are both of them Vicious and exceeding blameable; and when I come hereafter to ſpeak of this Matter in its proper place, you will ſee, that nothing leſs than a very extraordinary Cauſe can render

* Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

them

them ſo much as excuſable. To deſire and purſue Death is very criminal; for it is very unjuſt to throw away one's Life without a ſufficient Reaſon; it is ſpightful to the World, and injurious to our Friends, to grudge them the longer Uſe and Continuance of a thing, which may be ſerviceable to them: It is the blackeſt Ingratitude to God and Nature, thus to ſlight, and throw back again, the beſt and moſt valuable Preſent they can make us; as if it were a Trifle, or a Burden, not worth our keeping: It ſavours too much of Peeviſhneſs, and Pride; and ſhews us humourſome and difficult, when we cannot be eaſy, and bear the Lot that falls to our ſhare; but will needs quit our hands of the Station God hath called us to, when there is nothing extraordinary to render it cumberſome. And on the other hand, to fear and flee Death, when ſummoned to it, is an Offence againſt Nature, Juſtice, Reaſon, and every Branch of our Duty; ſince Dying is Natural, Neceſſary, and Unavoidable; Reaſonable and Juſt.

13. *Dying is Natural.*

Firſt, It is Natural; it is a part of that Great Scheme, by which the Order of the Univerſe is eſtabliſhed and maintained, and the whole World lives and ſubſiſts. And who are We, that all this Regularity ſhould be broken, and a new Syſtem contrived in Our Favour? Death is really one of the Principal and moſt Material Articles in the Conſtitution, and Adminiſtration of this vaſt Republick; and of infinite Uſe and Advantage it is, for determining the Continuance, and promoting a Conſtant Succeſſion of the Works of Nature. The Failure of Life in One Inſtance propagates it afreſh in a Thouſand others.

* *Thus Life and Death ſucceſſive keep their round,*
Things dye to live, and by decays abound.

* Sic Rerum Summa novatur.

But

But, which comes nearer home, Death is not only a part of this Great Complex and Univerſal Nature; but of thy Own Nature in particular; and That every whit as eſſential a part, as that Birth which gave Thee Life. So that in cheriſhing an Averſion, and running away from This, thou attempteſt to flee from thy own ſelf. Thy Being is divided equally between Death and Life; Theſe are the Two Proprietors, and each claims a ſhare, and hath an indefeaſible Right in every one of us. Theſe are the Terms, upon which Thou wer't created, and Life was given with a Purpoſe, and upon Condition of being taken away; rather indeed it was only lent, and, like all other Truſts or Debts, muſt be demanded back, and may be called in at pleaſure. If then the Thoughts of Dying diſcontent Thee, conſider, that the Hardſhip does not lye here; but carry thy Reflections higher, and be concerned that ever thou waſt born. For, either there is no cauſe of Repining in either caſe, or elſe the Ground of all the Complaint lies in having lived at all. You had Neighbours Fare, and purchaſed Life at the Market Price; which is, The laying it down again; no body hath it cheaper; and therefore they who do not like the Bargain, and are loth to go out again, ſhould have refuſed at firſt, and never come into the World at all. But this is what Men, were they capable of ſuch a Choice, would never do, if their Fondneſs of Life be ſo exceſſively great. The Firſt Breath you drew bound you faſt; and all the Advances you made toward a more perfect Life, were ſo many Steps toward Death at the ſame time.

† *Aſſoon as born we dye; and our Live's End*
Upon its firſt Beginning does depend. Manil. Aſt. 4.

† Naſcentes morimur, finiſque ab origine pendet.

To

To be concerned then, that we muſt Dye; is to be concerned that we are Men, for every one that is ſo, is Mortal. And upon the ſtrength of this Impreſſion it was, that a Wiſe Man, when the News of his Son's Death was brought him, received it with all the Sedateneſs and ſeeming Unconcernedneſs that could be, and only made this calm Reply; *I knew very well that my Child was Mortal.* Since then Death is a thing ſo Natural, ſo Eſſential to all Nature in general, and contributes ſo much to the Order and Well-being of the Whole World; and ſince it is likewiſe ſo to your own Being, and the Condition of That in particular, why ſhould you conceive ſuch horrible Ideas, why hold it in ſuch irreconcilable Deteſtation? In This you act in contradiction to Nature. I allow indeed, that the Fear of Pain is very Natural, but I cannot admit the ſame Plea for the Fear of Death. For how is it poſſible, that Nature ſhould ever have infuſed into us a Principle of Hatred, and Dread, againſt an Ordinance of her own Inſtitution, and ſuch as ſhe receives ſuch a mighty Benefit from the due Execution of? And, as an inconteſtable Evidence, that ſhe does not ſo, it appears plainly, that, where Nature works entire, without any Depravation or Reſtraint, there little or no Marks of this Paſſion are to be found. Little Children, for inſtance, and Brutes, who are not capable of being corrupted with Prejudice, are ſo far from betraying any Fear of Death, that they meet it chearfully, and ſeem pleaſed to undergo it. The Gay and Smiling Countenances of theſe Creatures are enough to aſſure us, that Nature does not teach us to fear Death, but we learn That from ſome other hand. But all the Direction we have from Nature upon this occaſion, is, to expect and wait for Death; and whenever it comes, to receive it with Submiſſion and Chearfulneſs, as conſidering, that it is of Nature's ſending, and expreſs appointment.

14. *Neceſſary.* Secondly. It is neceſſary; a Sentence paſt for it, and irreverſible; and Thou who diſtracteſt thy Soul with Fears, and bewaileſt this Fate of thine, art ſatisfied at the ſame time, that there is no poſſibility of avoiding it. And what more exquiſite Folly can a Man be guilty of, than the tormenting himſelf induſtriouſly, when he knows 'tis to no purpoſe? Where do you find any Man ſo ſtupidly ſilly, to ſpend his Time and his Breath in Intreaties, and importunate Addreſſes, to One whom he knows incapable of granting, or inflexible and never to be prevailed upon for his Requeſts? Or to knock eternally at a Door, that will not, cannot be opened? And What more inexorable, more deaf to all our Supplications, than Death? If any Calamities be proper Objects of Fear, they are ſuch as are barely Contingencies; which may indeed, but may not happen too. And Thoſe that are capable of Remedy or Prevention, are fit to have our Thoughts and Care employed upon them. But Thoſe that are fix'd, and muſt come, (which is the Caſe of Death) we have nothing to do but to expect, and to provide for; and all that is to be done with that which cannot be cured, is to fortify our Souls, and reſolve to endure it. The Ignorant and Inconſiderate fear and flee from Death; The Raſh and Fool-hardy courts and purſues it; The Wiſe Man waits its Approach, and is ready to follow and obey the Summons; but neither runs away from it, nor advances to meet it. But certainly our Lamentations are very Idle and Extravagant, where they are ſure to do no Good; and ſo are our Anxieties and Fears, where there are no means of Eſcape. * *You muſt bear, and not complain, when the thing is unavoidable.* The Be-
2 Sam. xii. haviour of *David* was really very prudent; and an

* Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non poteſt.

admi-

admirable Pattern he hath ſet us in it: When his Servants informed him, that the Child, whoſe Sickneſs he had expreſs'd a moſt paſſionate Concern for, was dead; the next thing he did, was to waſh, and dreſs himſelf, and return to his ordinary way of Eating, and uſual demonſtrations of Chearfulneſs. This indeed was ſomewhat out of the common Road; and thoſe about him, who knew no better, were much aſtoniſhed at his proceeding; but the Account he gave of himſelf was ſolid and ſubſtantial; That, while the darling Infant was yet alive, and conſequently it was yet uncertain, how God would pleaſe to diſpoſe of him; he faſted, and wept, becauſe he did not know, whether his Prayers might be heard, and God would be gracious in letting the Child live: But as ſoon as he underſtood it was dead, he changed his Courſe; becauſe all Hopes of that kind were then paſt: Life could not be recall'd, nor his Tears and melancholy Humiliations be of any farther uſe in this Caſe. I know well enough, that fooliſh People have a Reply ready for all this. They will tell you, that when a Thing is beyond all Remedy, it is then the fitteſt Object of our Grief; and, that our Concern is at no time ſo ſeaſonable, as when we cannot be better than we now are. But This is the very Extremity of Senſleſsneſs; this compleats, nay doubles the Folly. It is moſt truly ſaid, * *That the greateſt Madneſs a Man can poſſibly be guilty of, is to ſtruggle and fret himſelf, when he ſees and knows all he does is in vain.* Since then the Matter now before us is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, ſo unalterably fix'd, ſo perfectly unavoidable, it is not only to no manner of purpoſe to torment our ſelves with the fear of it; but, if we would take right Meaſures, and make

* Scienter fruſtra niti extremæ dementiæ eſt.

any Profit of this Conſideration, our Method muſt be, to make a Virtue of Neceſſity; and if this grim Gueſt will come, to put on all our good Humour, and prevail with our ſelves to receive him decently, and bid him welcome. For the beſt thing we can do is to be beforehand with him. It would better become Us to make ſome Advances, and meet Death, than ſuffer It to overtake Us; and to lay hold on That, than to be ſurprized and apprehended by It.

15. *Juſt and Reaſonable.* Thirdly. It is highly agreeable to Reaſon and Juſtice, that Men ſhould dye. For what more reaſonable, than that every thing ſhould come to the place of its Final Reſt, and be ſafely depoſited, where no new Change, no freſh Removal awaits it? If Men are afraid of arriving at this Long Home, they ſhould not move towards it, but ſtand ſtill, or go back again, or get out of the Road: But none of theſe are in their Power to do. What more reaſonable again, than that you ſhould go off this Stage of the World, and make room for new Actors, and a new Scene, as your Predeceſſors made room for You? If you have plaid your Part well, you go off with Applauſe, and That ought to content you; If you have enjoyed your Self and the World, you have had a good Entertainment, enough to Satisfy and Feaſt your Appetite; and therefore you ought to riſe from Table in Good Humour. If you had not the Wit to make the beſt of Life, and all its Advantages ſlipt through your Fingers; what Loſs do you ſuſtain in parting with it? What would you do with it any longer? If you could be truſted on, ſtill the Talent would lye unimproved. Obſerve to this purpoſe the Reaſoning of the Poet.

— *If*

* ——*If Nature ſhould begin to ſpeak,*
And thus with loud Complaints our Folly check;
Fond Mortal, what's the matter thou doſt ſigh?
Why all theſe Fears, becauſe thou once muſt dye,
And once ſubmit to ſtrong Mortality?
For if the Race thou haſt already run
Was pleaſant; if with Joy thou ſaw'ſt the Sun;
If all thy Pleaſures did not paſs thy Mind,
As through a Sieve, but left ſome Sweets behind;
Why doſt thou not then like a Thankful Gueſt,
Riſe chearfully from Life's abundant Feaſt,
And with a Quiet Mind go take thy Reſt?
But if all thoſe Delights are loſt and gone,
Spilt idly all, and Life a Burthen grown;
Then why, fond Mortal, doſt thou ask for more,
Why ſtill deſire t' increaſe thy wretched Store,
And wiſh for what muſt waſte, like thoſe before?
Nor rather free thy ſelf from Pains and Fear,
And end thy Life, and neceſſary Care?

Creech, Lucret.

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* Denique ſi vocem Rerum Natura repente
Mittat, & hoc aliquoi noſtrûm ſic increpet ipſa;
Quid tibi tantopere eſt, Mortalis, quòd nimis ægris
Luctibus indulges? quid mortem congemis, ac fles?
Nam ſi grata fuit tibi Vita anteacta, priorque,
Et non omnia pertuſum congeſta quaſi in vas
Commoda perfluxere, atque ingrata interiere,
Cur non, ut plenus Vitæ conviva, recedis,
Æquo animoque capis ſecuram, Stulte, quietem?
Sin ea, quæ fructus cunque es, perière profuſa,
Vitaque in offenſu' eſt; cur amplius addere quæris,
Rurſum quod pereat male, & ingratum accidat omne;
Nec potius Vitæ finem facis, atque laboris?

Lucretius, Lib. III.

But, beſides that we are accountable for the Uſe of Life while we have it, and our Profuſeneſs does but inflame the Reckoning, the longer time we have allowed us to Miſpend it in; we muſt remember, that, according to what was urged a little before; Life it ſelf is a debt; This is as the Principal Sum put into our Hands to Traffick with, but ſuch as we ſhould always be ready to pay down upon the Nail, whenever it ſhall be called in again; and He who is the Owner and Giver may Demand it the very next Hour. How then can you Argue againſt the Condition of Your own Obligation? How can You falſify Your Truſt, and Act againſt Your Engagement, and Your Duty? It is moſt unreaſonable to Shuffle and Flinch, and Kick againſt theſe Pricks; becauſe by Death you eaſe your ſelf of a mighty Charge and Trouble; You make up your great Account, and pay in that vaſt Sum, for which you ſtood reſponſible, and which, while in your Cuſtody, was liable to great Loſs and Hazard. Dying is a general thing; Every Body does it, And can You take it Ill not to be Exempted? Do You expect to be the Single Inſtance, the Sole Reſerve from Univerſal Nature; to Enjoy a Privilege by your ſelf; a Privilege never yet ſeen nor heard of in the World? What unparallel'd Folly and Preſumptuous Madneſs is This? Or why ſhould You be afraid to go where all the World goes, where you will find innumerable Millions of Men, who have taken up their Reſidence before you come, and whither you will be followed by as great a Number afterwards? How ſingular an Affectation is this? Death is equally certain to All; and therefore it cannot be Unreaſonable, nor Unjuſt, with reſpect to You; for Equality is the firſt conſtituent part of Equity; and no Man will be forgotten or overlook'd in this Diſtribution.

* *In*

* *In the ſame Road All travel on,*
By All alike the ſame dark Journey muſt be gone.
Our Blended Lots together lye,
Mingled in one common Urn;
Sooner, or Later, out they fly, &c.

IIId. Miſcell.

16. *Contempt of Death Good, if upon a Good Account.*

The Third Reſentment I mentioned upon this occaſion is the Contempt of Death, and This is a Mark of a Brave and Generous Mind; This frequently proceeds from exalted Judgment, and ſtrength of Reaſon, and is more peculiarly the Virtue of a Publick Character, Elevated Fortune, and a Life full of Difficult and Weighty Affairs. For to Perſons in ſuch Circumſtances, many Accidents may happen, for which no Man ought to ſcruple Dying; and ſeveral Proſpects preſent themſelves, of Things ſo valuable, that they deſerve to be preferred even before Life it ſelf. Let Other matters ſucceed how they will, This at leaſt is a conſtant Rule; That a Man ought always to be fonder, and have a greater Regard for Himſelf, than for a Life led in hurry and publick Buſineſs; which ſhews him, as it were, always in a full Theatre, and expoſes him to the View and Cenſure of all the World. He muſt conſider himſelf, not only as a Spectacle, but as a Pattern to Mankind; and remember, That One of the Incumbrances of Honour and Dignity, is a neceſſary Obligation to ſhine brighter than Common Men; to render his Virtue more conſpicuous to thoſe below him; and to do Things exemplarily Good and Great, though it happen to be at the Expence of

* Omnes eodem cogimur, Omnium
Verſatur Urna: Seriùs, ocyus
Sors exitura, &c. *Horat. Od. 3. Lib. 11.*

All that the World calls Dear. To ſuch Perſons many times the ſame Methods of ſafety are denied, which private Men might make uſe of, without any reflection upon their Prudence, or their Duty. They muſt by no means ſuffer any diminution of their Honour; but when driven to a pinch, muſt Riſque and Sacrifice their Lives, and truſt the Event to Fate. The Great Man, who cannot command himſelf ſo far as to Deſpiſe Death, is not only made thereby incapable of doing any Gallant and eminently Good Action, but he lays himſelf open to more than ordinary Dangers, by this Timorous Spirit and Behaviour; and Thoſe too, ſuch Dangers, as threaten moſt, what requires his beſt care to preſerve. For while his great Concern is to preſerve his Perſon, and ſee that Life be under Covert; his Duty, his Honour, Virtue and Probity lie naked and expoſed; and run a mighty hazard for want of Courage to Protect and Stand by them. The Contempt of Death is in effect the very Principle, to which the Boldeſt and moſt Renowned Exploits are owing; the moſt daring Attempts, whether in Good or Ill Deſigns. He that hath Conquered the Fear of Death, hath nothing more left to terrify him; He hath it in his Power to do what he pleaſes; and may at any time make himſelf Maſter of Another Man's Life, becauſe he is already Maſter of his Own. And, as this Contempt is the true Source of Generoſity and undaunted Firmneſs in Action; ſo is it likewiſe the very Spirit and Life, that quickens and ſupports that Reſolution from whence they proceed. Hence Calmneſs, and Conſtancy, and Perſeverance, All the Free and Bold Determinations, by which Virtue hath expreſſed her ſelf; the Noble and Admired Sentences uttered by Celebrated Perſons, when reduced to extremity of Danger and Diſtreſs: Such as ſhine in Story, give laſting Characters to their Authors, and tranſport the Reader with Wonder and

and Delight; a very few of which, becauſe they now occur to my Mind, I take the Liberty to inſert here.

Helvidius Priſcus, having received a Meſſage from the Emperor *Veſpaſian* not to appear in the Senate; or, if he came, ſtrictly prohibiting him to interpoſe his Opinion in a Debate, which was to be moved there; ſent back word, That his Character of a Senator required his Attendance, and he ſhould not refuſe his Summons; neither ſhould he, when There, balk any thing that became him; but, if called upon to give his Judgment, would diſcharge his Conſcience, and deliver his Senſe of the Caſe freely, and without Fear or Reſerve. The Emperor provoked with what he thought Inſolence in this Reply, ſent a Second Meſſage, threatning to put him to Death, if he opened his Mouth; To which he returned thus; *Sir*, ſaid he, *Did I ever tell the Emperor that I was Immortal? His Majeſty, I ſuppoſe, will do his Pleaſure, and I will take care to do my Duty; It is in His Power to put me to Death Unjuſtly, but it is in my Own to Dye Virtuouſly and Gallantly.* The *Lacedemonians*, when *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father of *Alexander* the Great, had entred their Country with his Army, received a terrible Meſſage from him, Threatning what Severity he would uſe them with, if they did not court his Friendſhip, and ſend to make Terms with him. To which one Brisk Fellow Anſwered in behalf of the whole Republick, *What Harm can thoſe Men ſuffer who are not afraid of Death?* And upon another Diſpatch from *Philip*, telling them, That he would break all their Meaſures, and prevent the Deſigns they had formed in their own Defence; The Anſwer was, *How*, Sir, *what break all our Meaſures? No, Sure you will not pretend to hinder us from Dying? This is a Project which you cannot Defeat.* Another, when his Opinion was asked, What courſe a Man could take to live Free and Eaſy, reſolved the Doubt thus,

That

That all other Methods were ineffectual, except that One of *Deſpiſing Death.* We read of a Young Boy, who was taken Captive and Sold for a Slave, and in Diſcourſe with his Patron who had Bought him, *Sir*, ſays he, *You ſhall now ſee what a purchaſe you have; I ſhould certainly be much to blame, and guilty of great Folly, ſhould I ſubmit to Live in Slavery, when my Liberty is in my own Diſpoſal, and I can retrieve it when I pleaſe:* And with that he threw Himſelf down from the Houſe top, and was daſhed to pieces. While a Perſon was deliberating with himſelf in deep perplexity of Thought, whether he ſhould quit this Life, or not accept that Deliverance, but be content to tug on ſtill under the weight of a very heavy Calamity, which then oppreſſed him; A Wiſe Man told him, That in His Judgment the Matter under Debate was very ſmall and inconſiderable. 'For, What 'is it, ſays he, to Live? Thy Slaves, nay thy Beaſts 'and Cattel Live; but to Dye like a Man of Honour, 'and Integrity, and Wiſdom; to leave the World 'with remarkable Conſtancy and Courage, This in-'deed is a thing of moment, and worth Studying 'for. To conclude this Argument; and to crown it with the moſt complete and ſubſtantial Conſideration that can poſſibly belong to it; Our moſt Holy Religion owes more of its Succeſs in the World, and more of its Effect upon Men's Hearts and Lives, to this ſingle Principle of getting above the Fear of Death, than to any other Human Foundation whatſoever: No Man can be an excellently Good Chriſtian, who is not Reſolute and Brave; and upon this Account we find, that our Great Maſter, who beſt underſtood the Temper of his own Goſpel, does inſiſt upon taking up the Croſs; Hating and Deſpiſing Life for his ſake; not Fearing Men who can only deſtroy the Body, and the like; which are but other Expreſſions for the Contempt of Death; Theſe he inſiſts upon, I ſay, as frequently, as earneſtly,

neſtly, as upon any other Duty, or Article of Religion whatſoever.

Now we muſt underſtand, That there are many Counterfeits and Falſe Pretences to Bravery upon this Occaſion; a great many People, who look big upon the matter, and would fain perſuade the World, nay perhaps are perſuaded Themſelves, That they Deſpiſe Death, and yet are in truth afraid of it. Thus ſeveral People will tell you; They do not value Life; They would be content, nay glad to leave the World; but the Ceremony and Proceſs of Dying is what They cannot away with. Others again, while in perfect ſoundneſs of Health and Judgment, can think of Death without any Impreſſions of Horror; nay have, as They imagine, ſettled their Minds ſo, as to bear the Shock of it Firm and Unmoved; and Some have gone farther yet, and reſolved to make it their Choice, their own Act and Deed. This is a Farce very often played; inſomuch that the Soft, the Luxurious *Heliogabalus* himſelf had a Part in it; and made Sumptuous Preparations, that his Death might be as Pompous and Expenſive, as his Life had been. But when Theſe Mighty Men of Valour have come to the Puſh, their Hearts have failed; and either Courage was wanting to give the Blow, or they have repented of ſuch Hardineſs for Raſh Heat and Folly; (as *Lucius Domitius* particularly, who after he had Poyſoned himſelf, was ſorry for what he had done,) and would fain have Lived, when it was too late. Others turn away their Heads, draw their Cap over their Eyes, and dare not look Death in the Face; They think of it as little as they can; ſteal upon it, and plunge in all on the ſudden; They ſwallow it down like unpalatable Phyſick; and haſten to get to the End of that bitter Potion which goes againſt their Stomach. To this purpoſe is that ſaying of *Cæſar*, *That the Shorteſt Death is the Beſt*; and that of *Pliny*, *That a Sudden*

Sudden and Speedy Diſpatch is the greateſt good Fortune, that can happen to Man in this State of Mortality. Now no Man can truly be ſaid to have Reſolution and Courage, ſuch as is above the Fear of Death, who is afraid of facing, and coming up to it; who dares not meet, and undergo it with his Eyes open, and his Thoughts and Senſes about him. Thus we know ſeveral have done, and therefore this is no Romantick Excellence, above the Power or Capacity of Human Nature. Thus did *Socrates* particularly, who had Thirty days time to chew the Cud, and digeſt the Sentence pronounced againſt him; and yet, after all this Foreſight and Conſideration, Dyed without the leaſt Diſorder or Paſſion, without any Change in Countenance or Temper; without any ſtruggle or ſign of Reluctancy; in the moſt Calm, Compoſed, Chearful manner, that you at any other time can ſuppoſe a Man in. Thus did *Pomponius Atticus*, and *Tullius Marcellinus*, thoſe Two Gallant *Romans*; and *Cleanthes* the Philoſopher, who Dyed all Three almoſt alike. For, reſolving to Faſt Themſelves to Death, that ſo they might get rid of a very painful Diſtemper, that had made Life a Burthen; and finding their Abſtinence to prove the Beſt Phyſick, and, inſtead of Killing them, to Cure their Diſeaſe; They would not deſiſt, even upon this Recovery; but Finiſhed their Deſign; and took great Satisfaction in Obſerving the gradual Decays of Nature; and by what Steps and Methods Death gained ground upon them. Among Theſe Fearleſs Men we may reckon *Otho* and *Cato* too; who, after reſolving to Kill Themſelves, and all neceſſary Preparations made in order to it, juſt as they were going to put their Deſign in Execution, took a ſound ſleep. Thus preſerving their Spirits from any Diſorder or Confuſion, which the Proſpect of Approaching Death was no more able to caſt them into, than any trifling little Accident in

in Human Life, would Diſcompoſe a Man of Temper and Judgment.

17. *Deſire of Death.*

The Fourth Quality is the Affection of a Great and Generous, a Firm and Reſolute Mind; which hath been often, and with general Approbation practiſed, by Perſons of unqueſtionable Magnanimity, and eminent Piety. But then they have reſtrained this commendable Deſire of Death to Two particular Caſes.

The Firſt of Theſe, which ſeems moſt agreeable to Nature, and upon that account may juſtify ſuch a Deſire, is a Life of extreme Calamity and Diſtreſs, of perpetual Uneaſineſs, and exquiſite Pain; Or an Apprehenſion of ſome Death more Scandalous, more Torturing, more Inſupportable, than That which at preſent they ſhould undergo; In a word, a Condition ſo Deplorable, that there is no place left for Hope, no poſſibility of Remedy or Redreſs. Then Death is deſired as a ſure Retreat, and quiet Harbour from the Waves and Storms of a troubleſome Life; the Beſt and moſt effectual Relief for weary and waſted Nature; the only Refuge and Support of Slaves haraſſed and ill Treated; and, as the Caſe then ſtands, the ſupreme Happineſs a Man is capable of. It is, I own, an Argument of Weakneſs and Littleneſs of Soul, to ſink under Misfortunes; but it is as ſure an Inſtance of Folly, to cheriſh and be fond of them. And, in my poor Judgment, it is high time to Dye, when (all Circumſtances fairly computed,) there is a great deal more Evil than Good in Living. For, as throwing away one's Life raſhly and inconſiderately is againſt Nature, ſo likewiſe is the taking pains to Preſerve it to our own Loſs; and chuſing to Live in Miſery and Torment. When therefore Providence hath reduced us to ſuch a lamentable Condition as This, God will not ſure be Angry, that we wiſh a Releaſe. Some Perſons have run the Point ſo high,

as

as to tell you, That Men ought to Dye to avoid the Pleaſures and Temptations, which are highly agreeable to Nature; And if ſo, how much ſtronger and more cogent are the Reaſons for avoiding Pain and Grief this way, which are of all things in the World the moſt contrary to Nature? There are, in all Appearance, ſeveral Incidents in Life, worſe and much more formidable than Death: Such as a Man had better Dye than continue under; many Circumſtances, in which, if it were left to any Wiſe Man's Choice, he would infinitely rather quit the World, than ſtay longer in it; So far is Life it ſelf from being a ſufficient Compenſation for all the Evils poſſible to be endured in it. Hence it was, that when *Antipater* threaten'd a great many terrible things, and ſevere Revenge upon the *Lacedemonians* Refuſal, if they did not ſubmit preſently, and comply with the Terms he ſent them; They replied, 'That he did not yet drive them to abſolute 'Neceſſity; for if the Sufferings he threatned were 'worſe than Death, they would chuſe That, as the 'more deſirable of the Two. And it is a Saying uſual with the Philoſophers, 'That a Wiſe and a Good 'Man lives as long as it is fit he ſhould, and not as 'long as poſſibly he can: Which is the Care of thoſe only who ſacrifice their Virtue, their Reputation, their every Thing that is moſt valuable and dear, to lengthen out their Term, and gain, though it be but a little Reſpit from Death.

Again. Death is much more at Command, and in our Diſpoſal than Life is, or can be; There is but One Paſſage into the World, and our Entrance into it muſt be aſſiſted by the Will of Others; Our Ways out again are Infinite, and our Departure hence needs no Conſent, but our Own: And the more chearful and contented we are at our leaving it, the more becoming and reputable is our Exit. We may want Lands and Revenues ſufficient to main-

maintain us while Living, but no Man can want enough to receive him when Dead; This is a Freehold, which neither Poverty nor Prodigality can alienate. No Man is ſo deſpicable, but he may have the Life of any other Man at his Mercy; no Place ſo ſecure, none ſo ſtrong, as to be inacceſſible to Death; for as the *Tragedian* obſerves moſt truly;

* *Through all the ſpacious Tracts of Air, Seas, Land,*
Death, Omnipreſent Death is ſtill at hand.
The numerous Ills, that wretched Mortals wait,
Kind Heaven with Pity ſaw, and did create
This always near, this ever ſure Retreat.
Courage and Strength, Wiſdom and Virtue, All
To Vice and Cowardice a Prey may fall:
The Baſe and Weak may take our Life away,
The Strongeſt can't detain, or force its Stay.
The Privilege of Eſcape none can refuſe,
Death hath Ten thouſand plain and eaſy Avenues.

The moſt valuable Preſent, that Nature hath made us; and That which really renders all the Complaints we utter in our melancholy Moods without Excuſe, is, the Truſting us with the Outlets of Life, and leaving the Keys in our own hands. 'Why then (Vain Man) doſt thou find fault with 'the World? It detains Thee not. If thou liveſt in 'Uneaſineſs, thank thy ſelf, thy own Cowardice is 'to blame for it: For he that hath but the Reſolu-'tion to Dye, needs no more to ſet him free, and 'perfect his Deliverance.

The Second Caſe, wherein the Deſire of Death is moſt practicable and moſt commendable, is purely

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* Ubique Mors eſt; optimè hoc cavit Deus;
Eripere Vitam nemo non homini poteſt,
At Nemo Mortem. Mille ad hanc Aditus patent.
Senec. Thebais Act. 1.

Reli-

Religious; when Men have entertained ſuch ſtrong and lively Apprehenſions, and thoſe Apprehenſions have kindled ſuch eager Wiſhes, of a Future State, that Death is longed for with great Impatience; becauſe This is look'd upon as a Gain and mighty Advantage; the Seed from whence a Rich Crop ſhall ſpring up to a better Life; the Paſſage to the Seats of Bliſs, and Inlet to Full and Perfect Happineſs; the Storehouſe where We and all our Earthly Treaſures are ſafely depoſited, to be produced with vaſt Improvement at the Reſurrection. Theſe are Things of that Moment and Infinite Value to us, that a firm Belief and ſtedfaſt Hope of them is very hardly conſiſtent with the Fear and Loathneſs to dye: For ſure, if this Principle were purſued through all its Conſequences, the Effect muſt needs be, to make us diſſatisfied with Life, and weary of being confined here ſo long, and at ſo great a diſtance from our Happineſs: Life upon theſe Terms ſhould be barely ſupportable, but Death our Choice, and the Object of our Love and Deſire: To ſuch Men, Living muſt needs be a Toil, and a Burden; and Death an Eaſe and Refreſhment, after much Suffering, and hard Labour. St. *Paul*'s Declarations and Wiſhes would then be in the Hearts and Mouths of all Good Men.

Phil. i. *I deſire to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, which is far*
Rom. vii. *better. To me to dye is Gain.* And, *Oh wretched Man, who ſhall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* Of ſuch Efficacy, I ſay, in all Reaſon muſt theſe Expectations be, when duly cheriſhed and enforc'd: And I cannot but acknowledge thoſe Reproaches upon ſome Philoſophers and Chriſtians, both Ancient and Modern, to have a great deal of Juſtice in them; whom Men called Hypocrites, and Publick Impoſtors. For what better Notions can be entertained of Perſons profuſe in the Proofs of an Immortal State, and in the Glorious Commendations of a Bliſs inexpreſſible in the Life to come; and yet at

at the ſame time, Pale and Shivering for Fear, declining Death by all poſſible Means, and trembling at the very Mention of its Approach; though this very Thing, to which they are ſo exceeding averſe, is confeſs'd to be the Paſſage into their ſo much admired Eternity; the only Method of putting them into actual Poſſeſſion of thoſe Joys, the very Hope and Reverſion whereof they pretend to value above this whole World?

8. *Killing ones ſelf.*

The Fifth and laſt Particular mention'd upon This Occaſion, is only a Putting in execution that which was mention'd before; For what is Dying by one's Own hand, but the Gratification and Accompliſhment of a Man's Deſire of Death? This indeed hath at firſt bluſh a good fair Appearance; and ſeems to proceed from Virtue, and Greatneſs of Spirit: And certain it is, that the Allowance and the Practice of it hath been both Frequent and Antient. Many Inſtances of this kind live in Story, Perſons eminently Great, and Good; of almoſt every Countrey, and every Religion. *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Medes*, *Gauls*, *Indians*; Philoſophers of all Sects, nay *Jews* too; as is evident from the Fact of old *Razias*, who hath the Honourable Character of *The Father of his Countrey* given him, and is conſtantly mentioned with Commendation of his Virtue: Another Inſtance the ſame Hiſtory gives us likewiſe in thoſe Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus*, who after they had Circumciſed their Children, caſt Themſelves down headlong from the Wall with them. Nay, not only *Jews*, but Chriſtians too; witneſs thoſe Two Holy Women, *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, Canonized for their Piety and Courage; the former of which, with her Mother and Siſters, caſt her ſelf into a River, that by drowning they might eſcape the Rudeneſs and Violence of the Soldiers; and the latter ſtabb'd her ſelf, to prevent the outragious Luſt of the Emperor

2 Mac. xiv.

2 Mac. vi.

Maxentius. And, as if ſingle Perſons were not ſufficient to juſtify this Practice, we have whole Cities and Nations giving Authority to it by their Example. Thus did the Citizens of *Capua*, to avoid being taken by the *Romans*; thus did *Aſtapa* and *Numantia* in *Spain* upon the ſame account. Thus the *Abidæans*, when hard preſſed by *Philip*; and a City of the *Indians*, when *Alexander* had encamped againſt it. This hath likewiſe had the yet more Authentick Approbations of Laws and Publick Sanctions; and ſeveral Commonwealths have not only permitted, but recommended, and in ſome Caſes brought it into a Cuſtom; as *Marſeilles* heretofore, the Iſle of *Cea* in the *Negropont*, and ſome *Northern* Nations, in particular; where the Publick Juſtice regulated the Times, and the Methods of doing this. Nor is it only upon Precedents, that the Favourers of this Opinion do rely, but they think it abundantly ſupported by Reaſon; and particularly, that ſeveral Arguments of Weight may be deduced from the former Article to juſtify it. For, ſay They, if a Deſire and Willingneſs to dye, be not Allowable only, but Commendable too; if we may Wiſh and Pray for a Releaſe; if we may put our ſelves in the way of it, and be glad when it is offered; why may we not Give this Relief to our Selves? Is the Deſire it ſelf a Virtue, and the Execution of that Deſire a Sin? What is permitted in the Will, why do you call forbidden in the Act? That which I may be pleaſed with from Another hand, why ſhould I be condemned for from my Own? Indeed why ſhould I wait the tedious Approach of that from other means, which I can at any time give to my ſelf? For is it not better to Act in this Caſe, than to be purely Paſſive? Is it not more Manly and Generous to Meet Death, than lazily to ſit ſtill and attend its Motions? The more Voluntary our Death is, the more like a Man of Honour. Again; What Law does this offend againſt?

againſt? There are Penalties indeed ordained for Robbers and Pick-pockets, but is any Man liable to them for taking his Own Goods? By the ſame Reaſon the Laws againſt Murder do not concern Me. They provide for every Man's Security againſt the Inſults of Others; they tye my Neighbour's hands from taking My Life, and Mine up from taking His; becauſe this is ſuppoſed to be an Act of Violence, and want of Conſent in the Sufferer makes it an Injury; but what is all This to the purpoſe, or how does it render a Man guilty, who voluntarily and deliberately takes away his own Life? Theſe are the Principal, I think indeed, the Whole of thoſe Arguments commonly alledg'd in Defence of this Practice; but then there are Others a great deal more Subſtantial, and more Obligatory, that uſe to be produced for the Contrary Side of the Queſtion.

See the Animadverſions at the End of this Chapter.

Firſt then. As to Authorities, This Practice, however countenanced by ſome, but very few States in compariſon, hath yet been abſolutely diſallow'd, and condemned by the Generality of Mankind; and not only by Chriſtians, but *Jews* too, as *Joſephus* ſhews at large, in the Oration he made to his Officers in the Cave, at the Taking of *Jotapata*. By the Generality of Philoſophers and Great Men, as *Plato*, and *Scipio*, and Others; who all impute this manner of proceeding to a Defect, rather than any Sufficiency of Courage; and reproach it, not only as an Act of Cowardice, misbecoming a Brave Man, but of Heat and Impatience, unworthy of a Good Man. For what can we ſay better of it, than that This is ſkulking and running out of the way, to hide one's ſelf from the Inſults of Fortune? Now a Virtue that is vigorous and ſtanch, will be ſure to ſtand its ground: Diſtreſs and Pain are ſo far from making it flinch, that they feed and cheriſh, and exalt it; it lives, it grows, it triumphs by them. There

See Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. L. 3. C. 14.

is certainly greater Firmneſs of Mind expreſs'd in bearing and making an Advantage of one's Chain, than in breaking it to pieces, becauſe it keeps us confined, and ties us faſt to ſome Uneaſineſſes: And all conſiderate Men muſt allow, that *Regulus* ſhew'd infinitely more Gallantry than *Cato*.

* *The Baſe, when wretched, dare to Dye; but He*
Is Brave indeed, who dares to Live in Miſery.

† *If the Crack'd Orbs ſhould ſplit and fall,*
Cruſh him they might, but not Appall.
Sir R. Fanſhaw.

Nay, theſe Men ought to be accounted Infamous, and treated as Deſerters. For no Man can anſwer quitting the Poſt he is order'd to, without the expreſs Leave, and freſh Orders of the Superior Officer, who placed him there. We are by no means put into the World upon our own account alone; and therefore Perſonal Calamities muſt not put us upon an Act of ſo great Injuſtice, as the ſquandring away That, in which Others have a Right, as well as We; nor yet are we Maſters of our ſelves, but under the Diſpoſal and Direction of a Lord who hath a Right Paramount.

Thus you ſee what Arguments are generally brought on either ſide; but if we ſet the Conſiderations of Duty and Religion aſide, and take the Liberty to ſpeak the Senſe of mere Nature in the Caſe, the Reſolution ſhe would come to ſeems to be This: That Men ought not to enter upon this Laſt

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* Rebus in Adverſis facile eſt contemnere Vitam:
Fortiter Ille facit, qui Miſer eſſe poteſt. *Martial Lib.* xi. *Ep.* 57.

† Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ. *Horat. Od.* 3. *L.* 3.

and

and Boldeſt Exploit, without ſome very extraordinary, and moſt preſſing Reaſon to induce them; that ſo it may be, what They call, making a Decent and Honourable *Exit*. Every ſlight Occaſion, every little Pett, or croſs Accident, will not juſtify Men's falling out with the World; and therefore, They are certainly in a great Error, who pretend that a ſmall Excuſe will ſerve to quit Life, ſince there are no very Weighty Arguments to perſuade our keeping it. This is highly ungrateful to God and Nature, when ſo Rich a Preſent is ſo much ſlighted and undervalued; It is an Argument of great Levity, and betrays a great deal of Moroſeneſs and Ill Humour, when we quarrel and break Company upon every ſlender Provocation. But indeed there is ſomething to be ſaid (though that ſomething is not enough) for a very Urgent and Weighty Occaſion; ſuch as renders Life a perpetual Torment, and the Thoughts of continuing in it inſupportable; ſuch, for Inſtance, as I mentioned formerly, Long, Acute, Exceſſive Pain, or the certain Proſpect of a very Cruel and Ignominious Death. And upon this account, the ſeveral Perſons that I am going to name, how favourably ſoever Story hath repreſented their Behaviour, do by no means ſeem to have a Plea ſufficient to Juſtify, no, not ſo much as to Excuſe a Voluntary Death. Such are *Pomponius Atticus*, *Marcellinus*, and *Cleanthes*, who after they had begun the Proceſs, reſolved to finiſh it, merely becauſe they would avoid the trouble of having the whole Courſe to begin and go through again: For, what Apology ſoever might be made for the delivering themſelves from a Painful Diſtemper, yet when that Pain and the Cauſe of it were removed, they lay under no farther Temptation to be out of love with Life; and a bare Poſſibility of the Diſeaſe returning, was a Conſideration much too remote. The Wives of *Pætus*, and *Scaurus*, and *Labeo*, and *Fulvius* the intimate Friend

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of *Augustus*, of *Seneca*, and a great many more, were as fantastically fool-hardy; when they killed Themselves, either to bear their Husbands Company out of the World, or to invite Them to go with them. So likewise *Cato* and others, who were discontented with the Event of their Undertakings, and the Chance of War; and chose rather to dye by their own hands, than to fall into their Enemy's; notwithstanding these Enemies were such, as gave them no just ground to fear any barbarous or dishonourable Treatment from them neither. The same Censure will fall upon Them, who murder'd themselves, rather than they would be beholding to one they hated, for their Lives; or lye at the Mercy of an Ill Man; as *Gravius Silvanus*, and *Statius Proximus* did, after *Nero* had given them his Pardon. Nor are They less to blame, who run into the Shades of Death, to hide themselves from Shame, and cover the Reproach of some past Dishonour or Misfortune; such as *Lucretia* after the Injury she had suffered from *Tarquin*; and *Spargopises*, Son to *Tomyris* the *Scythian* Queen, and *Boges* Commander under *Xerxes*; the former, because he could not bear being Prisoner of War to *Cyrus*; the other for the Loss of a Town taken by *Cimon* the *Athenian* General. Nor They, who could not endure to survive a Publick Calamity, though nothing extraordinary had befallen Them in particular; such as *Nerva* the Great Lawyer, *Vibius Virius* at the Taking of *Capua*, and *Jubellius* at the Death of the greatest part of their Senators, inflicted by a *Roman* Officer. And least of all can those Nice and Delicate People excuse themselves, who chuse to dye, because they are cloyed with Life, and weary of repeating the Same Things over again. Nay, I must go farther yet. For it is by no means sufficient, that the Occasion be very Important, and full of Difficulty; unless it be Desperate, and past all Remedy too; for nothing less

leſs than Neceſſity ought to be pleaded here; and This ſhould be the Laſt Reſerve, the Only Eſcape from Extremity of Misfortune. Upon this Account Raſhneſs, and Deſpondency, and anticipating one's Fate, and Giving all for Loſt is always exceeding blameable; an Inſtance whereof we have in *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who, before there was any occaſion for it, put an End to their own Lives, and with Them to all the languiſhing Remains of the Liberty of *Rome*, which was committed to, and depended entirely upon Their Protection. For, as *Cleomenes* truly ſaid, Men are under an Obligation to uſe Life frugally, and to make it go as far as poſſibly they can; nay, not only to contrive, that it may laſt as long as is poſſible, but that it may be uſeful to the very laſt. For a Man may diſcharge himſelf of this Truſt at any time; and when Things are at the very worſt that they can be, This Remedy is what no Man can be at a loſs for. But we ſhould wait for better Days, and try whether the hand of our Fortune will not mend upon us. * *Many a Man*, as *Seneca* obſerves, *hath outliv'd his Executioner. Joſephus*, and a great many beſides, have followed this Advice to excellent good purpoſe; and Matters, when in all human probability deſperate and loſt, have wheel'd about, and taken a quite different Courſe, to the mighty Surprize, as well as Advantage, of all that were concerned in them.

† *Good unexpected, Evils unforeſeen,*
Appear by Turns, as Fortune ſhifts the Scene:
Some rais'd aloft, come tumbling down amain,
Then fall ſo hard, they bound and riſe again.

Mr. Dryden.

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* Aliquis Carnifici ſuo ſuperſtes fuit.

† Multa Dies variuſque labor mutabilis ævi
Rettulit in melius. *Virg. Æneid.* II.

In this Caſe a Man of Honour and Virtue ought to act toward Himſelf, as he ſhould in fighting, toward his Adverſary; To be always upon his Guard; to parry and ward off the Blows with all the Art and Skill one hath, to weary him out, and make good one's own Party; but never to Kill, except the neceſſary Defence of one's ſelf require it, and till Matters are brought to the very laſt Puſh.

Secondly, There is no Queſtion to be made, but it is infinitely more Virtuous, and more Commendable, to endure patiently, and ſupport our ſelves with firm and immoveable Conſtancy to the very End, than to ſink under the Load, and tamely flee before the Calamity. For ſuch a Yielding betrays Weakneſs and Cowardice. But, becauſe Perſeverance, like Continence, is a Grace not given equally to All, nor is every Man alike able to receive it; the Queſtion before us at preſent will be, Whether upon Suppoſition of ſome Great Evil, Inſupportable for the Quality, and paſt all Hopes of Remedy or Recovery; ſuch as is likely enough to ſubvert and beat down all our Reſolution, and Irritate our Minds to ſome very wicked Paſſion; ſuch as Diſcontent, Deſpair, Murmuring againſt our Great Lord; Whether, I ſay, in ſuch a Caſe, it might not be more expedient, or at leaſt more excuſable, to deliver one's ſelf by One Reſolute Act, from ſuch Dreadful, ſuch Vicious Conſequences, while our Underſtanding is perfect and undiſturb'd; than by a Cowardly Delay to expoſe our ſelves to the Danger of being vanquiſhed by the Temptation, and ſo ruined to all Eternity? Is it not better to quit the Field, than to Sacrifice one's ſelf by obſtinately ſtanding one's ground? This perhaps is a Courſe, which in ſome very Nice and Difficult Exigencies, Reaſon and merely Human Prudence might adviſe; and accordingly ſome, who pretended to be great Philoſophers, have practiſed it, in different Countries;

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ſo that the Opinion ſeems to have been pretty favourably received. The *Stoicks* do not ſtand upon ſo much Ceremony, but give Men leave to diſlodge and pack off, whenever they are diſpoſed to it; as we may collect from *Seneca* and others. The other Philoſophers are ſomewhat more reſerved, but They allow it too; provided a Man can give a good reaſon for his proceeding thus. Theſe are the Notions, and Determinations of the Schools of Philoſophy and Human Reaſon; but That of Chriſt teaches us much otherwiſe. For the Chriſtian Religion admits no reaſon to be ſufficient in this Caſe, nor ever diſpenſes with any Circumſtances whatſoever. The Truth and Wiſdom of God abſolutely condemns all ſuch Officious and Voluntary abandoning of our Poſt; and never ſuffers us to ſtir from our Duty, till we are regularly diſmiſs'd, by the ſame Authority which placed us in it. No Man's own Inclinations are ſufficient, nor can the doing it of his own head bear him out in this matter. So that whatever hath been ſaid in this Chapter, which may ſeem in any degree to adviſe Men to Patience and Perſeverance, and to propoſe This, as the better and more eligible; though, in the Philoſophical Senſe, it be only recommended as Good Counſel; yet in a Religious one, it hath the force of an abſolute and indiſpenſable Command.

Beſides we may add, That it is an Argument of very great Wiſdom, for a Man to know and diſtinguiſh rightly, which is the proper ſeaſon for Dying; and to lay hold on that Opportunity, when put into his hands. For every Man hath a Critical juncture of this kind, in which Virtue and Honour call; which Some by being over-haſty Antedate, and Others as much too ſlow let ſlip through their Hands. Both theſe Defects, though ſo contrary in the Operation, yet proceed from the ſame Principles; which are a mixture of Weakneſs, and of Cou-

Courage: But the Misfortune is, That even Magnanimity it ſelf, without Diſcretion to Temper and Direct it, will not ſecure a Man's Character. How many Perſons of juſt Renown, and once unblemiſhed Honour, have yet had the Unhappineſs of ſurviving their Reputation; and from an Intemperate Fondneſs of Life, for the ſake of ſome poor little addition to their Days, have abſolutely Sullied and Eclipſed their former Glories, followed all their Credit to the Grave, a good Name Murthered and Buried by their Own Hands? The wretched remainder of their time hath retained not the leaſt Tincture or Reſemblance of what went before; but the Scandal of Their Age, compared with the Honours of their earlier Years, looks like ſome wretched old Clout, tack'd to ſome very Rich and Beautiful Garment. And who would patch up Life at this Odious Deformed rate? It is with This, as with Fruit; there is a Critical Seaſon of gathering it from the Tree. If you let it hang too long, it putrifies and grows Inſipid; and the longer you ſpare it, the worſe it is; and if you pluck it too ſoon, the loſs is as great in the other Extreme; for then it is Green and Sowr, and good for nothing for want of kindly Ripening.

Many Eminent Saints have with great Induſtry declined Dying, upon conſideration of their great Uſefulneſs, and the mighty Advantage the Publick would receive from their Surviving; and this too, notwithſtanding the certain Proſpect of their own Private Gain in leaving the World. And when a Man can exchange ſo much for the better, it argues great Charity, to be content to Live. This St. *Paul* deſcribes to be his own Caſe, (*Phil.* I.) And there is more than Men commonly think of Reſignation in that Old Saying, *If my longer Continuance be for the Benefit of thy People, I refuſe not the toil of Living. Si Populo tuo ſum neceſſarius, non recuſo Laborem.*

Death

Death appears to us under divers Shapes; and the manner of Men's undergoing it, is vaſtly different; ſome of the ways of Dying are more eaſy, and accordingly the Figures and Idea's of it much leſs diſmal and frightful, than Others. But when all is done; the Difference of theſe Forms, is like that of Faces; and the Preference given to them depends chiefly upon Humour and Fancy. So far as I am capable of Judging, Of all Deaths which are uſually termed Natural, That is the Gentleſt and moſt Supportable, which proceeds from a gradual Weakneſs, and Stupefaction of the Parts: And of All that are Violent, That ſure is moſt eligible, which is quickeſt in Execution and Diſpatch, and is leaſt thought of before-hand. Some indeed are fond of making their laſt Act Exemplary, a Pattern to Others, and a Commendation to Themſelves; by the Proofs they give the World of Courage, and Wiſdom, and Steadineſs of Mind at their laſt Hour; But This is rather to have a regard for Other People than One's Self; and a Symptom of a Vainglorious Humour, which is greedy of Fame, even at the Moment we Expire; and reproaches Us with Vanity, rather than brings any real Advantage to Mankind in common. Now Dying is not an Act of Society, but of One ſingle Perſon; and therefore the Rules for Regulating our Behaviour in it are Perſonal. At ſuch a time a Man hath enough to do, to mind his own Buſineſs; and the Thing he is chiefly obliged to attend, is to Comfort and Support himſelf in this laſt great Conflict, without troubling himſelf with the Affairs, or the Cenſures of other People; for he is that very Moment putting himſelf out of the Dominion of Common Fame, and going to a Place, where what the ſurviving World ſays will neither reach nor concern him. That, in a word, is the Beſt Death, which is moſt Private; where a Man hath greateſt opportunities of Recollecting himſelf, and 21.

and going out of the World Quietly, without any troubleſome Attendance or Obſervation. The uſual Ceremonies of our Friends and Relations being by, and giving Their Aſſiſtance in the laſt Struggles of Life, is exceeding Troubleſome and Inconvenient; One Diſturbs your Sight with an Object that had better be away; Another your Ear with ſome Impertinent Diſcourſe; a Third your Mouth by forcing upon you ſome fruitleſs Medicine or Suſtenance; and All together Croud, and Confound, and perfectly Stifle the Dying Man. Then their Tears, and Groans, and Lamentations, are more Tormenting than all the reſt; if they be Real, and proceed from Affection and Concern, they melt one down, break one's Courage and Reſolution, and cut one to the very Heart: If they be Formal only, and put on for Decency or Deſign; they raiſe one's Indignation, and provoke a very unſeaſonable Paſſion in the very midſt of Agonies and Convulſions. Several very Conſiderable Perſons have been ſo ſenſible of this Inconvenience, that they have contrived induſtriouſly, to Dye at a diſtance from their Relations, on purpoſe to be out of the way of it. And ſure That which moves many People to deſire the contrary, is very ridiculous. For what can be more Childiſh and Senſleſs, than to pleaſe one's ſelf with moving the Compaſſion of Friends and Acquaintance; and be proud that a great many People expreſs a tender Concern for what we Endure? We cannot but commend Firmneſs of Mind, and a Hardy Virtue in encountring Misfortunes; We exhort our Friends to it, when it is their Own Caſe, and upbraid them with Weakneſs, if they take it too tenderly; and yet this very Virtue we hate, and accuſe as inhuman and wanting in Affection, when the Calamity is Ours. Then They who were formerly chidden for reſenting their Own, are reproached, if they are not afflicted, and do not perfectly

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ſink under Our Sufferings. We condemn their Complaints for what they feel; and yet we cannot allow them ſo much as to be patient under what they only ſee. This is unjuſt, unreaſonable, and fooliſh to the laſt degree. And certainly a Wiſe Man when ſick, ſhould be very well content at leaſt, if not much better pleaſed, with the Compoſed Countenances, and reſigned Behaviour, of all the Friends that aſſiſt in his Extremities.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The maintaining a True and Uninterrupted Tranquillity of Spirit, which is the very Crown and Glory of Wiſdom: And the Laſt Head of this Book.

1. A Quiet and Contented Mind is the Supreme Good, the utmoſt Felicity Man is capable of in This World. This is that Rich and Noble, indeed that ineſtimable Treaſure, which the Wiſe Men of Old with ſo much Labour and Application ſought after; the Fruit of all their Travels, the End of all their Studies, the Sum and Complement of all their Philoſophy; and This is the very Reward of all the Pains, and the Crown of all the Wiſdom, to which I am now Inſtituting my Scholar in this Treatiſe. But This, like other Excellencies, is frequently miſunderſtood; and therefore to prevent any ſuch Errors at preſent, I muſt firſt acquaint you, That the Quiet I now ſpeak of, does by no means conſiſt in a Retreat from the Noiſe and Clutter of the World, Leiſure from Buſineſs, Time at Command, no Cares to diſturb one; a Delightful, Nice, and uninterrupted Solitude, full of Eaſe and Plenty; or in a profound Neglect and Oblivion of what is done Abroad: Were this the Caſe, what an infinite Number of happy Perſons ſhould we have? Careleſs and Idle Women, Slothful and Inſignificant Fellows, Cowards and Coxcombs, the Senſual and Luxurious, would have this Bleſſing at Command. For if want of Thought and Buſineſs give a Title

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to it, Theirs is indiſputable; and what the Wiſe aſpire after, and think a Prize ſufficient for a whole Life's Study, Theſe attain to by a much eaſier way. This then is the firſt Principle we are to go upon, That Multiplicity of Buſineſs, or Having nothing to do, neither of them conſtitute or deſtroy, take from or contribute to, the Tranquillity we are now ſpeaking of. But This is a Decent and Beautiful, a Gentle and Mild, an Equal and United, a Firm and Pleaſant Compoſure of Temper. Such a Steadineſs of Mind, as neither Buſineſs nor Leiſure, neither Proſperous nor Adverſe Fortune, no Turn of Time or Chance can diſturb or change, exalt or depreſs. For This is the Property and * *Character of true Tranquillity, Never to be ſhaken*; but to continue immoveable, and unconcerned; always in humour, and always the ſame.

The next Conſideration upon this Occaſion, is, 2.
By what Methods a Man may riſe up to this Sedateneſs and Elevation of Soul; how we ſhall attain; and when attained, how we ſhall preſerve, and maintain our ſelves in it. And for This we need only refreſh our Memories, with what hath been already delivered in this Second Book: For They are the Rules, by the Obſervation and careful Practice whereof we may hope to gain our Point. And therefore, for the Reader's Eaſe and better Convenience, I will here very briefly repeat the Subſtance of them. They conſiſted, you remember, of Two ſorts. Firſt, Such as either carry off, or prevent all thoſe Qualities, that are Obſtructions to our Improvement in this Happineſs. And 2dly, Such as furniſh and adorn the Mind, with ſuch Virtues as tend to the Increaſe and Conſervation of it. Thoſe Things that are apteſt to hinder, or to diſturb the Eaſe and

* Vera Tranquillitas non concuti.

Quiet

Quiet of the Mind; are Popular Opinions, and Common Prejudices, which, notwithſtanding they have made themſelves almoſt Univerſal, are yet, for the moſt part, Falſe and Groundleſs; and a Man would wonder, which way Notions could get ſo much Credit, which have ſo very ſmall a Stock of Argument to ſet up upon. The next Impediment to be removed ariſes from our Paſſions and Deſires, for Theſe indulged quite ſpoil and break our Temper; they make us Nice and Squeamiſh; Humourſome and Difficult; and Theſe are Qualities utterly inconſiſtent with Contentedneſs: Now Theſe Paſſions and Appetites are kindled and put into motion, by the Two contrary ſorts of Events, which we call Proſperity and Adverſity; for They are the Winds and Storms, that ſwell and diſorder the Soul, and make all within foul Weather, and a troubled Sea. The laſt thing to be remedied is that mean and narrow-ſpirited Captivity of Thought, by which the Mind (that is, the Judgment and the Will,) is Chained down like a Slave to his Galley, or cramp'd up like a Beaſt with his Yoke, to ſet Forms, particular Opinions, and Local Cuſtoms. Now the firſt thing a Man hath to do, is to knock off all theſe Fetters, and break through ſuch unreaſonable Tyranny and Confinement; to ſet one's Mind at large, aſſert our native Liberty, and reſolve to be at our own diſpoſal. To entertain free, extenſive Notions of things; and be Open and Univerſal, Inquiſitive and Diſcerning, enlarging our Studies and our Idea's, and ranging through all the ſpacious Plains of the World and Nature in general. For a Wiſe and Happy Man muſt anſwer that Deſcription; * *Born for the Publick, conſidering this whole World as*

* In commune genitus, mundum ut unam domum ſpectans, toti ſe inferens mundo, & in omnes ejus actus contemplationem ſuam mittens.

one

one Common Houſe and Family, concerning himſelf with all the parts of it, and employing his Contemplation upon every thing that paſſes there.

When the Platform is thus cleared of Rubbiſh, and the Ground prepared, and ready to begin upon, the next thing in order is to lay the Foundations; and thoſe are Two, An entire ſubſtantial Probity of Mind, and The Fixing one's ſelf in ſuch a Calling or Condition, as our Nature, Circumſtances, and other Qualifications have fitted us for. The Materials, with which this Building muſt be carried up, and wherein both the Strength and Beauty of it will conſiſt, are theſe that follow. The Firſt and Principal is, True Piety; whereby a Man Contemplates Almighty God, not with a Soul full of Horror and Amazement, but with a Mind full of Purity, with Freedom and Delight, with profound Reſpect, and fervent Devotion. For God is the Abſolute, the Univerſal Lord and Governor of all Things; and, though his Nature and Eſſence be neither viſible to our Senſes, nor fall within the Comprehenſion of our Underſtandings, ſo that we are not able to give our Selves, or Others, an exact and perfect Account what He is in Himſelf; yet it is our Duty to Acknowledge and Confeſs Him; to pay him all poſſible Honour, and Homage, and humble Adoration; to Serve Him Zealouſly, and with our whole Heart; to entertain becoming Thoughts of his Providence and Perfections; to Hope and Truſt in Him for all manner of Good, from the Being who is Goodneſs in the Abſtract; to apprehend nothing of Evil or Injury from Him; but be aſſured, if any thing we reſent as ſuch, happen to us, it is the Effect of our own Provocations and Follies, and moſt juſtly inflicted. In the next place, Simplicity and Integrity in Converſation muſt be added, Conformity without troubleſome and unneceſſary Scruples to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the 3.

Place where we dwell; Living without Hypocriſy or Diſſimulation, Dealing Fairly and Above-board, no Crafty Reſervation or Diſguiſe, but to let our Words and Actions ſpeak our Heart; and the inmoſt receſſes of our Soul be thus laid open to God and the World. This is another Character given of a Wiſe Man; That he * *Spreads his Conſcience, as it were, and expoſes it to Publick view, Lives and Acts conſtantly, as if all Mankind were Conſcious of what he does, and hath a greater Reverence for Himſelf than for the Obſervation of Others.* He that Manages himſelf thus, can never want Encouragement to do well, nor powerful Reſtraints from doing otherwiſe. Then follows Moderation, which muſt extend to All Perſons and Things; our Selves, and All that can be any way concerned or converſe with Us; our Thoughts, and Words, our Deſigns, and Actions, muſt All be regulated by it. For Moderation is the Original and Source, the Nouriſher and Cheriſher of Tranquillity; by This we learn to lay aſide and to deſpiſe all Pomp, and Shew, and vain Superfluities; to bring our Deſires within their proper compaſs; to keep them under Government, and to content our ſelves with a Competent proviſion, ſuch proportions of every thing as our Occaſions require, when really and rightly conſidered, without any of thoſe Imaginary Wants, which we are apt to form to our ſelves: And thus Diſpoſed we come to like, and be very well pleaſed with our preſent Condition, not envious of other People's Enjoyments, not fond of Change. How much all this conduces to Happineſs and Tranquillity, a very ſlight Reflection will ſerve to convince us: For when Moderation hath thus furled the Sails, The Storm, when it blows hard,

* Conſcientiam ſuam aperiens, ſemperque tanquam in publico vivens, ſe magis veritus quàm alios.

hath

hath leſs to faſten upon; and cannot do us any Damage comparable to that we ſhould ſuffer, if our Deſires were enlarged, and the Sheet let fly to the Wind. By thus contracting our ſelves, we are fortified againſt every Accident that might Shock or Injure us; we bear our Minds up above all manner of Fear; deſpiſe all the Aſſaults of Fortune, and the Malice of Death it ſelf; looking upon that, as the period of all our Sufferings; a kind Friend which takes us out of the way from infinite Calamities, but creates not, nor expoſes us to any one. Thus alſo the Wiſe Man is deſcribed. * *One that deſpiſes all thoſe things which are the Plagues and Torments of Human Life; above the reach of Accidents, without Anxiety, without Fear, without any kind of tender or troubleſome Concern.* Thus a Man muſt ſecure Steadineſs of Mind, and a good Agreement with himſelf; he muſt look for his Satisfaction in his own Breaſt; Live Eaſily, and have no Diſputes, no Trouble within; but keep all there Peaceable, and Chearful; Rejoycing and Congratulating with one's own Mind; and Dwelling, as we call it, at Home, with full Contentation, and a ſort of Self-ſufficiency; ſuch as is highly Neceſſary and Commendable, ſuch as nothing but Wiſdom can give, and without which neither It, nor the Happineſs it propoſes for our Reward, can poſſibly ſubſiſt. † *No Body but the Wiſe Man is pleaſed with his own Condition. All Folly in a little time grows ſick of it ſelf; No Man is Happy, who does not think himſelf ſo.*

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* Contemptor omnium, quibus torquetur Vita: ſupra omnia quæ contingunt accidunteque eminens. Intrepidus, Imperturbatus.

† Niſi Sapienti ſua non placent. Omnis Stultitia laborat faſtidio ſui. Non eſt beatus, eſſe ſe qui non putat.

In a word. To this Compoſition of an Eaſy and Quiet Mind Two Ingredients are indiſpenſably requiſite. The Firſt, and indeed the Chief, is a Clear and a Good Conſcience; which does inſpire Men with wonderful Strength and Aſſurance, and is a mighty Stay, and Defence, and Support in all manner of Contingencies. But yet This, as mighty as it is, will not ſingly be a ſufficient Defence; for ſometimes the Tempeſt is ſo exceeding fierce and ſtrong, that all the Innocence in the World is not able to bear up againſt it. How often do we ſee very good Men in very grievous Calamities, dejected and at a loſs? Nay, our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf mentions ſome Tribulations of his foretelling, which ſhould endanger even ſeducing the very Elect. To This therefore we muſt add One more, which is Strength of Mind, and Natural Courage; and of this too it muſt much more be allowed, that It alone is by no means ſufficient for our purpoſe. For the Force of Conſcience is prodigious, and almoſt unconceivable; It ſtares us in the face, haunts and dogs us with guilty Remorſe, makes us betray, accuſe, and turn Enemies to our ſelves; and for want of other Evidence to convict us, it compels us to inform, and give Teſtimony of our own Crimes.

* *For why muſt Thoſe be thought to 'ſcape, who feel*
Thoſe Rods of Scorpions, and thoſe Whips of Steel,
Which Conſcience ſhakes, when ſhe with Rage controuls,
And ſpreads amazing Terrors through their Souls?
Not ſharp Revenge, nor Hell it ſelf can find
A fiercer Torment, than a guilty Mind.

It draws our Indictment, Arraigns, Tries, Condemns, and puts us to Death: So different are the Parts it

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* Occultum quatiente Animo tortore flagellum. *Juv. Sat.* 13.

acts,

acts, and yet ſo dextrous and powerful is it in ſupplying the place of Adverſary, Witneſs, Judge, and Executioner, that we need no other. No Covert can do the Ill Man's buſineſs, ſays *Epicurus*; for let it be never ſo cloſe, yet he can Never think himſelf ſafe; for Conſcience will be ſure to diſcover him to Himſelf, and that Diſcovery will always repreſent, and ſometimes create Danger.

† *Though Bribes or Favour ſhall aſſert his Cauſe,*
Pronounce him guiltleſs, and elude the Laws,
None quits Himſelf, his own impartial Thought
Will damn, and Conſcience will record the Fault.
This firſt the Wicked feels ——

So that upon the whole matter, let a Man be never ſo Holy and Good, yet at the ſame time, if he be in his own Temper Timorous and Faint-hearted; and again, let a Man be naturally never ſo ſtout, and a ſtranger to Fear, yet if he be not a Good Man, and his Conſcience cannot ſpeak Peace to him; neither the One, nor the Other of theſe Perſons will ever be capable of this happy Tranquillity of Spirit, this Perfection and Fruit of Wiſdom, which we are at preſent treating of. There muſt be a Friendly Correſpondence, a Mutual Aſſiſtance of Both; and They, in whoſe Souls both meet together, are qualified to do Wonders; and ſuch are the moſt Eminent Perſons, which we find renowned in Story for Great and Noble Actions, and Intrepid Behaviour in Times of greateſt Trial. Such were *Epaminondas*, *Cato* and *Scipio* in particular, whoſe Unconcernedneſs in Danger and Death is admirable. Theſe two *Romans*, when publickly accuſed, put thoſe very Perſons, who

† ——Prima eſt hæc Ultio, quòd ſe
Judice nemo nocens abſolvitur. *Ibid.*

preferred the Complaint againſt them, to the bluſh; and made them betray their Shame to the whole Aſſembly. They gained over the Judges to their ſide, and ſtruck all the Audience ſo, as not only to win their Favour, but to raiſe their Admiration. And all this only with that aſtoniſhing Unconcernedneſs, and Equality of Mind, which appeared in their Carriage; for the Character *Livy* gives of *Scipio*, and the reaſon of his voluntary Exile aſſigned there, is, *That he had a heart too big, too generous, to know how to be treated like a Criminal, or deſcend ſo low as complying with the Cuſtom of defending his own Innocence by a formal Apology* *.

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* Major animus ac Natura erat, quàm ut Reus eſſe ſciret, & ſubmittere ſe in Humilitatem cauſam dicentium.
Tit. Liv. Hiſt. Lib. 38.

The End of the Second Book.

Advertiſements.

Book II. *Chap.* 5. *Page* 116. *Sect.* 2.

AN *Imagination, which,* "*to thoſe who think Sacrifices to* "*have been of human Invention*" *ſeems to have been the Ground of all that way of Worſhip.* I have, in the rendring of this Paſſage, added thoſe words, "To thoſe who think Sacrifices to have been of human Invention," not ſuppoſing it at all proper, to let the Sentence run in general Terms, when the Matter affirmed here by our Author is, (to ſay the leaſt of it,) ſo very diſputable. And accordingly I beg the Reader's Leave to detain him a little upon this occaſion, while I lay before him the miſtake of our Author, in theſe Two particulars, with Relation to Sacrifices; The Firſt whereof is deſigned to ſhew, that Sacrifices were not at all of Human Invention Originally, The Second, That ſuppoſing them to have been ſo, yet this Superſtitious and Falſe Imagination of a God taking delight in the Sufferings and Calamities of his Creatures, does not ſeem to have been the Foundation of them, but rather Other Notions of the Deity, of a very different kind from This.

Firſt then, I deſire it may be conſidered, Whether Sacrifices were Originally of Human Invention at all; which they muſt needs have been, to juſtify Monſieur *Charron*'s Opinion of their proceeding from an Erroneous and moſt unbecoming Idea of God, entertained in the Minds of Ignorant Men. This indeed hath been a Point upon which Learned Men have differed in all Ages, and very great Authorities it is to be confeſs'd there are on both Sides. The Learned Reader, who hath the Leiſure and Curioſity to inform himſelf how this matter ſtands, may ſee the variety of Judgments, and the Ground of them, in the ſeveral Commentators upon the Fourth and Eighth Chapters of

Geneſis, where the Sacrifices of *Abel* and *Noah* are mentioned; Or if that be too Laborious to compare Expoſitors, Two of our Learned Countrymen will help him to a ſhort and full Collection of what can be ſaid for that ſide, which aſſerts the Human Invention of Sacrifices. Dr. *Outram, I mean, in his Book, De Sacrificijs* Lib. 1. Cap. 1. *De Sacrificiorum Origine.* And Dr. *Spencer in his Treatiſe de Legibus Hebræorum*, Lib. 3. Diſſert. 2. Cap. 4. *De Ratione & Origine Sacrificiorum Patriarchalium.*

It would be too great an Expence both of the Reader's time and my own, as well as improper for the nature of an Advertiſement, to lay down at large all that is uſually argued on both ſides of the Queſtion. The ſum of it may be reduced within a narrow Compaſs; and therefore I ſhall with all poſſible Brevity, mention the Arguments of Thoſe, who maintain the Human Invention of Sacrifices, together with the Reaſons which I conceive may perſuade the Contrary rather, and that in regard they either ſeem to take off the Force of Their Arguments; or otherwiſe recommend the Divine Inſtitution of Sacrifices, as an Opinion more probable, and liable to leſs Difficulties.

I. Firſt then, It is urged, That God himſelf denies, that he ever Inſtituted Sacrifices, till after the *Iſraelites* Deliverance out of their *Egyptian* Bondage; from whence the Concluſion is this; That whatſoever Sacrifices were offered before that time, they muſt neceſſarily be of Man's own Deviſing, ſince we have the Teſtimony of God, declaring in very ſolemn manner, that they were not of His Appointment. The Texts inſiſted upon to this purpoſe are thoſe two, *Iſaiah* I. 11, 12. *To what purpoſe is the Multitude of your Sacrifices unto me, ſaith the Lord? I am full of the Burnt-Offerings of Rams, and the Fat of fed Beaſts, and I delight not in the Blood of Bullocks, or of Lambs, or of He-goats; when ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to tread my Courts?* The Other, *Jerem* VII. 21, 22. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Iſrael, Put your Burnt-offerings unto your Sacrifices, and eat Fleſh. For I ſpake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them in the day, that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning Burnt offerings or Sacrifices.*

Now any One, who conſiders the Occaſion of theſe Paſſages, will find that both of them are intended for a Reproof to the Hypocriſy of the *Jews*, and a Check to that Confidence, they repoſed in thoſe Ritual Performances, though void of that real Devotion, and inward Purity, which alone was acceptable to God. The Context in each place manifeſtly proves this to have been their deſign, and the want of Comparative degrees in the *Hebrew* Language, will ſuffer no great ſtreſs to be laid upon the Negative Form of ſpeech. That known inſtance quoted by our

Bleſſed

Bleſſed Lord, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, is Key ſufficient to theſe before us, and can warrant our concluding only thus much from them; "That God prefers ſubſtantial Holineſs in- "finitely before theſe things; that Obedience was That Thing "he always required, and Sacrifices being in reality but ſo "many profeſſions of That, were not properly to be look'd up- "on as Eſſential Duties, wherein the *Iſraelites* part of the Co- "venant conſiſted; that Theſe were by no means what he aimed "at in admitting them to Covenant with himſelf; and conſe- "quently, when deſtitute of their Subſtance and End, were "empty and inſignificant, of no account with God, and not a "Worſhipping him, but, to ſpeak plainly and truly, what "he very emphatically, and contemptuouſly calls, a *Treading his* "*Courts*". I add too, that this Text of *Jeremiah* cannot poſſibly be taken in a ſtrict and literal Senſe, ſince it is manifeſt God did ſpeak to their Fathers in the very day that he brought them out of *Egypt*, concerning one Sacrifice, the Paſſeover, I mean, which though a Feaſt, yet is it frequently termed a Sacrifice too; and therefore ſome Interpreters here have taken refuge in reſtraining that Text to Sin-Offerings and Peace Offerings, and not extending it to Sacrifices at large; which yet will not anſwer their purpoſe, ſince the very ſame *Hebrew* word, which *Jeremy* makes uſe of, is twice together applied to the Paſſover, by *Moſes*, Deut, XVI. 5, 6.

Matth. IX. 13. XII. 7 *from Hoſea* VI. 6.

Deut. XVI. 1, 5, 6. 1 *Cor.* V. 8.

זבח
Zabach. LoTizbach.

II. A Second Argument is drawn from *Cain* and *Abel* Offering, each the product of his own Labours reſpectively, which makes it probable, that ſuch Oblations were the product of a grateful Mind, dictating to them that God ought to have ſome acknowledgment and return made him for his Benefits. Now that Nature might inform Men, of a Duty incumbent upon them to Worſhip God, and the Common Notions of Gratitude put them upon applying part of their Subſtance to the Honour and Service of Him, who gave the whole, Men find eaſy to apprehend. But the difficulty is, How Nature ſhould inſpire Men with a Thought, that Burning this by Fire, or otherwiſe ordering it, as the Cuſtom of Sacrificers was, is a proper Method of expreſſing their Honour for, and Gratitude to God. Again, Had Sacrifices been a dictate of Nature, How came they ever to be Aboliſhed, ſince the Natural is part of that Law, which our Saviour came *not to deſtroy*, but to *perfect and fulfill*? This Inconvenience Dr. *Outram* was ſenſible of, and therefore he makes a diſtinction between the Firſt and Eternal Dictates and Laws of Nature, and other Inſtitutions and Ordinances in purſuance of, and agreement with thoſe. Whether this be ſufficient to clear the Difficulty, I leave the Reader to judge, and for that purpoſe I have preſented him with the

Mat. V. 17.

the whole Paſſage in the * Margin. One thing only I deſire may be obſerved, which is, That this Argument, of what force ſoever it may prove, for Sacrifices of Thanks, yet can give no Countenance at all to Thoſe of any Other Sort; and particularly not to the Expiatory, which Monſieur *Charron* hath chiefly regard to, if not to them alone, in this place.

III. A Third Reaſon is taken from the great Deſign God ſeems to have had in the Legal Sacrifices, That of containing the *Iſraelites* within the Worſhip of One God, and in order to it, condeſcending ſo far to their Infirmities, and the Infection they had taken from the Idolatry of *Egypt*, as to conform their Worſhip and Rites to thoſe of the Heathen World. Now it is not to be denied, but this ſeems to have been the Caſe, and probably the beſt account why ſuch particular Rites were inſtituted; but to make the Argument effectual, we muſt enquire, how thoſe Heathen came by Their Sacrifices and Ceremonies. For That may be a very good and rational Explanation of the *Moſaic* Inſtitution, which is not a ſufficient account of the Patriarchal Religion. And in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe my Reader will find occaſion to conſider, whether there were not another End to be ſerved by the Sacrifices both Patriarchal and Levitical, which mere Nature could not attain to, and therefore a Poſitive Inſtitution was neceſſary for the promoting it.

IV. It may be ſaid Fourthly, That as God left the firſt Ages of the World, to the Dictates of Nature and right Reaſon in the Diſcovery and Practice of Moral Duties, ſo it is moſt likely they were left to the ſame Guidance for the exerciſe of Religion too; and if any Notions and Ceremonies grew common upon this occaſion, not ſo agreeable to the Nature of true Religion, and the Dignity of an Almighty Majeſty; theſe are capable of great Allowances, and ſuit well enough with the Simplicity of the Firſt Ages of the World.

To This I preſume it may ſuffice to anſwer, That the Caſe of

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* *Id unum hoc in loco monere viſum eſt, hos qui ſuâ cujuſque ſponte primò Sacrificatum judicant, etiamſi fortè, quibusdam in locis incautius loqui videantur; hunc tamen Sacrificandi ritum ad Naturæ Leges propriè dictas, æternas utique & immutabiles non referre; ſed ad ejuſmodi Inſtituta, quæ Ratio Naturalis excogitaverit tanquam ad conſpicuum Dei cultum, apta ſatis & idonea. Prius illud ſi qui fecerint, ex eo falſi arguuntur, quòd Chriſtus Sacrificandi ritus apud Veteres olim uſitatos penitus apud Suos delevit; qui idem tamen tantum abfuit, ut ullas aboleret Naturæ Leges, ut has omnes Authoritate ſuâ ratas, certas, ac firmas fecerit.* Outram. de Sacrif. Lib. I. Cap. 1. Sect. IV.

Moral

Moral Duties, and Religious Rites is very different: The One are purely the reſult of a reaſonable and thinking Mind; The Other of a Nature which we muſt needs be much in the dark about. For though Reaſon would convince me, that God is to be worſhipped, yet He alone can tell me, what Worſhip will be acceptable to him. At leaſt, if I muſt beat out my own Track, the Notions I entertain of God muſt direct me. Now Theſe might convince a Man, that Purity and Sincerity, Juſtice and Goodneſs, and the like, muſt needs pleaſe an Infinitely Perfect Being. But which way could an Imagination ſo foreign enter into Mens heads, as that God ſhold be pleaſed with the Blood and Fat of Beaſts? Admit Theſe to have been the Chief of their Subſtance, and devoted, becauſe as ſuch fitteſt for them to expreſs their Acknowledgments by; that as devoted and entirely, ſet apart to Holy Uſes, it could not without Sacrilege be partaken of by Men, and that from hence the Cuſtom of Burning the Sacrifice took its Original: yet what ſhall we ſay to the Expiatory Oblations? And how could Men by any Strength of Reaſon comprehend the Poſſibility of a Vicarious Puniſhment; or hope that the Divine Juſtice ſhould be appeaſed by Offerings of this kind, and accept the Life of the Offender's Beaſt, inſtead of the forfeit Life of the Offender himſelf? Theſe things ſeem to be far out of the Way and Reach of human Diſcourſe; it is ſcarce, if at all, poſſible to conceive, what ſhould lead the Generality of Mankind to ſuch Conſequences, ſuch Ideas of God as Theſe: And I think little needs be ſaid to convince Men, that the Difference is vaſtly great between ſuch Religious Rites, and thoſe Moral Duties which have their foundation in the beſt Reaſon, and are all of them ſo coherent, ſo agreeable to ſober and uncorrupted Nature, that the more we attend, and the cloſer we purſue them, the greater Diſcoveries we ſhall be ſure to make, and the more conſiſtent will be all our Actions with the firſt, and moſt obvious Principles of the Mind. So that no Parity of Argument can lye between theſe Two.

The Force of this Reaſon is ſufficiently confeſs'd by the very Learned Aſſerter of that Other Opinion; nor can he deny, (as ſome, I think, with a deſign to make ſhort work of it, have done), that Expiatory Sacrifices were offer'd before the Law: But then Theſe are ſuppoſed to proceed not from any poſitive perſuaſion, or good aſſurance of obtaining Pardon by that means; but ſome Hope, that God would have regard to the Pious Intention of the Perſon, and conſider and reſtore him upon that account. Which Opinion *Arnobius* expoſes in ſuch a manner, as plainly to ſhew, that it generally prevailed; and many Teſtimonies of Heathen Writers themſelves confeſs, that they looked upon God to be capable of being mollified and won over, as Angry Men are, by Submiſſions, and Preſents, and other ſweet-

Spencer, Lib. III. *Cap.* IV. *Diſſ.* II. *Sect.* II.

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ning Methods. All which Miſapprehenſions are conceived agreeable to the Darkneſs of Pagans, and the Simplicity of Earlier Ages.

Now with all due Reverence to the Authority of thoſe Great Men who urge it, I can by no means ſatisfy my ſelf with the Colour they give to theſe Arguments, from the rude unpoliſhed State of Men in the firſt Ages of the World. This, I know, is a Notion very agreeable to the Heathen Philoſophers and Poets, and Their Accounts of the Original of this World, the Progreſs of Knowledge, and Improvement of Mankind. And This might probably agree well enough with that Age when *Abraham* and his Seed were choſen out from the midſt of a dark and degenerate Race. But whether it agree with the Times of *Abel* and *Noah*, and the *Antediluvian* Fathers, will bear a great Diſpute. We fancy perhaps, that, before there was any Written Word, all was dark; but there is no Conſequence in That; nor will it follow, becauſe Arts and Profitable Inventions for the Affairs of this Life, grew up with the World; that Religion too was in its Infant Weakneſs and Ignorance in thoſe early Days. St. *Chryſoſtom*, I am ſure, gives a very different account of the Matter; He ſays, the Communications of God's Will were more liberal and frequent then; that Men lived in a ſort of familiar Acquaintance with him, and were perſonally inſtructed in Matters neceſſary and convenient; much better enabled to worſhip and ſerve him acceptably; and becauſe they did not diſcharge their Duty, and anſwer their Advantages, that he withdrew from this Friendly way of converſing with Mankind; and then to prevent the utter Loſs of Truth, by the Wickedneſs and Weakneſs of Men, a Written Word was judged neceſſary; and That put into Books, which the Corruption of Manners had made unſafe, and would not permit to continue clear and legible, in Men's hearts. In the mean while the Preference he manifeſtly gives both for Knowledge and Purity, to the Firſt Ages; and compares the Patriarchs at the beginning of the World in this Point, to the Apoſtles at the beginning of Chriſtianity; as Parallels in the Advantages of Revelation, and Spiritual Wiſdom, infinitely ſuperior to the ſucceeding Times of the Church. And it is plain, from Scripture it ſelf, that *Enoch*, *Noah*, and other Perſons eminently pious, ſignally rewarded for it, and inſpired with God's own Spirit, were ſome of thoſe early Sacrificers. Perſons to whoſe Character the pretended Simplicity and Ignorance of the firſt Ages of the World, will very ill agree.

Hom. 1. *in Matth.*

V. There is, I muſt own, a Great Prejudice againſt this Divine Inſtitution of Sacrifices, from the Book of *Geneſis* being ſilent in the thing; it being urged, as a mighty Improbability, that ſo conſiderable an Ordinance, and One which grew ſo general,

neral, ſhould have no mention made of its firſt Command, and Eſtabliſhment; eſpecially, when ſo many things of ſeemingly leſs moment, are expreſly taken notice of; and by that means ſtrengthen the Opinion, which attributes a matter acknowledged on all hands to be of Conſequence, to ſome Original, other than Immediately Divine.

Now if we conſider the Deſign and Manner of the Book of *Geneſis*, it will by no means appear ſtrange to us, that many things ſhould be omitted; This being I conceive intended chiefly to give a ſhort Account of the Creation and Fall of Man, the Promiſe of a Redeemer, and to draw down the Line of Deſcent to the Choſen Seed, from whence our Saviour ſprung, and the People of the *Jews*, the Figure of the Chriſtian Church, derived themſelves. So that Their Hiſtory and Religion being the principal Subject of the Five Books of *Moſes*, we find very little Enlargement upon Particulars till after the Call of *Abraham*. For if we conſider the Three firſt Chapters containing the Creation and Fall of our firſt Parents; the VI^th^, VII^th^, VIII^th^ and IX^th^ giving an Account of the Deluge, and Preſervation of *Noah*'s Family; there remain but four more, before the Call of *Abraham*; and in thoſe the Succeſſion from *Adam* to *Noah*, the Diſperſion of *Noah*'s Poſterity for peopling the World, and the Occaſion of that Diſperſion, are contained. 'Tis true, ſome things are inſerted which to Us ſeem of leſs moment; but, beſides that ſome account may in reaſon be given, why they ſhould be mentioned, the Holy Spirit, who indited theſe Books, was the beſt Judge of That. But it is alſo true, that ſeveral other things as conſiderable as This are omitted likewiſe, which we do not upon that ſcore disbelieve; ſuch particularly, as Thoſe of Times ſtated, and Aſſemblies convened for the Publick Worſhip of God; and certainly it is as neceſſary and as important at leaſt to expect a Revelation for the Solemn Service of God, as for any particular Mode of Serving or Addreſſing to him.

I have now laid before my Reader the State of the Caſe, as They who alledge Human Invention for Sacrifices have put it; and in the Anſwer to thoſe Arguments, have given ſome for the Contrary Opinion. That the Authorities on that Side are conſiderable, is acknowledged; but the General Senſe of the Chriſtian Church ſeems to incline to Divine Inſtitution. And the moſt reaſonable account of this Matter, if I apprehend it rightly, ſtands thus.

That Almighty God inſtructed *Adam*, how he would pleaſe to be worſhipped, and *Adam* trained his Family and Poſterity, both by Example and Inſtruction, in the ſame Solemn Methods of Serving and Addreſſing to God.

That from the Time of a Redeemer's being promiſed, Expiatory Sacrifices were both inſtituted, and practiſed; partly as an Intima-

Intimation to Men of their own Guilt, and the final Deſtruction they deſerved; and partly as a Shadow and Prefiguration of that Vicarious Puniſhment, which God had promiſed to admit for the Sins of Men; in the Redemption of the World by the perfect Sacrifice of his Son.

That as no Age of the World can be inſtanc'd in, when God did not afford Men ſome viſible Signs, and Sacraments, of his Favour, and the Covenant between Him and Them; ſo the Ages before the Inſtitution of the *Jewiſh* Law, (which abounded with very expreſſive and particular Significations of this kind) had Sacrifices for that purpoſe.

That the Heathen Sacrifices were not pure Inventions of Men, but Corruptions of a Divine Inſtitution. Which being propagated to all the Offſpring of *Adam*, was differently received, and depraved by the Uncertainty of Tradition, long Tract of Time, the Artifice of the Devil, and Mens own Vicious Affections. Of which whoever reads the Apologies for Chriſtianity, will find Proofs in abundance: and be convinced that the Pagan Idolatry was built originally upon the Worſhip of the true God, vitiated and perverted and miſapplied. For we muſt in reaſon be ſenſible, that the likelieſt, and moſt uſual way, by which the Devil prevails upon Men, is not by empty and groundleſs Imaginations, or Inventions perfectly new; but by diſguiſing and mimicking the Truth, and raiſing erroneous and wicked Superſtructures upon a good and ſound Bottom.

It is therefore, it ſeems at leaſt in my poor Opinion, moſt probable, that the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies were indeed adapted to the *Egyptian* and other Pagan Rites, which the *Iſraelites* had been acquainted with, and were not then in a Condition to be entirely weaned from. But withal, that thoſe Pagan Sacrifices were Corruptions of the old Patriarchal; not entirely mere Inventions of their own, but Additions only, and Extravagant Exceſcencies of Error, to which the Truth and Poſitive Inſtitution of God firſt gave the hints and occaſions. For though it can very hardly be conceived how Sacrifices ſhould be of mere human Motion; yet there is no difficulty in ſuppoſing, that the Thing once Inſtituted, and once Eſtabliſhed, might be abuſed, and depraved, to very prodigious and abominable purpoſes. As it was, no doubt, very early in that univerſal degeneracy to Idolatry, from which it pleaſed God to reſcue *Abraham* and his Poſterity.

One very Remarkable Circumſtance contributing to the ſtrength of this Opinion is, that almoſt every where the Ceremonies in the Act of Oblation, ſeem to be very much alike; which is very Natural to an Exerciſe and Inſtitution derived down from One common Head; and originally fixed by a Poſitive Command; but ſcarce conceivable of an Invention merely Human;

Human; where Men in all likelyhood would have run into as great Diverſity, and thought themſelves as much at Liberty as they do in the Affairs of Common Life. But eſpecially, the Sacrificing Beaſts by way of Atonement obtained univerſally, and the Imagination of Their Blood being neceſſary and effectual for Pardon. Which, I confeſs, if a Dictate of Reaſon and Nature only, is certainly the ſtrangeſt, and moſt remote from any preſent Conceptions we are able to form of the Dictates of Nature, of Any that ever yet prevailed in the World. And therefore This is ſcarce accountable for any other way, than from the Promiſe of a Redeemer and Sacrifice to come, which the Sacrifices of Beaſts were in the mean while appointed to repreſent.

That ſuch an Inſtitution agrees very well with all the Ends of Sacrifice, is not to be denied. For the Death of the Beaſt, though not perſonally felt by the Offender, would yet give him a full and very expreſſive Idea, of the fatal Conſequences of Sin; and the Acceptance of that Life, inſtead of his own which was forfeited, and by that Act of Sacrificing acknowledged obnoxious to Divine Juſtice, was a lively repreſentation of the Mercy of God. But ſtill the Apoſtles Argument is founded in Reaſon, and may be an Appeal to all Mankind, *It is not poſſible, that the Blood of Bulls and of Goats ſhould take away Sin.* And therefore not only *Euſebius* in his X^th^. *Chap.* of *Demonſtrat. Evang. Lib.* I. aſcribes this Worſhip to Divine Inſpiration, but *Aquinas* ſays, that before the Law Juſt Men were inſtructed by an Inward Inſtinct after what particular manner God would be Worſhipped; as they were afterwards under the Law by External Precepts. So *Plato* ſays, That no Mortal Capacity can Know or Determine what is fit to be done in Holy Matters, and therefore forbids the Alteration of the Eſtabliſhed Rites and Sacrifices as Impious. And the Teſtimonies of St. *Chryſoſtome* and *Juſtin Martyr*, have been thought to mean, not ſo much, that all Sacrifice was a Dictate of Nature, as that ſome Circumſtances relating to it were left to the Dictates of Man's Reaſon. So that when God had taught *Adam* and his Poſterity, that they ſhould worſhip in their ſeveral Manners; and what he would pleaſe to accept; The Manner, and Meaſure, and ſuch like conſiderations were left to Choice, and Reaſon, and Poſitive Laws. In ſhort, the Religion of our Hearts and Wills, our Prayers and Praiſes might be natural and the reſult of meer Reaſon: but for other external Significations of this, eſpecially any ſo foreign, as that of Sacrificing; Men were not likely, nor was it fit they ſhould venture, to do any thing of their own Heads. Nor was it probable they would attempt it, for fear of miſtakes, and ſuch indecent Expreſſions, as might be very diſhonourable to the God they Worſhipped; and rather provoke his Juſtice by raſh and ſuperſtitious Affronts, than incline his Mercy by their indiſcreet Intentions

Taylor's *Ductor Dubit.* B. II. *Chap.* 3. *N.* 30.

tentions to pleaſe him. And therefore, conſidering the Confuſion *Adam* was in after the Fall, and the Circumſtances of that time, it ſeems moſt agreeable to believe, that he waited God's directions, and was fully informed by Him in ſuch a Service, as might at once excite both the Fear and the Love of God; enforce the Offerer's Sorrow and Repentance, and increaſe his Faith and Hope.

While my Thoughts were upon this Subject, it came into my mind, that poſſibly the Tradition of a Redeemer to come, and that God would one day reconcile himſelf to the World by the Sacrifice of a Man, and his own Son: That this Tradition I ſay darkned, confounded, and perverted by the Increaſe of Idolatry, and the Cunning of the Devil, might be abuſed to the putting Men upon Humane Sacrifices, and particularly thoſe of their own Children. I know there are other accounts to be given of this matter; and I propoſe this as a meer Conjecture, not otherwiſe fit to trouble the Reader withal; but that, I believe, if ſtrict inquiry were made, it would be found, that moſt of the Heathen Abominations in Divine Worſhip were ſome way or other at a diſtance, by Miſtake, Imperfect Report, Perverſe Interpretations, or by ſome Cunning Stratagem of the Devil or other, fetched originally from the Revelations and Inſtitutions of the true Religion. And I cannot but think, that it would be great Service to the Truth, if the Falſhoods that have corrupted, and were ſet up in Oppoſition to it, could be well traced, and ſet in the beſt Light, which this diſtance will permit. But that muſt needs be a very laborious Undertaking, and, where a great deal will depend upon Probable Conjecture, will require a very Judicious hand.

I have thus given the Reader my rough Thoughts upon the Point of Sacrifices, omitting ſuch Proofs for the Opinion I incline to, as ſeem to me not concluſive, but not any that I am conſcious of, on the Other ſide. There is no danger in either Opinion, conſidered in it ſelf, but ill Inſinuations may be raiſed from that of Humane Invention; if Men from thence ſhall pretend to draw Conſequences to the Prejudice of Natural Religion; and argue either againſt the Certainty of, or the Regard due to it; from an Imagination, that Extravagances ſo wicked, ſo odd, or ſo barbarous as the Heathen Rites of Worſhip, and the Wild Superſtitions and unbecoming Notions of God, upon which they were grounded, reſulted from Humane Nature, and were the Product of Reaſon: Rather than the Horrible Depravations of a Supernatural Inſtitution, highly proper and ſignificant, ſerviceable to excellent purpoſes, and adapted to thoſe Ages of the World. And in hope of preventing any Conſequences of this kind it is, that I thought theſe Remarks might not be unſeaſonable. And for the Uſefulneſs, and Light which this Account of

Sacrifices

Sacrifices brings with it, provided we will follow it in its Natural Conſequences; how wiſe an Inſtitution, how reaſonable to be incorporated into the *Jewiſh* Law, how providentially diſperſed over the whole World; and how preparatory of the Doctrine of the Redemption of Mankind, by prediſpoſing the *Gentiles* alſo to believe the Sacrifice of Chriſt, my Reader may, if he pleaſe, be informed to his great Satisfaction, by that Short but Excellent Account of this Matter, given by Dr. *Williams*, the now Reverend Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in his Second Sermon at Mr. *Boyle*'s Lecture for the Year 1695.

II. After ſo long and particular Enlargement upon the Firſt of thoſe Things, wherein I endeavour to prevent any Miſtakes that may ariſe from this Paſſage; there will need but very little Addition to clear the Other. For if the Arguments for a Divine Inſtitution of Sacrifices caſt the Scale, the Buſineſs is already done to our hands: and if they be admitted of human Invention, yet according to all the Schemes of this Matter laid down by the Aſſerters of it, Sacrificers at firſt were moved by Apprehenſions of God very different from that of his taking Delight in the Sufferings of his Creatures. For they Repreſent Sacrifices as the effects of Gratitude, a Mind impatient to make ſome ſort of Return, and pay back ſuch Acknowledgments at leaſt of His Goodneſs who gave All, as the dedicating the Beſt of his Gifts to him could amount to. And accordingly, This Circumſtance of chuſing the Beſt for Sacrifice ſeems to have been as univerſally obſerved, as the Duty of Sacrificing it ſelf. This is the Reaſon alledged by ſome for ſlaying Beaſts, as being the Beſt of all their Subſtance; and upon the ſame account too thoſe kinds which were eſteemed beſt for Food. This perhaps was one Motive abuſed afterwards even to the introducing that Abomination of ſacrificing Men, and Children; Virgins and Firſt-born. And even in Expiatory Sacrifices, could theſe poſſibly have been invented by Men, yet 'tis plain the Perſuaſion of a Beaſt being accepted as a Ranſom for the Owner, muſt include an Idea of Mercy and Condeſcenſion at leaſt in the Deity, which was content with ſuch a Compenſation.

It argued, I confeſs, very groſs Notions of God to ſuppoſe, that ſuch things could be Preſents fit for a Pure Spirit, and the Majeſty of Heaven and Earth, which every Superior among Men would diſdain and deteſt. But This grew by degrees, and the Other, of his being a Sanguinary Being delighted with the Fumes of Reaking Altars, and drinking the Blood of Goats, was owing to the Superſtition and Idolatry of later and degenerate Times; and is a Thought, which Thoſe who firſt practiſed this way of Worſhip, whether by Inſtruction, or their own mere Motion, were never ſuppoſed guilty of by any that have undertook to conſider the Nature and Original of the Patriarchal Sacrifices.

Nay, I add too upon this occaſion, That the Notions mentioned in this Chapter, which it is to be feared are but too commonly entertained of Severities, and Satisfactions (as they are called) owe themſelves to the ſame Cauſes, and are the Genuine Extract of Hypocriſy, Superſtition, and formal Devotion. That Faſtings, and voluntary Mortifications are of excellent Uſe in Religion, no ſober Man ever doubted. They are Profitable in many Caſes, and in ſome Neceſſary. They aſſiſt us in conquering our Appetites and Paſſions; and ſubdue the Man, by beating down the Outworks: They expreſs a very becoming Indignation againſt our ſelves, in the Exerciſe of Repentance; and are oftentimes inſtrumental in heightening and inflaming our Devotion: But that they are Good and Meritorious in themſelves, or any farther valuable than as they ſerve to promote our Improvement in ſome Virtues or Graces that are Subſtantially Good; eſpecially that God likes us the better merely becauſe we uſe our ſelves the worſe, is a very Fantaſtical and Erroneous Imagination: And ſuch as any Communion or Party of Men by Encouraging, do great Injury to the Honour of God, deceive the Souls of Penitents, and hinder the Eſſentials of Religion, which are Faith and Newneſs of Life. In ſhort, They expoſe Religion in general to the ſcorn of all thoſe, who ſee the Foppery and unreaſonableneſs of thoſe miſtaken Methods; and call the very foundations of it into Queſtion, by tempting ſuch to think, that it is all Invention and Trick, and Empty Senſleſs Formality.

Advertiſement the Second.

Book II. *Chap.* 5. *Sect.* 8.

Monſieur *Charron* hath in this Section put together Two Objections againſt the Divine Origine of Religion, and ſuch as, no doubt do it prejudice, in the Minds of Men, who do not attend to the Reaſons of things, and judge impartially. The Firſt concerns the Manner of Propagating Religion, and Man's firſt entrance into it. The Second, That want of Efficacy, which one would expect an Inſtitution coming immediately from God, muſt needs have upon the Lives and Actions of Thoſe who have Embraced, and profeſs to be Governed by it.

Page 125. I. The Former of Theſe, is urged to be only a matter of Cuſtom and Neceſſity, the Fate of a Man, rather than his Choice; who if Adult, is brought over by Cuſtom and Multitudes; and if an Infant, is preſently initiated into the prevailing Perſuaſion of his Country, or his Family, and ſo continues all his Life long.

Now

Now for Cuſtom, and Multitudes, and Example, it is very evident, This was much otherwiſe in the firſt Plantation of Religion; that of the Chriſtian in particular. A Perſuaſion, which, it is manifeſt, came into the World with all poſſible diſadvantages; and the Eſtabliſhment whereof was one of the moſt amazing Miracles, that ever was wrought ſince the Beginning of the World. For People had common Senſe then as well as now; and all the Corruptions of Human Nature were equally powerful. There was the ſame Arrogance and Vain Opinion of their own Wiſdom, to render the Myſteries which are acknowledged above the Comprehenſion of a Human Mind, offenſive to the Men of ſome Learning and more Vanity: The ſame ſenſual Appetites and Vicious Practices to hold out and ſtand at defiance, againſt the Precepts of Chaſtity and Sobriety, Self-denial and Mortification: The ſame Pride and Opinion of Worldly Grandeur to raiſe their Indignation and Diſdain of a Crucified Saviour; The ſame Love of the World and Tenderneſs for their Perſons to prevent any raſh Sacrificing of their Lives and Eſtates for a Perſecuted Faith, when nothing was promiſed in Reward but a very diſtant Happineſs after Death. And yet notwithſtanding prevail that Faith did; in deſpight of Human Oppoſition, and Intereſt; and prevail it could not have done, by any other means, than the Almighty Power of its Author and Protector, and the Aſtoniſhing Effects which the Conviction of its Truth produced upon men's Conſciences. This certainly was Argument ſufficient, even to Demonſtration, that thoſe Words were not in any degree miſapplied, when put into the Mouth of *Chriſtianity*, and its Preachers; *Not of Man, neither by Man, nor of any other Creature, but of God.*

And ſhall it be eſteemed any Prejudice to this Religion, that Men do not ſtill lie under the ſame Difficulties, in the Choice of it? When it hath made its own way triumphantly, and wearied out, or won over its Perſecutors, ſhall the Multitude of its Profeſſors, and the Peaceable and Eaſy Exerciſe of it be thought to derogate from its Authority? Sure it is very unreaſonable, that Faith ſhould be thought of Divine Extract, no longer than while it bids Men embrace it at their Peril. The being handed down in Families is a plain and natural Effect of an Eſtabliſhed Principle. Parents could not have the Affection which becomes their Character, did they not take all lawful and Commendable Methods of putting their Children into the ſame way to Heaven, which they truſt they are in themſelves. Eſpecially, if the Caſe lie between any other Perſuaſion, and *Chriſtianity*; which we have reaſon to believe is the only poſſible Ordinary way thither. The entring Children early into Covenant with God is a very Profitable, and Charitable Cuſtom; what He himſelf not only admitted, but enjoined formerly; and ſince He is much more

eminently the Father of the Chriſtians, than of the *Jews*, we have no reaſon to ſuſpect they ſhall be leſs favourably received, when as early dedicated to him. This gives Security, that they ſhall be taught, when their Years enable them to learn, how they ought to believe and act; ſo that if their Religion afterwards be merely the effect of Cuſtom and Example, This is utterly beſide the Deſign of Thoſe early Initiations, where the Expreſs Contrary is poſitively indented for. If Men happen to be bred up in a wrong Perſuaſion, there is little Queſtion to be made, but great and gracious Allowances will be made for that faſt hold, which the Prepoſſeſſions of Education have taken. But be they in the right, or in the wrong, it is every One's duty, ſo far as his Opportunities and Capacity will give him leave, to examine and ſee, that he may have comfort, and be better eſtabliſhed in the Truth; or elſe retract his Error: Where This is not done, it is a neglect, and far from the intent of Truth; for Truth will bear Enquiry, and the more nicely ſhe is look'd into, the better ſhe is lik'd, the more admired, and triumphs, and reigns more abſolute. St. *Peter* poſitively commands, *that we ſhould be*
1 Pet. III. 15. *ready to give a Reaſon of the Hope that is in us*; and though Men are more diſpoſed to conſider, when their Opinions are like to coſt them dear, yet the Reaſon of the Command is Univerſal, and by no means reſtrained to Times of Perſecution only. Every Man ſhould do his beſt to obey it, and every Perſuaſion ought to encourage it; and if any do not, but hide the Key of Knowledge, either by detaining the Scriptures, or not leaving Men to the Free Uſe of Modeſt and Impartial Reaſon, Theſe are the Men, who are moſt contrary to St. *Peter*, and beſt deſerve the Cenſure of Monſieur *Charron* in this Paſſage.

II. The Second Inſinuation againſt the Divine Authority of Religion, is taken from the Viſible Inefficacy of it upon Men's Lives; as if all that came from God muſt needs be effectual for reforming the World. Now This, how popular and plauſible ſoever at firſt appearance, yet is an Argument of no Foundation or Strength at all. For the Short of the Matter lies here. Religion never was intended to deſtroy Men's Nature, but only to mend it: to change Men indeed in their Affections and Inclinations, but ſo as that this Change ſhould be wrought by themſelves. Hence it is, that though the Grace of God be Almighty, yet Man is not a proper Object for its Omnipotence to exert it ſelf upon. For ſhould he be forced even to his own Good, that Compulſion would not only take away the Merit of the Act, but the very Nature of the Perſon, whoſe very diſtinguiſhing Character, is Choice and Freedom of Conſent. And therefore God deals with us as he made us; he lets us want nothing, that we can enjoy the Benefit of, and continue Men; he inſtructs, ſuggeſts, perſuades, counſels, encourages, promiſes, threatens, puts

puts opportunities into our hands, and gives us a power of uſing them; but it will depend upon our ſelves at laſt, whether theſe ſhall have a good effect or not. We can do no good without Him; but neither will He do it without Us, nor indeed, according to the preſent Scheme and Conſtitution of Things, is it at all conceivable how he can. So that the Actions of Men not anſwering the Efficacy which might be expected from the Revelation of an Almighty God, is no Argument againſt thoſe Principles coming from Him, which are not better obeyed; becauſe this is not a Caſe for him to exert his Almighty Power in: And though he wrought many Miracles formerly for the Confirmation of the Truth by virtue of that power; yet we never find, that he ever uſed that power for the forcing a belief of thoſe Miracles; but Men were left to their own Conſideration and Liberty, what Interpretation they would make of them; and as they determined themſelves, Belief or more Obſtinate Infidelity was the Effect of it.

Nor is it true, that Wicked Men do not believe Religion; It is but too ſure, that they endeavour as much as they can not to believe it, when Matters are come to that paſs, that the Belief of it grows uneaſy to them. It is indeed confeſs'd, that our Perſuaſion is the very Spring upon which all our Actions move. But then there muſt a diſtinction be made between the Habit and the Act of Faith. For a Man may entertain an Opinion, and yet do ſome things contrary to it, becauſe that Opinion may not in the inſtant of Action occur to him; and then, as to all effect indeed, it is the ſame, as if he thought it not. Thus a Man may believe Chriſtianity, but through the Strength of Paſſion, through the Surprize or Violence of a Temptation, through Raſhneſs or Incogitancy, Multitude and Intricacy of Buſineſs, Inordinate Affection of the World, or the like, he may not attend to what he believes, or he may not conſider it ſufficiently, or not allow the Future its due weight, when ſet againſt the Preſent. Now though ſuch a Perſon, as to all the purpoſes of doing well, be *pro hic & nunc*, as an Infidel; yet there is a great difference between Him in the general, and One who does not believe at all. This Man, though he does not act in conſiſtence with himſelf, hath yet a dormant Habit, which, when the Paroxyſm is off, the Temptation removed, the Paſſion abated, or the like, may by Recollection, and Sober Senſe be awakened; and then it will at leaſt check him for what is paſt, and may (till he hath ſinned himſelf paſt feeling) be a conſiderable Reſtraint upon him. But the Other hath nothing to inform, nothing to controul him: And though a Man in ſleep may appear to the Standers by to be dead, yet we know what difference there is in the thing it ſelf. This I take to be a ſufficient Account of even good Men's ſinning often, and ſome Bad Men doing it very ſcandalouſly, and

yet retaining the Faith; which if purſued through all its Conſequences, and applied cloſely and warmly to their Conſciences, would ſhew them the abominable Contradiction they live in to their own Minds, and make them quite another ſort of perſons.

From hence I ſuppoſe the Reader will naturally draw to himſelf theſe following Reflections.

1. That Men are not wrought upon by Things as they are in themſelves, but by their own Apprehenſions of them. They act by the dictates of their own Minds, and as they are perſuaded. It is not the Happineſs of Heaven, or the Miſery of Hell, that excites to any one Good, or affrights from any one Evil Action, in their own Nature; but the Idea, and as I conceive of them. And conſequently, in proportion as I deſire the One, and dread the Other, ſuch will my Care be to practiſe, or to decline thoſe things, to which the Promiſes and Threatnings of God are annexed.

2. That to make this Perſuaſion effectual, it is neceſſary it ſhould be preſent to the Mind. For that which is not preſent at the time of Action, is to all effect for that time as if it were not. This ſhews the Neceſſity of Meditation, and much Thought upon the Principles of, and Motives to Religion; ſince Faith will not, cannot work, by barely being aſſented to; but by being vigorouſly and lively impreſt upon the Conſcience, warm, and ready upon every new Aſſault. And this gives us a very Rational Account, how it is poſſible, and why it ſhould be common, for a Man to entertain all the Principles of a true Faith, and upon Premeditation be able to ſay as much for it as is poſſible; nay, to perſuade himſelf as well as others, that he is a very ſincere Believer; and yet lead a Life very contrary to that Belief. For this proceeds from his thinking a hearty Aſſent to the Truth of a Doctrine ſufficient; and it is ſo indeed, to denominate him a Profeſſor; whereas to make him a Good Man, that Aſſent ſignifies little, unleſs it be followed, and frequently inculcated, ſo as to ſeaſon his Mind throughly, and upon all occaſions to be at hand, and vigorous and freſh; for without Theſe qualities, it can never be a Principle of Action.

3. That conſequently the Inconſiſtence of Men's Lives with their Profeſſion, can be no juſt Objection againſt Religion; becauſe the Fault plainly lies not in the Principles, but in Men's neglect to improve them. And when we would be convinced of the Goodneſs of any Perſuaſion, we are to judge the *Tree by its Fruits*; (not the Faith by the Practices it produces actually in Men's Lives, as that Expreſſion is frequently miſapplied, but) by the Good Actions it would produce, if Men would let it have a due influence upon them, follow it as far as it will carry them, and live up to what they profeſs. The Men who do otherwiſe, are very blameable, and lay a ſtumbling-block before the weak,

weak, by bringing diſhonour upon Religion, and tempting them to ſuſpect its Power and Excellence; But it is only the Weak who ſtumble at it; for there is not, nor ever was in the Affairs of Religion, or of any other kind, any Scheme of Rules or Opinions, where all the perſons who made Profeſſion of them, acted in all points accordingly. And at this rate all manner of Goodneſs, and Virtue, Natural, as well as Acquired, and Revealed, muſt be queſtioned, and exploded; and the very firſt Dictates of Human Nature will not eſcape the ſame Fate. Of ſuch Eternal Equity and Truth is that old Axiom, *Fides non è Perſonis, ſed contrà.* And the Chriſtian Faith will ſufficiently clear its own Divine Original, if we will but give it free Courſe, and ſuffer it to draw us to a Reſemblance of that Excellence, which firſt Inſpired and taught it.

Book II. *Chap.* XI. *Sect.* 10.

According to the Cuſtom of the Egyptians, &c. The Meaning of this Cuſtom is very often miſunderſtood, and miſapplied. For whereas the Bringing this Death's head in to the Company at Publick Entertainments, is frequently look'd upon as done with a deſign to check the Exceſſes of Mirth, with this Melancholy, but never Unſeaſonable Reflection: Both *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, and *Plutarch* in his Tract *de Iſid. & Oſiride*, give a quite different Account of the Matter; and report it to have been done for the heightning of their Jollity; by conſidering, that their Time was but ſhort, and therefore they ought to make the beſt of it. This Emblem in effect ſpeaking that Maxim of the Epicure, *Let us Eat and Drink, for to morrow we dye.*

Book II. *Chap.* XI. *Sect.* 18. *Page* 289.

Although the Anſwers to theſe Pretences uſually alledged in favour of Self-murder be in a great meaſure taken off in the latter part of the Section; and the Determination at laſt be ſound and good; yet in regard thoſe Returns are general, and do not reach every Particular; I will ſo far treſpaſs upon the Reader's Patience, as to run over this part of the Argument, Period by Period, as freſh Matter ariſes; and obſerve to him, what hath been, or may very reaſonably be replied upon each of the Excuſes produced here, (for I rather call them Excuſes than Juſtifications) to give Countenance to that Unnatural Act of Self-murder.

Firſt, It is urged that there are great Examples for it in all Story, and of Perſons of all Perſuaſions, particularly, thoſe of

Razias and the Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus* among the *Jews*; and *Pelagia* and *Sophronia* among the Chriſtians; the Former drowning her ſelf to eſcape the Rudeneſs of the Soldiers; the Latter ſtabbing her ſelf to get free from the Luſt of *Maxentius*.

Now here in the firſt place I obſerve by the way, That Example in General is a very inſufficient and deceitful Rule; nor can we always make any ſure Concluſions of the Lawfulneſs or Unlawfulneſs of a Fact, by the Relation given of it. Becauſe many times the Thing is commended with regard to One Part or Circumſtance, and yet not thereby juſtified as to all the reſt; This, I ſay, when there is a Commendation poſitively added to it; but many, if not moſt, are barely related, and left for Us to interpret, without any Character at all fixed upon them. Nay, I add farther, that the Circumſtances of Perſon, Time, and ſeveral others of the like nature, are ſo infinitely different, that, as it is exceeding hard for Us, who are not perfectly acquainted with the Reaſons and Motives upon which others act, to paſs an exact and true Judgment upon their Actions; ſo is it much more difficult to find Inſtances, where Their Circumſtances and Ours ſhall agree ſo nicely and in every Particular, that we ſhall deſerve juſt the ſame Commendation, or Blame, which they did, by imitating their Proceedings. Thus much was not amiſs to be hinted, concerning the Fallacy of Examples in general, and how very unfit they are to be made a Rule for the Behaviour of other People. I ſhall now touch briefly, upon each of the Particulars above-mentioned.

As for That of *Razias* It is indeed delivered after ſuch a manner, as ſeems to carry a Commendation with it, but this is only a Commendation of his Valour, and Heroick Greatneſs of Soul; not of the Virtue of the Action, or any thing which might render it Imitable by others. St. *Auguſtine*'s Reflection upon it is, *Cap.* xxiii. *contra* 2. *Epiſt. Gaudent.* *Dictum eſt quod elegerit nobiliter mori; melius vellet humiliter, ſic enim utiliter. Illis autem verbis hiſtoria Gentium laudare conſuevit, ſed viros forte hujus ſeculi, non Martyres Chriſti.* *His Character* (ſays he) *is, That he choſe to dye Nobly; it had been much better if the Commendation had been, that he choſe to dye Modeſtly and Humbly; for This had been a profitable way of Dying. But thoſe are Pompous Terms, uſual in Prophane Story, ſuch as are counted an Honour to the Men of this World, but not to Martyrs for Chriſt.* The Account in the *Maccabees* expreſſes his reſolute Deteſtation of Idolatry, and that is commendable; but certainly had he been taken, and ſuffered Torments and Death under *Nicanor*, his Praiſe had been much more juſt, and his Character clear and indiſputable. For even Perſecution it ſelf is not a Reaſon ſufficient for our making this Eſcape; according to that of St. *Jerome* in his Comment upon *Jonah*; *Non eſt noſtrum Mortem arripere, ſed illatam ab alijs libenter*

libenter excipere. Unde & in perſecutionibus non licet propriâ perire manu. It is not our buſineſs to bring death upon our ſelves, but to receive it willingly, when inflicted by Others; and for this Reaſon even the Caſe of Perſecution will not warrant a Man's dying by his own hand. But in truth, *Razias* his Caſe, as the Hiſtorian deſcribes it, was none of this; for his Account at the 42d Verſe is very Remarkable. *He fell upon his ſword, chuſing rather to dye manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abuſed otherwiſe than beſeemed his Noble Birth.* So that *Razias* at this rate was what the World vainly calls a Man of Honour, and his Life was ſacrificed to that Principle: Had he done this Act to avoid offending God, it had had a fairer Pretence at leaſt, though neither would That have excuſed it; but to kill himſelf for fear of Indignities, and Affronts not fit for a Man of his Quality to ſubmit to; this was far from a Religious Principle; and we cannot wonder that the Commendation it receives hath given ſo ſtrong a Prejudice to the Church againſt the Book of *Maccabees*, as not to admit it into their Canon of Scripture. I add too upon this occaſion, that ſome have thought this whole matter a Fiction; and I confeſs the Circumſtances are very Odd and Romantick; That a Man ſhould *fall upon his Sword* firſt; then *leap down from a Wall into the midſt of his Enemies*; That they *ſhould make way for him*, where he *fell among the thickeſt of* them; that he ſhould riſe up again in *anger, but withal in ſuch a Condition, that his blood guſhed out like Spouts of Water*, and his Wounds were very grievous; but he *ran through the midſt of the throng* notwithſtanding, and *ſtanding upon a ſteep rock, When his blood was now quite gone*, he *pluck'd out his bowels, took them in* both *his hands, caſt them upon the Crowd*; and yet for all this, his Senſes it ſeems were not loſt at the laſt Gaſp, but after all thoſe wonderful Exploits this was not the leaſt wonderful, that he ſhould have the Uſe of his Underſtanding ſo perfect, as to call upon God to reſtore him thoſe Bowels again; and ſo dye. This I thought not amiſs to hint; and let them look both to the Truth of the Story, and the Juſtice of the Commendation, who have entitled theſe Books to an equal Authority with the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament.

2 *Mac.* xiv. 37, *&c.*

Spanhem. de Author. Lib. Apocryph. in Diſp. Theol. V. 41. 43. 44. 45. 46.

That Inſtance of the Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus*, I do not underſtand, for if it refer to thoſe mentioned, 2 *Macc.* VI. 10. they ſeem to have been thrown headlong from the Wall, by the hands of Executioners. But if they had done it themſelves, their Caſe had been ſomewhat more Pitiable, but not more Imitable, than that of *Razias*.

Thoſe of *Pelagia* and *Sophronia* are indeed extolled, but yet St. *Jerom*, who in one place makes the preſerving of Chaſtity an Exception, and the only reſerved Caſe from what I quoted out of

of him juſt now againſt Dying by one's own hand in Perſecutions; ſays in another place without exception, That *God receives no Souls who come without his orders. Deus non recipit Animas, quæ ſe nolente exierunt è corpore.* And whether this Caſe of Theirs was a Call, notwithſtanding the Advocates and Applauſes they have found, is greatly to be queſtioned. For what is the Chaſtity God requires? Is it not that of the Mind? Could not God have reſtrained even thoſe laſcivious Intentions? Does not *Euſebius* in the very ſame Chapter, wherein he relates this Act of *Sophronia* delivering her ſelf from *Maxentius*, particularly tell of a Chriſtian Lady at *Alexandria*, who not being any way to be conquered by *Maximin*, he would not ſo much as Kill her for her obſtinacy, nor indeed Force her Perſon, but in the Conflict of Rage and Luſt, at laſt only Confiſcated her Goods, and ſent her into Baniſhment? But ſuppoſing God had permitted the foul Act; yet ſo long as the Mind was unblemiſhed, here had been no Guilt, but rather a double Martyrdom. If you ſay, they might poſſibly ſuſpect, that they ſhould in the Commiſſion of the Fact, have been polluted with ſinful Inclinations. 'Tis eaſy to Anſwer, That this is but a Fear, but a bare Poſſibility; and if an Act be, Otherwiſe, and in the general, Unlawful, the bare avoiding a poſſible Sin, cannot make it lawful to break a Command, and by going againſt God and Nature, commit and chuſe a certain Sin. He has promiſed, *That he will not ſuffer his Servants to be tempted, above that they are able,* and declared that *our Weakneſs can never be ſo great, but that his grace is ſufficient for us*; with many other gracious Promiſes, which it is a great fault in us to diſtruſt, even in our greateſt Straits and Neceſſities. And to deliver our ſelves by Methods, contrary to his Laws, is to diſtruſt them, for we are to expect the Aſſiſtance of his Grace, and the Protection of his Providence in the uſe of thoſe Means, and obſervance of thoſe Rules he hath given us. And therefore I cannot conceive how the fear of falling into Sin only, can poſſibly render that Action Lawful, which otherwiſe, and generally ſpeaking, is it ſelf a Sin and Unlawful. Methinks therefore we ſhould do well in this Caſe to diſtinguiſh with our Saviour in the Parable of the Unjuſt Steward; and as he commended the Wiſdom of that Man, without approving his Injuſtice; ſo we may allow all poſſible Praiſe to the Gallantry, and Conſtancy of theſe Female Martyrs; without allowing, that the Courſe they took to preſerve their Virtue, was ſtrictly regular and good. And thus St. *Chryſoſtom* ſeems to have done, who, notwithſtanding the great Encomium given of *Pelagia* in one place, yet ſpeaks of this Act of dying by one's own hand in very ſevere Terms in another; and declares without exception, that the Chriſtians had all ſuch Perſons in abhorrence; and that they were more guilty before God than any other murderers. And ſome of thoſe Inſtances, which

Epiſt. ad Marc.

Euſeb. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* L. VIII. Ch. XIV.

1 Cor. X. 13.

2 Cor. XII.

Tom. 1. Front. Ducæ. 628. compared with Comment on Gal. I. 4.

which were thought hard to condemn, the Vindicators have not well known how to acquit, otherwiſe than by a preſumption of a particular Impulſe of God, which was for that Time and Action a Diſpenſation to the General Law. So St. *Auguſtin* of *Sampſon*, *Spiritus latenter hoc juſſerat, qui per illum miracula faciebat. The ſame Spirit which wrought Miracles by him, gave him a Secret Command to do this thing.* And *Lipſius* ſpeaking of theſe very Women ſays, *Monitum aut Juſſio Dei hîc quoque præſumenda*; That a Command, or at leaſt ſome Inſtinct and Direction from God, is to be preſumed in their Caſe, as well as *Sampſon*'s; and he had St. *Auguſtin*'s own Authority, he ſays, for this preſumption. All which, when duly conſidered, as it will not warrant us to cenſure theſe Perſons as to their Eternal State, ſo neither will it warrant our Imitating ſuch Actions, or arguing from thence in defence of ſuch Behaviour, or for the Extenuating the Sin of Self-murther. For whatever they might be in Themſelves, 'tis ſure they are no Pattern to Us; and if God ſee fit to Allow, or the Church to Commend their Zeal, it will ſtill become us to obſerve, and beware of the Irregularities of it.

Lip. Manuduc. ad Philoſ. Stoic. Cap. XXIII.

The Examples which follow of Cities, deſtroying themſelves rather than they would lie at the Mercy of the Conquerors, whatever appearance they may have of Fortitude and Gallantry, yet as to the point of Conſcience, and Lawfulneſs, they are certainly blameable, and fall under the ſame Cenſure, which is afterwards given of *Cato*, and others *Page* 294. *N.* 3, 4.

The Cuſtom of *Marſeilles*, and the Iſle of *Ceô*, where Perſons willing to Dye made no ſcruple of doing it, having firſt obtained the Judgment and Approbation of the Senate, and by Poiſon kept on purpoſe, and prepared at the Publick Charge, is only a Permiſſion and Allowance, and does by no means take off the Guilt and Injuſtice of making our ſelves away; except only in that ſingle Point, that here the Publick is not injured, having expreſly conſented to the loſs of that Member. But in all other reſpects the Fact was Wicked and Abominable, and is reported to have had no other foundation, than Affliction, or Extreme old Age, or in general a Wearineſs of Life.

Valer. Maxim. Lib II. *Cap.* VI. *F.* 7, 8.

Nor will the next Argument hold, concerning the Deſire of Death; for ſuppoſing, that whatſoever a Man is allowed to deſire, he is likewiſe allowed to procure to himſelf, (which yet is not univerſally true) yet this Deſire it ſelf is faulty, when it grows into Impatience, and is not content to wait God's methods, and God's leiſure. And there is great difference between meeting Death gladly, and running into it; between receiving our Releaſe with Satisfaction, and breaking Priſon. So far therefore as this Deſire is conſiſtent with Patience, and Reſignation to the Divine Will, ſo far it is truly Magnanimous and Commendable, and no farther.

To

To that Queſtion, What Law does this offend againſt, it is eaſy to anſwer, Againſt the Laws of God, and of Nature, againſt the Condition of Mankind, againſt our Duty to the Publick; againſt the Sixth Commandment in particular, which no more argues us Guiltleſs when we Kill our Selves, becauſe chiefly deſigned to reſtrain us from Killing Others; than it can be proved from the Seventh, that we do not Sin againſt our own Bodies, when we Invade another's Bed. The Love of our ſelves is propoſed as the ſtandard of our Love to others; and the Rule muſt be ſuppoſed as perfect at leaſt, as the thing to be regulated by it. If there be no Prohibition againſt this in expreſs words, it was becauſe none was thought needful; and ſure it is no excuſe to ſay, That no Law is violated in Terms, When the Caſe was ſuch as needed no Law. As to the other part of the Argument, That Men may diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleaſe, and a willing Perſon can receive no Injury; it ſuppoſes an Abſolute Right to diſpoſe of our ſelves, ſuch as no Creature hath with reſpect to God and Providence, and no Man can have with regard to the ſeveral Relations and Dependencies in which he is engaged.

And if ſo little can be ſaid for this Horrid Fact, when the moſt favourable Caſes are put; How deteſtable and impious muſt it needs be, when Diſgrace, or Poverty, Diſappointments and Croſſes, Raging Paſſions, and Repining at Providence, prevail with Men to commit it? For theſe are ſuch Motives as no body ever undertook to juſtify, and the Stoicks themſelves, who went the fartheſt in this matter, yet ſtopp'd ſhort of theſe, and, to ſpeak the Truth, even wavered in all the reſt. A more full account whereof I refer my Reader for to *Lipſii Manuduc. ad Stoic. Philoſoph.* Lib. III. Cap. XXIII, XXIV. and for a larger diſcuſſion of this whole matter, to *Spanhem. Diſput. Theolog. De Lib. Apocryph. Authoritate. Diſp.* XIII, XIV and Biſhop *Taylor, Ductor Dubitant.* Book III. Chap. 2. Rule 3. From all which compared, St. *Auguſtin*'s determination I doubt not will ſeem moſt reaſonable; *His exceptis, quos vel Lex juſta, vel ipſe Fons Juſtitiæ Deus jubet occidi; quiſquis Hominem, vel ſeipſum, vel quemlibet occiderit, Homicidij crimine innectitur. Thoſe only excepted, whom either a juſt Law, or God himſelf, who is the Fountain of all Juſtice ſhall command to put to Death; whoſoever ſhall kill any Perſon, be it himſelf, or any other Man, he becomes thereby guilty of Murther; and is anſwerable for his Blood.*

1. *De Civ. Cap* XXVI.

OF

Of WISDOM.

The Third BOOK.

In which, Particular Rules are laid down, and Directions for the ſeveral Parts and Offices of Wiſdom, branched out under Four General Heads, as they have relation, and are reducible, to the Four Cardinal Virtues.

The PREFACE.

OUR Deſign in this Laſt Part of the preſent Treatiſe, being to give the Reader the moſt particular Inſtructions we can poſſibly, and ſo to follow and compleat the General Rules of Wiſdom, touched upon in the Book foregoing; the moſt Convenient and Methodical way of proceeding ſeemed to me, to range all I have to ſay under the Four great Moral Virtues; of Prudence, Juſtice, Fortitude, *and* Temperance: *Since theſe are of a comprehenſion ſo large, that it is almoſt impoſſible to inſtance in any Duty of Morality or Practical Religion, which is not directly contained, or may very fairly be reduced within the compaſs of them.* Prudence *ſupplies the place of a Director and Governor; it inſtructs Us in other Virtues, and is the Guide of our Life, and all the Actions of it; though indeed it be more peculiarly concerned in matters of Dealing, and good Conduct, and its ſtrict, proper Notion is Dexterity*

Dexterity in the Management of Buſineſs. Now, as This regards Actions, ſo Juſtice, *which is the next, is chiefly concerned about Perſons; for the Province of* Juſtice *is, to render to every Man his due.* Fortitude *and* Temperance *have reſpect to the Events of Human Life; the Proſperous and Adverſe, ſuch as move our Paſſions, and are matter of Joy or Grief, of Pleaſure or Pain to us. Now it is plain, that theſe Three, Perſons, and Actions, and Contingencies, extend to all the parts of Human Life; and our Condition and Dealings in the World cannot poſſibly oblige us to be converſant with, or employ'd about any thing whatſoever, which is not comprehended under One or Other of theſe Conſiderations.*

CHAP. I.

Of Prudence in general.

1. *Its Excellence.*

THere is great Reaſon, why Prudence ſhould have the firſt and moſt honourable place alotted to it; becauſe it is really the Queen of Virtues; the general Superintendent, that preſides over, and gives directions to all the Reſt. Where this is wanting, there can be no ſuch thing as Goodneſs or Beauty, Propriety or Decency. It is the very Salt of Life, the Luſtre and Ornament of all our Actions; That which recommends them to the Eye, and gives them that Seaſoning and Reliſh which is neceſſary; 'Tis the Square and Rule, by which all our Affairs ought to be meaſured and adjuſted; and, in one Word, This is the Art of Acting and Living, as the Science of Phyſick is the Art of Health.

2. *Definition.*

Prudence conſiſts in the Knowledge and the Choice of thoſe things, which it concerns us to deſire or to decline: It is a juſt and true Valuation firſt, and then a picking and culling out the beſt: It is the Eye that ſees every thing, and conducts our Motions and Steps accordingly. The Parts or Offices of it are Three, and theſe all naturally conſequent, and in order after one another. The Firſt is Conſulting and Deliberating well; the Second, Judging and Reſolving well; the Third, Managing and Executing thoſe Reſolutions well.

3. *'Tis Univerſal.*

It is very deſervedly eſteemed an Univerſal Virtue; becauſe of a Comprehenſion ſo general, ſo vaſt, that all manner

ner of Actions and Accidents belonging to Humane Life are within its Extent and Juriſdiction; and This, not only conſidering them in the groſs, but each of them ſingly and in particular; So that This is as infinite, as all thoſe Individuals put together.

4. *Difficult.*

You cannot wonder, if the next Property I aſſign to it be that of Difficult; the infinite Compaſs I have already mentioned muſt needs make it ſo: For Particulars, as they cannot be poſitively numbred, ſo they cannot be fully underſtood. It is a ſtanding Rule, * *That whatever is infinite, exceeds the Bounds of Wiſdom.* But that which adds yet more to the Hardſhip, is the great Uncertainty and Inconſtancy of Human Affairs; which is ſtill rendred more intricate and unaccountable, by the inexpreſſible Variety of Accidents, Circumſtances, Appurtenances, Dependencies, and Conſequences; the Difference of Times, and Places, and Perſons. And each of theſe is of ſo conſiderable Importance, that the Change of one ſingle Circumſtance, even ſuch as may ſeem leaſt and of no account, produces a very great Alteration, and ſets quite another Face upon the whole Matter. This Difficulty is likewiſe greater and more evident, upon account of the Office, in which this Virtue is employ'd; which conſiſts in muſtering together Contraries, and then tempering them in juſt proportions with one another, ſo as to qualifie the whole at laſt, in the beſt manner the Caſe will admit. Another part of this Office, is Diſtinguiſhing aright between things that are like, and making a wiſe Choice by diſcerning Real from Seeming Good, and preferring a Greater to a Leſs of the ſame Kind. Now all theſe things are puzzling, and full of Confuſion; for Contrariety and Reſemblance both agree in this, that either of them is a great Impediment, and creates Doubt and Irreſolution.

5. *Obſcure.*

And, as the Executive Part of Prudence is exceeding difficult, ſo the Diſcerning part is ſubject to great Obſcurity; by reaſon the firſt Cauſes and Springs of Things, from whence they ariſe, and by which they are moved and carry'd on, are ſecret and unknown; and, like the Seeds and Roots of Plants, lie deep in the Ground, and far out of ſight; ſo deep, that Human Nature cannot dive to the bottom of them; and ſome of them ſo myſterious

* Si quæ finiri non poſſunt, extra ſapientiam ſunt.

too,

too, that it is as criminal to enquire into them, as it is impoſſible to ſatisfie our ſelves by ſuch Enquiry. * *Providence hath thought fit to conceal the Seeds of theſe things; and it often happens, that the Cauſes of Good and Bad Effects lie hid, and diſguiſe themſelves under very different Appearances.* And beſides all this, there is that ſtrange Turn of Chance, that unaccountable Fatality, (call it what you pleaſe) that Supreme, Secret, Unknown Power, which always maintains its Authority, and gives the finiſhing ſtroke, in deſpight of all the propereſt Methods, and wiſeſt Precautions we can uſe. From hence it comes to paſs, that the beſt-laid Deſigns, and moſt regular Proceedings, are very frequently moſt unfortunate in the Event. The very ſame Courſe taken by One Man ſucceeds according to his heart's Deſire; and with Another croſſes all his Expectations; and yet the Caſe to all Human appearance is the ſame in both, and no reaſon can be given for ſuch contrary Iſſues. Nay, the ſame Man found thoſe very Methods ſucceſsful yeſterday, which, when he tries again to day, baffle all his Deſigns and Dependencies; and he who was a Winner but juſt now, plays the ſame Game over twice, and the ſecond time loſes all. This Lottery of Fortune gave juſt occaſion for that received Rule, That no Man's Counſel, or Capacity, can be rightly meaſured by his Succeſs. And He was certainly in the right, who told ſome of his Friends, that ſtood amazed at his ill Fortune, when they obſerved a more than common Wiſdom in all his Diſcourſe and Behaviour: "Look you, Gentlemen, this does not mortifie me at all; "I am Maſter of my Methods, and capable of judging "what is proper and convenient; but Events are what no "Man alive can govern, or inſure to himſelf:" This is Fortune's doing, which ſeems to take a kind of envious Joy, in defeating our ſubtleſt Projects, and diverts her ſelf with our Diſappointments; She in an inſtant blaſts our Hopes, and overturns the moſt regular Schemes, which have coſt the Study and Care of many Years to draw and deſign; and when all the matter is duly conſider'd and reſolv'd; when we have advanced ſo far, that nothing remains but the laſt Act; when all is brought

* Occultat eorum ſemina Deus, & plerunque bonorum malorumque cauſa ſub diverſâ ſpecie latent.

to

to Bear, (as we call it) ſhe nails up all our Cannon, and puts a full ſtop to all the Execution we intended. And in truth, This is the only way Fortune takes to make her ſelf great, and maintain her Credit in the World; thus ſhe exerts her Power over the Affairs of Humane Life; or, to ſpeak more truly, and in language more befitting the mouth of Chriſtians, 'Tis Thus, that Providence takes down our Pride and mortifies our Preſumption: Fools cannot be made Wiſe by Chance and of a ſudden; but then, to check the Vanity of thoſe who have the advantage in Parts, They are frequently ſucceſsful, even to a degree that may provoke the Envy of Virtue and Wiſdom it ſelf. Accordingly we may often obſerve, that Perſons of very indifferent Capacities, and ſmall Attainments, have been able to accompliſh vaſt Undertakings, both publick and private; while others of more Maſterly Judgments have been defeated in matters of leſs difficulty. From all which Reflections my Reader plainly perceives, that Prudence is a boundleſs and a bottomleſs Sea; never to be limited by poſitive Preceps, or reduced to certain and ſtanding Rules; becauſe the Subject it is concerned with is fickle and inconſtant, like the Sea too; and all our Meaſures muſt be changed, all are liable to be broke, as oft as the Winds change. One croſs Blaſt blows us back again, or daſhes us to pieces upon the Rocks; and neither the beſt Veſſel, nor the beſt Pilot can be proof againſt this Streſs of Weather. All then, that Prudence can engage for, is to be circumſpect, and conſider every Circumſtance in the ſeveral lights it is capable of; but ſtill the moſt diſcerning Man is in the Clouds; The greateſt Judgment and Application finds all its Endeavours frivolous and vain, and that, when he thought he ſaw all things clearly, he was all the while groping, and blundering in the dark.

6. *Neceſſary.*

And yet, notwithſtanding we cannot arrive to a commanding and infallible Certainty, this Virtue muſt be acknowledged of exceeding great weight, and abſolute Neceſſity. For thus much is her juſt due; that what is poſſible to be effected muſt be compaſs'd by her aſſiſtance; that though ſhe cannot do All, ſhe can do a great deal; and that, however Men are not conſtantly ſucceſsful with her, yet without her all their Attempts are frivolous and perfectly inſignificant. Not only Riches, but Power, and Opportunities, and Strength for Action, are impotent and vain, if deſtitute of Wiſdom to uſe them.

* *Raſh Force by its own weight muſt fall:*
But prudent Strength will ſtill prevail,
For ſuch the Gods aſſiſt and bleſs.

† *One good Head is better than a great many Hands.* ∴ *Many things that Nature hath made intricate and difficult, are made eaſie and very feaſible by good Conſideration and Advice.* Nor does what I urged in the former Paragraph at all invalidate the Truth of theſe Obſervations; becauſe, though Prudence be not the never-failing Cauſe, yet it is the uſual Cauſe of Succeſs. God does not always proſper Mens wiſeſt Projects; To convince us, that the World is not govern'd without him: But he for the moſt part proſpers fit and proper means, to encourage our Induſtry, and as a proof, that the World is governed regularly by him. Now That, which principally requires Our Prudence, is, that we have to do with Men, and the corrupt Diſpoſition of the Perſons we deal with, their perverſe unmanageable Temper, makes Addreſs neceſſary in all our Tranſactions. For of all Creatures in the Univerſe, there is not any ſo hard to be ſubdued and brought to compliance, as Mankind; * *They who cannot bear ſo much as Equity, and Neighbours fare, muſt needs be much leſs contented with Subjection and Slavery.* And therefore nothing leſs than great Art and Induſtry is ſufficient to reduce and keep them in order. For though we are always diſpoſed to mutiny againſt them that are in any reſpect our Superiors, and to fall foul upon People of all Conditions; yet we never do it with ſo much Zeal, and ſuch eager Malice, as when we make Head againſt thoſe who pretend to Authority and Dominion over us. Now Prudence is the knack of managing Mankind, and keeping this Factious Principle under; a ſlack and gentle Rein, by which the Skilful Rider keeps this Skittiſh Horſe in the Road, and Ring of Obedience.

Now, although Nature have implanted this, as well as other Virtues in us, and more or leſs, in proportion to every Man's Capacity and Parts; and, though it be from thoſe Original Seeds, that Prudence takes its beginning; yet is

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* Vis conſilî expers mole ruit ſuâ, *&c.* *Hor. Lib.* 3. *Od.* 4.
† Mens una ſapiens plurium vincit manus.
∴ Multa, quæ naturâ impedita ſunt, conſilio expediuntur. *Liv.*
* Impatiens æqui, nedum ſervitutis. *Senec. de Clement.*

this

this more acquired, more learned and improved, more the Effect of Study and Application of Thought, than any other Virtue whatſoever. And this Acquiſition is in ſome meaſure the Fruit of wiſe Precepts, and good Advice; which we commonly call the Theory or Speculative Part of Prudence; but the beſt and Principal Inſtrument and Help toward it, is Experience, (though this require much more Time, and Pains) which is term'd therefore the Practical Part. And This again is of Two ſorts. The One truly and properly ſo, becauſe it is Perſonal, learnt by what happens to, or is done by our own ſelves; ariſing from Obſervations of our own making; and to This in ſtrict ſpeaking the Name of *Experience* is appropriated; The Other is not our own, but the reſult of other Peoples Judgment or Practice; and ſuch is *Hiſtory*, which informs us by Hearſay and Reading. Now our own Proper Experience is much the firmer, more aſſur'd, and what may with better reaſon be depended upon; for *Uſe*, as *Pliny* ſays, *is the beſt Maſter*, the Author and Teacher of all Arts and Sciences; the perfecteſt, though the moſt tedious and expenſive way of Learning *; it is the reſult of many Years and Gray Hairs, exceeding hard to be maſtered, very laborious, and very rare. The Knowledge of Hiſtory, as it is leſs ſatisfactory and aſſured, ſo is it likewiſe more eaſie, more frequently to be met with, more obvious and in common to all ſorts of People. A Man indeed is more reſolute and confident, when he learns Wiſdom at his own Coſt; but it is much eaſier and cheaper to grow wiſe at the Expence of other People. And from theſe Two, Experience properly ſo call'd, and Hiſtorical, Prudence is deriv'd; according to that common Saying, † *Experience is my Father, and Memory my Mother; or rather Hiſtory, which is the Life and Soul of Memory.*

Now Prudence may, and in order to the giving us a clear Notion of the thing, 'tis neceſſary it ſhould, be diſtinguiſhed in ſeveral Reſpects; both with regard to the Perſons, concern'd in the uſe of it, and the Affairs, about which it is employed. As to the Perſons, we are to obſerve, That there is firſt That which we may call private Prudence; and that is either ſolitary and individual, wherein a Mans ſingle Per- 8.

*——Seris venit Uſus ab Annis.

† Uſus me genuit, peperit Memoria,
Seu memoriæ anima & vita Hiſtoria.

ſon only is concern'd; this is ſomething ſo low and narrow, that it ſcarce deſerves the noble Title of Prudence; or elſe it is Social and Domeſtick, confin'd to ſome ſmall Company, and leſſer Societies; and then there is Secondly, Publick Prudence, which is commonly known by the Name of Policy. This is the more Sublime, more Excellent and Uſeful, and more difficult to be attained; and to This it is, that all thoſe lofty Characters and large Commendations in the beginning of this Chapter do of right belong; which is again ſubdivided according to the different Subjects and Occaſions that call for it, into Civil, and Military Prudence.

With regard to the Affairs it is converſant about, Theſe are of two kinds; Some Ordinary and Eaſie; Others Difficult and Uncommon. There are alſo ſeveral Contingencies, by the interpoſition of which ſome new difficulties ſpring up, which were not in the nature of the things; and conſequently doubts and perplexities not foreſeen at the firſt ſetting out; and accordingly that Prudence, whoſe buſineſs it is to manage all theſe, may be termed either Ordinary, when it proceeds in the plain eaſie way, and governs its ſelf by known Rules, eſtabliſhed Laws, and Cuſtoms in common Uſe; or elſe Extraordinary, when it is obliged to go out of the beaten Road, and have recourſe to difficult Stratagems, and unuſual Methods.

There is ſtill one Diſtinction more behind, which extends both to the Perſons, and to the Affairs; or, as the Schools ſpeak, the Subject and the Object of this Prudence. But it is ſuch a one, as regards not ſo much the ſeveral Kinds, as the different Degrees of this Virtue. I mean that Prudence, which is truly and properly a Man's Own, and gives him the Denomination of Wiſe; when one acts upon his own Judgment, and trades with his own Stock; the Other a Borrowed and Precarious Prudence, when we follow the Advice of others. And thus it is, that all Philoſophers agree in allowing two ſorts of Wiſe Men. The Firſt and Higheſt rank, are thoſe, who walk by their own Light, that penetrate and ſee through all Difficulties, and always contrive Remedies and Expedients, by the force of their own Judgment, and happy Forecaſt. But where ſhall we find theſe Able Men? They are certainly Prodigies in Nature. The Other of Inferior Condition are ſuch, as underſtand how to judge, and take, and make the beſt advantage of good Counſel, when it is given them. Now all Perſons whatſoever, that make any manner of pretence to

Wiſdom

Wiſdom, muſt be included in this Diviſion; for They who neither know how to give good Advice, nor how to take it when others give it, are by no means fit to come under this Character, but the contrary of Stupidity and Folly.

9. The General Rules, which concern Prudence at large, in it's moſt comprehenſive Signification, as it relates to Perſons and Affairs of all Sorts and Qualities, have been already handled, and ſome ſhort account given of them in the Book that went before. And thoſe you remember were Eight. Firſt, The true underſtanding of the Perſons and Buſineſs we are engaged with. Secondly, Eſtimating things according to their real worth. Thirdly, The chooſing in conſequence of ſuch Valuation. Fourthly, Asking Advice upon every Undertaking, Fifthly, A juſt Temper between the two Vicious Extremes of Confidence and Making ſure of all on the one hand, and Fear and Deſpondency on the other. Sixthly, Taking things in their due ſeaſon, and laying hold on Opportunities, when they offer. Seventhly, Managing one's ſelf rightly between Induſtry and Fortune, aſcribing to each the Efficacy that belongs to it, and diſcharging Our part accordingly. The Eighth and Laſt is, Diſcretion in the practice and ordering of all the reſt; for this muſt go quite through, and no one part can be what it ought without it. Theſe were ſufficient for my purpoſe at that time, but now I am engaged in another Method; and the deſign of this Third Part cannot be anſwer'd, without deſcending to Particulars. Here therefore I ſhall treat of Prudence according to the Diſtinctions juſt now ſpecified; and Firſt of All, of that which is Publick, or Policy, as it relates to Perſons, and then as it concerns the Affairs, that come under its Care.

Of the Policy fit for a Sovereign Prince in the Adminiſtration of Government.

The Preface.

THE Inſtructions I am here about to give, are deſign'd to be uſeful to Sovereign Princes, and Governors of States. Their Tranſactions and Methods are indeed in their own Nature Uncertain, Unlimited, Difficult to be known and practiſed, and the Rules neceſſary for their high Station, next to impoſſi-

ble to be cast into any certain Form, or prescribed and determined in particular Precepts. But however, we must try, if we can a little clear this matter, and make it in any degree more easie and practicable. What is proper to be said upon this Subject may be reduc'd to two General Heads, wherein the two Great Duties of a Sovereign consist. The First comprehends under it all those principal Pillars, by which the State is supported, and treats of Parts of Governments so essential to the Publick, that they are the very Nerves and Bones of this Body Politick; its Sense, its Motion, its Form is lost with, and preserved by them; and these the Prince is in a special manner concerned to take care, that Himself and the State be constantly well furnished with. The Chief of them, I think, are these Seven: 1. A true Understanding of his Government, the People, and their Constitution. 2. Personal Virtue. 3. Behaviour and Address. 4. Counsellors. 5. Publick Treasures. 6. Men and Arms. And 7. Alliances. The Three first are in his own Person; the Next in himself and those near his Person; and the Three last are more at a distance from him. The Second General Head consists in Action; in carefully employing, and making the best Advantage of the forementioned Means; that is, in one Word, but that a very comprehensive one, in Governing well, and keeping up his Honour and Authority; yet so, as at the same time to secure the Affection and good Understanding both of his own Subjects and strangers. But to speak more distinctly and particularly, this Part is Twofold, Civil and Military. Thus you have in a very summary and general way the whole Scheme of Government laid before you at once; Thus is the Work cut out, and the first rude Lines drawn, of what the following Chapters must attempt to finish and fill up. For the better Convenience then of the Reader and my self, I will according to what hath been here propos'd, divide this Subject of Policy, or Prudence in Government into Two parts. The First shall be the Provisionary Part, or the Care of being furnish'd with those seven Necessary Advantages; The Second, and That which presupposes the former already to be done, shall be the Administration, or Management of the Prince. This Subject hath indeed had great Right done to it by Lipsius *already; who wrote an excellent Treatise, in a method peculiar to himself, but the Substance of it you will find all transplanted hither. I have not at all bound my self to his Order, as appears by this general Division already laid down, and will more plainly be seen in the following parts of this Discourse; nor have I taken the whole of him; but have left part of what was his behind, and added to it what I thought fit besides.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The First Branch of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which is the Provisionary Part.

THE First thing requisite upon this occasion, and That which must lead the way to all the rest, is a due Knowledge of the State or Government: For in all manner of Prudence, the leading Rule is Knowledge; and He, who is defective in this Qualification, is thereby rendred utterly incapable of all besides, as hath already been intimated in the Second Book. For, whoever undertakes any sort of Action or Management, must begin with informing himself, what his Business is, and with whom it lies. And therefore this Prudence, which undertakes to order and dispose whole Nations and Kingdoms; and whose peculiar Excellence and Commendation lies in the dexterity and skill of Governing and Administring the Affairs of the Publick to the best advantage, is manifestly a Relative Virtue; and the Terms of this Relation, whose Concern in this case is reciprocal, are the Sovereign and his Subjects: The first step then toward discharging this Duty, is a right understanding of the Parties; that is, of the People and their Subjection on the one hand; and the Supreme Authority of the Prince on the other; for both these I include in the Knowledge of the Government. 1. *Knowledge.*

First then, A Man in that elevated Post should apply himself to Study and understand the Humour and Complexion of the People. For this Knowledge will be a very great direction, and model the Person, to whose Governance they are committed. What the Disposition of the Common People is in general, hath been at large explain'd in the First Book, and their Picture drawn at full length. There we observ'd that their Reigning Qualities are, Fickleness and Inconstancy; A Spirit of Faction and Discontent; of Impertinence and Folly; Love of Vanity and Change; Insolence and insupportable Pride in Prosperity; Cowardice and Dejection of Mind in Adversity. But besides these Characters, which are common to Persons of that Condition every where, a Man must be still more particularly instructed in the Temper and Complexion of that Country, and those

Subjects, where himſelf is concern'd. For the Diſpoſitions of Men differ extremely, and are almoſt as various as the Towns wherein they dwell, or the Perſons that inhabit them. Some Nations are in a peculiar and diſtinguiſhing manner, Paſſionate or Cholerick, Bold and Warlike, Cowardly or Luxurious, addicted to Extravagance, to Wine, to Women; Laborious or Slothful; Frugal or Expenſive. And of thoſe, who agree in theſe Qualities, there is a difference in the meaſure; in Some they are more, and in Others leſs predominant. So neceſſary is that Rule, * *That The Common People muſt be Studied, firſt to know what they are, and then what is the beſt method of dealing with them.* And in this Senſe it is, that we are to underſtand the Old Philoſophers; when they pronounce Subjection and Obedience a neceſſary preparation to the Art of Ruling; † *No Man* (ſays *Seneca*) *ever Governs well, who hath not firſt liv'd under Government, and known what it is to be Commanded himſelf.* Not that we are to infer from hence any Neceſſity, or indeed ſo much as a Poſſibility, that all Princes ought to be rais'd to that Dignity from an Inferior Condition; for ſeveral of them are born Princes; and a Great many Governments paſs on in a Line, and come by Succeſſion, and Proximity in Blood: But the true Importance of that Maxim is, That whoever is deſirous to be a good Governor, muſt inform himſelf of the Humors and Inclinations of his Subjects, and underſtand, which are the reigning Qualities in them, as perfectly well, as if He had been one of the ſame Rank himſelf, and had felt and been acted by them in his own Perſon.

But then it is no leſs neceſſary, that the Condition of the Government ſhould be likewiſe thoroughly underſtood; and that not only What Sovereignty and Power is in general, according to the deſcription formerly given of it in the Firſt Part of this Treatiſe; but the Frame and Temper of that Government and that State in particular, where this Perſon himſelf preſides, what the Form and Conſtitution of it is, how it was fix'd and adjuſted, and what Extent of Power is veſted in him; Whether it be an Old or Later Eſtabliſhment; whether it deſcend by Inheritance, or whether it be conferred by Election; whether it were obtain'd by Re-

* Noſcenda Natura Vulgi, & quibus modis temperanter habeatur.

† Nemo bene imperat, niſi qui ante paruerit imperio.

gular

gular and Legal Methods, or whether acquired by Force of Arms; how far his Juriſdiction reaches; what Neighbours are about him; what Strength and what Conveniences he is provided with. For according to theſe, and a great many other Circumſtances, too tedious to be ſpecificed here, a different ſort of Conduct will be found neceſſary. The Scepter muſt be ſwayed, as ſuch Conſiderations ſhall dictate; One and the ſame Method will not ſerve all alike; but the Rules and the Adminiſtration muſt be ſuited to the Temper of the Beaſt, and as this proves to be harder or ſofter mouth'd, ſo the Rider muſt take care to keep a ſlacker or a ſtiffer Rein.

2. *The ſecond Head. Virtue.*

After this Knowledge of the State and Government, which as I ſaid, is in the Nature of a Preface, or Indroduction to all the following Heads, the next both in Order and Dignity is Virtue. And no Man can wonder that ſo honourable a Place is aſſign'd to This, among the neceſſary Qualifications of a Governour, who at all conſiders, how abſolutely and indiſpenſably needful it is to a Prince, and that, both upon his own Account, and for the Benefit of the Publick. Firſt of all, it is highly reaſonable, as *Cyrus* well obſerves, That he, who is above all the reſt in Honour and Authority, ſhould be ſo in Goodneſs too; This is no more, than what ſuch a Great and Elevated Station may juſtly ſeem to require of him. Then his own Reputation is nearly concerned in it; For Common Fame makes it one great part of its Buſineſs to pick up and diſperſe every thing that our Governours do or ſay: The Prince ſtands expoſed to the publick View; every Eye is upon him, and he is curiouſly watched. There is no ſuch thing in Nature, as Privacy for Princes; They can no more be conceal'd, than the Sun in the Firmament. They are the conſtant Subject of Diſcourſe in every Company; and ſo are ſure to have a great deal of Good, or a great deal of Ill ſaid of them. And it is of exceeding great Conſequence to any Governour; both with regard to his Perſonal, and the Common Intereſt and ſafety, what Opinion the World have of him. Nor is it enough, that the Supreme Governour be Virtuous in his own Temper and Converſation, but he is likewiſe oblig'd to take good care, that his Subjects be like him in Goodneſs. And how deeply This concerns him, I appeal to the Univerſal Conſent of all Good and Learned Men, who with one Voice declare it impoſſible for that Kingdom, or Nation, that City or leſs So-

Society of Men to proſper, nay, ſo much as to ſubſiſt long, who have baniſhed Virtue from among them. And thoſe nauſeous Flatterers prevaricated much too groſsly, who pretend that it is for the Advantage and Security of Princes, that their Subjects ſhould be abandon'd to Wickedneſs and Vice: Becauſe ſay they, This emaſculates their Minds, and renders them more tame and ſervile in their Diſpoſitions; ſo *Pliny* in his Panegyrick, ſays, * *They are more patient under Slavery, who are fit for nothing but to be Slaves.* For, quite contrary, we find by unqueſtionable Experience, that the more Vicious Men are, the more do they flinch, and grow unruly under the Yoke: The Good and the Gentle, the Meek and Sweet-temper'd Men, theſe are much better qualified to live in Fear and Awe of Authority themſelves; than to be an Awe or give occaſion of Jealouſie to their Governours. † *Every Man is more ungovernable, in proportion, as he is a worſe Man,* ſays *Saluſt:* Mutiny, and Diſcontent, and perpetual Uneaſineſs, are the ſure Attendants of a profligate Mind. *On the other hand, Good Men are very eaſily kept in order; they give their Superiours little trouble, but had rather ſubmit with Reverence and Fear, than be a Terror or Diſturbance to thoſe above them.* Now there cannot be a more powerful Motive, a more efficacious Mean of bringing over the People, and forming them into Virtue, than the Example of the Prince. For (as daily Experience ſhews,) every one affects to be like Him; and the Court is the Standard of Manners, as well as of Faſhions. The Reaſon is, becauſe Example is what Men are ſooner moved, and more ſtrongly wrought upon by, than Laws; for this is a Law in dumb Show, but hath more Credit and Authority, than the Voice of the Law ſpeaking in Commands. ∴ *We do not want Precepts ſo much as Patterns, and Example is the ſofteſt and leaſt invidious way of Commanding*; ſays *Pliny*. Now, if all Example be a mighty Inducement, That of Great Perſons muſt be ſo in a Degree proportionable to their Quality and Station: For all the Little Ones fix their Eyes and Hearts here, and take their Obſervations from thoſe above them. They ſwallow all without chew-

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* Patientiores ſervitutis, quos non decet niſi eſſe ſervos.

† Peſſimus quiſque aſperrime Rectorem patitur: Contrà. Facile Imperium in Bonos, qui metuentes magis quam metuendi.

∴ Nec tam Imperio nobis opus quam Exemplo; & mitius juberur Exemplo.

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ing; admire and imitate at a venture; and conclude, that their Superiours would not be guilty of any Behaviour unbecoming their Character; and if They do a thing, it muſt needs be excellent and good. And on the other hand, Governours are ſo ſenſible of the Force of this Motive too, that they think their Subjects indiſpenſably obliged to thoſe Rules which they are content to be governed by themſelves; and that their own doing what they would have done by others, is ſingly a ſufficient Inducement, to bring it into Practice and common Vogue, without the Formality of a Command to enforce it. From all which it is abundantly manifeſt, that Virtue is exceeding neceſſary and advantageous to a Prince, both in point of Intereſt, and in point of Honour and Reputation.

3. *Four Principal Virtues.*

All Virtue is ſo in truth, without Exception, though not All equally neither; for there are four Species of it, which ſeem to have greater and more commanding Influence, than the reſt; and thoſe are *Piety*, *Juſtice*, *Valour* and *Clemency*. Theſe are more properly Princely Qualities, and ſhine brighteſt of all the Jewels that adorn a Crown; of the Excellencies, I mean, that even a Prince's Mind can be poſſibly endued with. This gave occaſion to that moſt Illuſtrious of all Princes, *Auguſtus Cæſar*, to ſay, That Piety and Juſtice exalt Kings, and tranſlate them into Gods: And *Seneca* obſerves, that Clemency is a Virtue more ſuitable to the Character of a Prince, than to perſons of any other Quality whatſoever.

Now the Piety of a Prince conſiſts and muſt exert it ſelf in the Care and Application, which he ought to uſe for the Preſervation and Advancement of Religion, of which every Sovereign ought to conſider himſelf, as the Guardian and Protector. And thus indeed he ſhould do for his own ſake; for this Zeal and pious Care will contribute very much to his own Honour and Safety. For they that have any regard for God, will not dare to attempt, no not ſo much as to contrive or imagine, any Miſchief againſt that Prince who is God's Image upon Earth; and who plainly approves himſelf to be ſuch, by his zealous and tender Concern for the Glory and the Inſtitution of his great Original. And in effect, this tends to the Security of the People too, and the Quiet of the Government in general. For, as *Lactantius* frequently urges, Religion is the common Band, that links Communities together; Society could not be ſupported without it. Take off this Reſtraint

ſtraint, and the World would immediately be overrun with all manner of Wickedneſs, Barbarity and Brutality. So great an Intereſt hath every Government in Religion; ſo ſtrong, ſo neceſſary a Curb is the Senſe, and Fear, and Reverence of it to unruly Mankind. Thus on the other hand, even *Cicero*, who does not appear to have been any mighty Devote, makes it his Obſervation, That the *Romans* owed the Riſe, and Growth, and flouriſhing Condition of their Commonwealth, to their Exemplary Reſpect for Religion, more than to any other Cauſe whatſoever. Upon this account, every Sovereign is very highly concerned, and ſtrictly oblig'd to ſee, that Religion be preſerv'd entire, and that no Breaches be made upon it: That it be encourag'd and ſupported, according to the eſtabliſh'd Laws, in all its Rights, Ceremonies, Uſages, and Local Conſtitutions: Great Diligence ſhould be uſed to prevent Quarrels, Diviſions, and Innovations; and ſevere Puniſhments inflicted upon all who go about to alter, or diſturb, or infringe it. For, without all Controveſie, every Injury done to Religion, and all raſh and bold Alterations in it, draw after them a very conſiderable damage to the Civil State; weaken the Government, and have a general ill Influence upon Prince and People both; as *Mæcenas* very excellently argues, in his Oration to *Auguſtus*. *Dion.*

4. *Juſtice and Fidelity.* Next after Piety, Juſtice is of greateſt Conſequence and Neceſſity; without which Governments are but ſo many Sets of *Banditi*, Robbers, and Invaders of the Rights of their Brethren. This therefore a Prince ought by all means to preſerve and maintain in due Honour and Regard; both in his own Perſon and Converſation, and in the Obſervance of thoſe under his Juriſdiction.

1. It is neceſſary to be ſtrictly obſerved by the Sovereign Himſelf: For nothing but Deteſtation and the utmoſt Abhorrence is due to thoſe Barbarous and Tyrannical Maxims, which pretend to ſet a Prince above all Laws; and to complement him with a Power of Diſpenſing at Pleaſure with Reaſon, and Equity, and all manner of Obligation and Conſcience; which tell Kings that they are not bound by any Engagements; and that their Will and Pleaſure is the only Meaſure of their Duty; That Laws were made for common Men, and not for ſuch as They; That every thing is Good and Juſt, which they find moſt practicable and convenient: In ſhort, that their Equity is their Strength; and whatever they can do, that

that they may do. * *No Man ever preſumes to preſcribe to Princes, or include them within the Verge of any Laws, but their own Inclinations. In the higheſt Poſt, Juſtice is always on the ſtronger ſide: That which is moſt profitable, can never be unlawful, Holineſs and Piety, Faith and Truth, and common Honeſty are the Virtues of private Men: Princes may take their own Courſe, and are above theſe vulgar Diſpenſations.* So ſay *Pliny* and *Tacitus*. But againſt this falſe Doctrine, too apt to be liked by Perſons in Power, I entreat my wiſe Prince, to oppoſe the really Excellent and Pious Sentences and Directions of Grave and Good Philoſophers. "They tell you, That the greater Power any Man is inveſted "with, the more regular and modeſt he ſhould be in the "Exerciſe of it; That this is one of thoſe Things which "muſt always be uſed with a Reſerve; and the more one "could do, the leſs it will become him to do. That the "more abſolute and unbounded any Man's Authority is, the "greater Check, and more effectual Reſtraint he hath upon "him. That every Man's Ability ſhould be meaſured by "his Duty; and what he may not, that he cannot do. † *He that can do what he will, muſt take care to will but a very little. And Great Men ſhould never think they have a Liberty of doing what ought not to be done.*

The Prince then ought to lead the way, and be firſt and moſt eminent for Juſtice and Equity; and particularly he muſt be ſure to be very punctual to his Word; and to keep his Faith and his Promiſe moſt inviolably; becauſe Fidelity and Truth is the Foundation of all manner of Juſtice whatſoever; whether to all his Subjects in general, or to each Perſon in particular. How mean ſoever the Party, or how ſlight ſoever the Occaſion be, ſtill this Word muſt be Sacred. When he hath thus provided for his own Behaviour, his next Care is, to ſee that others are Juſt too. For This indeed is the Fundamental Article of all Government, the very End of its Inſtitution, and the particular Truſt put into the Hands of every Sovereign. He hath his Power committed to him for this very Purpoſe, To take care that

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*Principi Leges nemo ſcripſit. Licet, ſi libet. In ſummâ fortunâ id æquius quod validius; nihil injuſtum quod fructuoſum. Sanctitas, Pietas, Fides privata bona ſunt; quà juvat Reges eant.

† Minimum decet libere, cui nimium licet.
Non fas potentes poſſe, fieri quod nefas.

Ju-

Juſtice be equally diſtributed, and Wrongs and Oppreſſions repreſs'd, by interpoſing his Arbitration and the Power of the Sword. Therefore he ought in Perſon, or in Authority and Deputation, to hear and decide Cauſes; to let every one have a fair Tryal, to award to each Party what by the Letter of the Law, or by the equitable Conſtruction of it, belongs to him; and all this without Delays, or Quirks, or Trickings; without Perplexing the Caſe, or Countenancing Foul and Litigious Practice: And in order hereunto it were very well if that Way of Pleading now in uſe, could be either reformed, as it ought, or quite turn'd out of doors; which is at preſent become a moſt vile, moſt deſtructive Trade, a perfect Market, † *A Robbery and Picking of Pockets Countenanc'd by the Law*, and upheld under the Pretence of a Learned and Honourable Profeſſion. It will alſo be adviſable, to avoid, as much as may be, Multiplicity of Laws and Decrees, which only breed Confuſion, and are ∴ *A Symptom of a ſick and corrupt State*, as ſure as taking much Phyſick and wearing many Plaiſters are Signs of groſs Humours and ill Health. For unleſs ſome Care of this kind be taken, that which is eſtabliſhed by Good and Wiſe Laws, will be defeated and quite overturned again, by too many Laws.

One thing, by the way, ought not to be omitted upon this Occaſion; which is, that the Juſtice, and Virtue, and Probity of a Prince is not in all Points ty'd up to the ſame Methods, and manner of Proceeding with that of Perſons in a private Capacity. It hath a larger Range, and freer Scope allow'd; and all this Latitude is Indulgence little enough; no more than is abſolutely neceſſary for the Weighty and Hazardous Office our Governours are engag'd in, and the Infinite Unconceivable Difficulties that ariſe in their Adminiſtration. This makes it reaſonable for Them to go in a Way by Themſelves; the common and direct Tract is too Narrow; they are oblig'd to ſhift, and dodge, and wheel about, and whatever Cenſures People, who underſtand not the Nature of the Caſe, may paſs, as if every thing that is unuſual and indirect, were preſently Wicked and Unjuſt; yet thoſe, who are capable of conſidering, and competent Judges of the Matter, muſt admit it to be lawful and allowable

† Conceſſum Latrocinium. *Columel.*
∴ Corruptiſſimæ Reipub. plurimæ leges.

lowable, as well as prudent and needful for them to do. For Prudence muſt be mix'd with Juſtice; ſome Feints and Stratagems, and little Slights made uſe of; and (as they commonly expreſs it) when the Lion's Skin is not big enough of it ſelf, it muſt be eked out, by tacking a Fox-Skin to it.

Nor would I be ſo miſtaken here neither, as to be thought a Juſtifier of theſe crafty Dealings at all times, and in all Caſes indifferently. By no means, This is not a ſtanding Rule of Action; But muſt be reſerv'd for ſpecial Occaſions; and particularly, there muſt be three Conditions to warrant it. The firſt is abſolute Neceſſity, or at leaſt, ſome evident and very conſiderable Advantage to the Publick (that is, to the Prince and the State, who are to be look'd upon as One and the Same, and their Intereſts altogether inſeparable) and this muſt by all means be conſulted, and made the chief Aim. This is a natural, an indiſpenſable Obligation: For the Publick Good is a Conſideration Paramount to all others; and the Man that is procuring it, cannot but be doing his Duty.

* *See the Notes.*

* *The Safety of the People muſt be the Supreme Law.*

The Second Qualification which theſe Methods muſt have to recommend them, nay indeed to acquit them of Blame, is, That they be uſed Defenſively, only and not Offenſively; with a Deſign to preſerve a Prince or a State, but not to aggrandize Them, and oppreſs Others. For this Reaſon they ſhould ſeldom or never be begun with, but only returned back again; and then are they in proper time and Place, when employ'd to ſave the Publick from Snares and Subtle Deſigns, and not to contrive, but to diſcover and defeat miſchievous and wicked Practices. For one Trick may be anſwered with another; and it is reaſonable to play the Fox with a Fox. The World is exceeding full of Malice and Cunning: And *Ariſtotle*'s Obſervation is moſt true, That the Subverſion of States and Kingdoms is uſually owing to Treachery and Deceit. What then ſhould hinder? what forbid? Nay, in ſuch Exigencies, what can excuſe the Conſervators of the Publick Safety, from preventing and diſappointing ſuch Calamities and Villainous Intentions by countermining? Why may not the State ſave it ſelf

* Salus Populi Suprema Lex eſto.

by

by the ſame Methods that were practis'd to ruine it, and retort the Artifice of Factious and Wicked Male-contents back upon their own Heads? For a Man to be too Squeamiſh in theſe Caſes; to play conſtantly above-board and upon the ſquare; and deal with theſe Men according to the Rules of that Rigorous Equity and Plain-dealing, which Reaſon and Conſcience require from us in private Affairs, is inconſiſtent with the Nature and the Meaſures, nay, with the very End of all Government; and the Event would often be the betraying and loſing all, and Sacrificing the Publick to an Unreaſonable Scruple.

The Third Qualification is, That theſe Methods be uſed moderately and diſcreetly; As they are not fit for all Times, nor all Occaſions; ſo neither are all Perſons fit to be truſted with them. For they are capable of great Abuſes: And if abuſed, will prove of ill Example and ill Conſequence by miniſtring Occaſion to ill Men, to practiſe and juſtifie their Frauds and indirect Dealings, and ſo giving Countenance to Wickedneſs and Injuſtice, even in private Commerce and Tranſactions: For a Man is never at Liberty to forſake Virtue and Honeſty, to follow Vice and Injuſtice; Theſe things are ſo far from indifferent, that there is no Poſſibility of reconciling thoſe diſtant Extremes, no Satisfaction capable of being made for ſo ill a Choice. And therefore away with all Injuſtice and Infidelity, all Treacherous and Illegal Proceedings; and curſed be the Principles and the Politicks of thoſe Men, who (as I inſtanc'd before) would poſſeſs Sovereign Commanders with a Belief that all things are lawful, if they be but expedient for them. There is a vaſt difference between ſuch an Arbitrary Notion of Right and Wrong, and the Rules and Limitations I have here laid down. Reaſons of State may ſometimes make it neceſſary to temper Honeſty with Profit, and try if theſe two can be ſo mingled together as to make a good Compoſition. But, tho' we may try to compound and ſoften the Matter, yet we muſt never act in oppoſition to Juſtice. We may, nay, we muſt ſometimes uſe Artifice and Subtilty; we may ſometimes wheel off a little, and fetch a Compaſs about it; but we muſt never loſe Sight of it, much leſs turn our Backs upon it, and caſt all Regard for ſo Sacred a Thing behind us. For there is a Cunning very conſiſtent with Virtue and ſtrict Honour, ſuch as St. *Baſil* the Great calls *a Great and Commendable Cunning*, (*Magna & laudabilis Aſtutia*) ſuch as tends to Good; and may be uſed, as Mothers and Phyſicians deal by

by their Children and their Patients, when they tell them fine Stories to amuſe and entertain them, and by degrees cheat them into Health. In ſhort, many things may be tranſacted ſecretly and in the dark, which are not fit for publick View, and will not bear an opener Proceſs; Prudence and Stratagem may be added to Courage and Strength. Art and Wit may ſupply the Defects of Nature and Force, in caſes which theſe are not ſufficient to manage: A Governour may, nay, he ought to be, as *Pindar* calls it, a Lion in the Field, and a Fox at the Council-Table; or, as that Divine Saviour, who was Truth it ſelf, hath expreſt himſelf upon another occaſion; He may be a ſubtle Serpent, but ſtill a harmleſs Dove.

6. *Diſtruſting others.*

To ſay ſomewhat of this Matter more particularly, and give the Reader a diſtinct Notion, what ſort of Subtlety I mean. I ſay that Diſtruſt, and the keeping himſelf much upon the Reſerve, is highly requiſite in a Prince; and this is to be done, without abandoning Virtue and Equity. Diſtruſt, which is the former of theſe two Qualifications, is abſolutely neceſſary; as indeed its contrary, Credulity, and Eaſineſs, and raſh Confidence, is a very great Fault, and of moſt dangerous Conſequence to a Prince: For his Station obliges him to Vigilance; he is accountable for the whole Community, and therefore no Faults of his own can be light and inconſiderable; and where every Action hath ſo mighty effect, ſuch univerſal Influence, great Care ſhould be taken, and every thing done adviſedly. If he be of a confiding Temper, he diſcovers his Intentions, and lays himſelf open to Shame and Reproach, and a world of Dangers; * *He lays himſelf in the way of being ill uſed*; nay, he even invites and tempts treacherous and deceitful People to practiſe upon him; and gives them a power to do a World of Miſchief, with very little danger, and great Opportunities of Advantage to themſelves. Knaves have always the Inclination to be falſe; and truſting them gives them Ability of gratifying that Inclination to our Prejudice. A Prince ſhould always retreat behind this Shield of Diffidence; as ſome of the Philoſophers have ſtiled it, who repreſent it as a very conſiderable Branch of practical Wiſdom, the very Nerves and Sinews, that impart Strength and Motion: That

* Opportunus Injuriæ. *Senec.* Aditum nocendi Perfido præſtat Fides.

Diffidence, I mean, which conſiſts in keeping ones Eyes open, ones Mind in ſuſpence, ſuſpecting and providing againſt every thing. And for all this, he will not need any more convincing Reaſon, any ſtronger Inducement, than barely the reflections upon the Temper and Condition of the World would give him. To obſerve, how all Mankind are made up of Falſhood and Deceit, of Tricks and Lies; how Unfaithful and Dangerous, how full of Diſguiſe and Deſign all Converſation is at preſent become, but eſpecially, how much more it abounds near his own Perſon, and how manifeſtly Hypocriſie and Diſſimulation are the reigning Qualities of Prince's Courts, and Great Men's Families, above any other places whatſoever. A King therefore muſt be ſure to truſt but Few, but very Few; and thoſe ſhould always be ſuch, as long Acquaintance, and many Tryals have given him a perfect Underſtanding, and good Aſſurance of. And even theſe moſt intimate Confidents muſt be conſulted with ſo diſcreetly, that he never commit himſelf entirely, and without any reſerve to them; he muſt not give them all the Rope, but conſtantly keep one End in his own Hand; and how long a Range ſoever he think fit to allow them, yet it will be very neceſſary to have an Eye always upon their Motions. But yet at the ſame time, this very Diſtruſt muſt be concealed, and diſſembled too; and in the very midſt of his Reſerves, a Prince muſt put on the Air of Openneſs and Friendſhip, and appear to repoſe a mighty Confidence in thoſe about him. For nothing is more provoking and offenſive, than plainly to ſee one's ſelf ſuſpected; and this Diſtance and Jealouſie is ſometimes as ſtrong a Temptation to Treachery and foul Play, as too ſupine and free a Confidence. * *Many Perſons*, ſays *Seneca*, *have put it into People's Heads to deceive them, who would never have harbour'd any ſuch Thought, if their own Fears of being deceived, had not given the firſt Hint.* And thus it is ſometimes in the other Extreme too; A very great Frankneſs and declar'd Reliance, oftentimes takes off the Inclination to betray a Secret, and wrong the good Opinion and Confidence you have of them: And many People have been brought over to ſtrict Loyalty and Fidelity, and hearty Affection, by ſeeing themſelves free-

* Multi fallere docuerunt timentes falli. *Sen.*

ly

ly dealt with. For * *Every body naturally loves to be truſted; and the repoſing a more than ordinary Confidence, ſometimes fixes a Man in Your Intereſts, and engages him to be Secret and Faithful.* So much Ingenuity ſtill remains in the moſt degenerate Minds, that they ſee the Odiouſneſs of Treachery and Falſhood; and tho' Gain put too many upon doing the thing, yet not one of all thoſe can bear the Imputation, or be reconciled to the Character of Falſifying a Truſt.

7. *Diſſimulation.*

From that Diſtruſt ſprings Diſſimulation; which is a Branch of the ſame Stock: For were there no ſuch thing as Diffidence and Reſerve, but Frankneſs and Fidelity, and Good Aſſurance every-where, there would be no place left for Diſſembling; whoſe Buſineſs it is to open the Face, but cover the Heart; and while one's outward Air ſeems to unlock all, to keep the Thoughts and Intentions cloſe and unſeen. Now the ſame Diſſimulation, which in Perſons of private Condition would be vicious and abominable, is in Princes highly commendable; there is no diſcharging their weighty Affairs without it; and the very thing which ruins common Converſation, is the beſt Security, and neceſſary ſupport of Government. Feints and Pretences are abſolutely requiſite, not in Military Conduct only, and time of War, to amuſe Enemies and Strangers, but even in Peace and Civil Adminiſtration towards one's own Subjects; tho' upon ſuch Occaſions, I confeſs, they ought to be practiſed more ſparingly and nicely. The plain, and free, and open, ſuch as we commonly ſay carry their Heart in their Faces, are by no means cut out for the Buſineſs of Governing; they often ruine and betray both themſelves and their People. And yet, as was obſerved in the former Paragraph, ſo here again, this Diſſimulation requires ſome Dexterity and Skill. It is not every one whoſe Temper will let him diſſemble, that is Maſter of this Art; for unleſs the Part be play'd well, it is abſolutely ſpoil'd; and therefore care muſt be taken of Over-doing, and Unſeaſonableneſs, and aukward improper Carriage: For This is eaſily ſeen through, and then you loſe your End. For to what purpoſe do you hide and diſguiſe your ſelf, if the Mask be ſo plain, that every Body can diſtinguiſh, and ſee you put it

* Vult quiſque ſibi credi, & habita fides ipſam plerunque obligat fidem.

on? And how vain are all Pretences and little Artifices, when the Secret is once out, and the Deſign hath taken Air? Their very Nature then is changed, and they ceaſe from thenceforward to be Artifices any more. It is therefore fit for a Prince to pretend to Simplicity and Sincerity, the better to cover his Addreſs of this kind; and convenient for him to court, and careſs, and commend Men of open Tempers and free Carriage, and all that profeſs themſelves Enemies to Diſſimulation; nay, it is expedient for him, in matters of leſs Conſequence, to act ſo, and gain the Reputation of ſuch a one himſelf, that ſo he may be more at liberty to uſe Art and Reſerve in Affairs of greater Moment, and be ſafe from Jealouſie when he does ſo; under the ſhelter of a contrary Character.

8. *Secret Service.* What hath hitherto been exemplify'd, is chiefly on the Omitting ſide; and the Exerciſe of it conſiſts not ſo much in Action, as in forbearing, and ſeeming not to act. But ſome Occaſions require a great deal more; and therefore a Prince muſt be qualify'd for bolder Strokes, and advance to actual Deceit; of which there are Two ſorts neceſſary to be underſtood, and ſometimes to be practiſed.

The Firſt is That of ſetling a private Correſpondence, and getting Intelligence underhand: The engaging the Affections and Services of Officers, Attendants, Counſellors, and Confidents to Foreign Princes; or, if occaſion be, contriving to have ſecret Information, not only how one's Enemies, or Brother-Kings, but even one's own Subjects behave themſelves; and what Deſigns are brewing. This is a ſort of Subtlety much in requeſt, and every where made uſe of, between one Prince and another; and *Tully* recommends it as a very conſiderable Point of Prudence. Sometimes this is effected by the power of Perſuaſion only; but, generally ſpeaking, there are more ſenſible and moving Arguments made uſe of, than bare Words can pretend to; Preſents, I mean, and Penſions; whoſe Force is ſo irreſiſtible, that not only Secretaries of State, Preſidents of Councils, particular Friends, and intimate Favourites, have by this means been prevailed upon to communicate, and ſo prevent and defeat the Deſigns of the Maſter, whoſe Bread they eat, and to whoſe Countenance and Bounty they owe all their Greatneſs; not only Commanders have aſſiſted their Enemies in time of Action; but, which is ſtill more prodigious, and proves the Almighty Power of Bribery, to the Eternal Reproach of treacherous corrupt Nature, even Wives themſelves

ſelves have been hired to diſcover the Secrets, and betray the ſafety of their own Husbands. Now this corrupting the Confidents of others, is what a great many make no ſcruple of approving; and indeed, if it be practiſed either againſt a declared Enemy, or a Subject of one's own, who hath miniſtred juſt Grounds of Suſpicion; or if it be againſt any Stranger in general, with whom we are under no particular Engagements of Alliance or Friendſhip, or mutual Truſts, there ſeems to be no great difficulty in allowing it to Princes: But certainly it can never be juſtify'd againſt Confederates and Friends; for where any ſuch Obligations intervene, theſe very Attempts to debauch thoſe upon whoſe Secrecy and Advice they rely, is a piece of Treachery never to be indulged them.

The other ſort of neceſſary Deceit, is the Addreſs of gaining Advantages, and compaſſing one's Deſign by cunning and unſeen Methods; by equivocating and ambiguous Terms; by refin'd Subtleties, and deep Intrigues; by good Words, fair Promiſes, Complements and Congratulations, the Formalities of Embaſſies and Letters; by theſe outwardly fair Pretences, and amuſing Stratagems, bringing Matters about, and ſecuring Advantages, which the want of Time, or Opportunity, or the Difficulty and Perplexity of a Prince's Affairs had cut him out from effecting any other way: And ſo he muſt work like a Mole, under-ground, and do that unſeen and behind the Curtain, which will not bear the open Stage. There have been ſeveral great and wiſe Men of Opinion, that theſe Proceedings are lawful as well as expedient. * *Governours ought to make no ſcruple of having frequent recourſe to Lies and Tricks, when the Advantage of their Subjects is concerned,* (ſays one). And another, *That it is a Part of Prudence to deceive, as occaſion and the preſent poſture of Affairs ſhall require.* I muſt confeſs for my own part, Theſe ſeem to me very bold Aſſertions; and I think the pronouncing ſuch Practices generally and in themſelves lawful, ſavours of too much Poſitiveneſs, or too great Latitude. The furtheſt I dare ſtretch in favour of them, and that poſſibly one might venture to ſay, is, That where the Caſe is almoſt deſperate, and the Neceſſity exceeding ur-

Plato. Pliny. Valer. Maxim.

* Crebro mendacio & fraude uti Imperantes debent ad Commodum Subditorum. Decipere pro moribus temporum Prudentiæ eſt.

gent, when it is a Seaſon of Perplexity, and Confuſion, and general Diſorder; when the End propoſed to be attained by it, is not only the promoting the Intereſt or Greatneſs of a Commonwealth, but the averting and ſhifting off ſome very great and threatning Miſchiefs; and when the Perſons, againſt whom we take theſe Advantages, are profligate, and of no Principles themſelves; I ſay, all theſe Circumſtances concurring, a Man perhaps might venture to ſay that ſuch Tricks of State are either no Faults; or if they, be, very moderate and pardonable Faults.

* See the Notes.

10. *Injuſtice for the Publick Good.*

* But there are other Inſtances ſtill behind of much greater difficulty; ſuch as miniſter very juſt ground of Doubt, whether they are allowable upon Reaſons of State, or not, becauſe they have a ſtrong Tincture of Injuſtice, and border hard upon Oppreſſion. I ſay they have a ſtrong Tincture, becauſe they are not totally unjuſt; for there is a Mixture of Juſtice at the ſame time, to temper and allay the Injuſtice that is in them. For were there not ſo, there could be no ſcruple. That which is altogether unjuſt, and manifeſtly ſo, all Men agree in condemning; even the vileſt Wretches alive have not yet put off all Diſtinctions of Right and Wrong, all Senſe of Guilt and Shame: But what they allow themſelves in the practice of, even that they diſallow in Profeſſion and Pretence. But the Caſe is otherwiſe in mixt Actions; there are Arguments and Appearances of Reaſon at leaſt, Examples and Authorities on both ſides; and a Man, that enters into the Diſquiſition, does not find it eaſie what Reſolutions to take. At leaſt he finds ſomewhat to give Countenance to what his Convenience perſuades; and that which hath divided Men's Judgments, and made it a moot Point, he thinks will be ſufficient for his Vindication. Abundance of Caſes of this nature might be ſpecify'd; but at preſent I ſhall content my ſelf with a few,

* The Reader is deſired to obſerve how cautious and tender the Author is, at the End of theſe Caſes, which is the more remarkable, becauſe he lived under an Abſolute and Arbitrary Government, where many things were practiſed and allowed, which can by no means hold, or be drawn into Precedents in limited Conſtitutions. And generally ſpeaking, no doubt that Prince governs beſt, who brings his Meaſures neareſt to thoſe of Common and Private Juſtice. The Reader will find an excellent Remark to this purpoſe, made by one who was himſelf an Emperor, in *M. Antonin.* εἰς ἑαυτὸν, *lib.* ix. *S.* 24.

that

that now occur to me, and leave it to the Reader, to put others like, or parallel to theſe, as he ſees fit.

What ſhall we ſay firſt to the ridding ones Hands of a troubleſome peſtilent Fellow, that propagates Faction and Diſorder, and is eternally breaking the publick Peace, by getting him taken off ſecretly, without any legal Proceſs? This Man, take notice, is ſuppoſed to deſerve Death, but the Circumſtances of the Offender, and of the Prince, are ſuch, that without manifeſt Danger to the State, he cannot be brought to Juſtice, nor made an Example in the common way. Here is, they tell you, no material Injuſtice in all This; the Offender hath but his Due; and, as Matters ſtand, the Publick is better ſerved by his having it in this way, than it could be, by puniſhing him after the manner of other Offenders of the like Nature. So that the moſt you can make of this, is a Breach of the Forms and Methods preſcribed by Law; and ſurely, they tell you, the Sovereign Prince is above Forms.

The next is Clipping the Wings, and giving a Check to the Wealth and Power of ſome Great Man, who is growing Popular, and ſtrengthening his Intereſt; and both from his Ability and Inclination to do Miſchief, becomes formidable to his Prince. The Queſtion here is, whether a Prince may not lower and cut ſuch a potent Subject ſhort in time, without ſtaying ſo long for a fair Provocation, that he ſhall be grown too big to be dealt with; and if any Attempts be made, either againſt the publick Peace in general, or the Life of the Prince in particular, it will not then be poſſible to prevent or to puniſh them, though we would never ſo fain.

Another is, In an extreme Exigence, and when no other Supplies are to be had, ſeizing upon private Stocks, and ſo compelling ſome of the wealthieſt Subjects to furniſh the Publick Neceſſities, when the Nation is not able by all its Publick Funds to ſupport it ſelf.

A Fourth is Infringing and Vacating ſome of the Rights and Privileges which ſome of the Subjects enjoy, when the Authority of the Prince is prejudiced and diminiſhed, and his Grandeur eclipſed by the Continuance of them.

The Laſt is, a Point of Prevention, when a Fort, or a Town, or a Province very commodious to the Government is ſeiz'd, and got into a Prince's Hands by interpoſing firſt; and to keep it out of the Poſſeſſion of ſome other powerful and very formidable Neighbour; who by making himſelf Maſter of this Paſs, would have been in a Condition of

doing great Injury, and giving perpetual Diſturbance to this Prince and his Country, who are now the firſt Occupiers.

All theſe things, I know, ſound harſh, and are hardly, if at all, to be reconciled with the common Notions of Juſtice. Matters of State are neither fit nor ſafe for me to give a Judgment in; thus much only, I think, may not misbecome this place to ſay, That, as on the one hand the indulging and having frequent recourſe to ſuch Actions is very dangerous, gives juſt matter of Jealouſie to the Subject, and will be apt to degenerate into Tyranny and Exorbitant uſe of Power; ſo on the other, it is plain, Subjects ought to be modeſt and very ſparing in cenſuring the Actions of their Prince, and the Steps he makes for the publick Safety, however bold they may ſeem, and beyond the Lengths which are commonly gone. And this ſuſpending at leaſt of our Judgments in matters of another and very diſtant Sphere, will appear the more reaſonable, when I have ſhewed you that very eminent Men, Perſons of acknowledged Virtue as well as vaſt Learning and Wiſdom, have approved all thoſe Practiſes already mention'd, and think them not amiſs, provided the Succeſs be good, and anſwer their Intentions. And to this purpoſe I will quote you here ſome of thoſe Sentences and Remarks which they have left us upon ſuch Occaſions.

In order to preſerve Juſtice in greater and more important Matters, there is ſometimes a neceſſity (ſays *Plutarch*) *of deviating from it in thoſe of leſs Moment. And in order to doing Right to the generality, and in the groſs, it is allowable to put ſome Hardſhips, and be guilty of ſome Wrong to particular Perſons.* * *Commonly ſpeaking,* (ſays *Tacitus*) *the braveſt Exploits, and moſt celebrated Examples, carry ſomewhat of Injuſtice in them: But in this Caſe, what Private Men ſuffer is abundantly compenſated by the Benefit which the Publick receives from it.* † *A Prudent Prince,* ſays *Plutarch* again, *muſt not only know how to govern according to Law; But if a neceſſary occaſion require it, he muſt learn to govern even the Laws themſelves; When they fall ſhort of their End, and cannot do what they would, he muſt ſtretch and correct, and give a new Power to the Laws where they hap-*

* Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod adverſus ſingulos utilitate publicâ rependitur.

† Οὕτως ἡγεμονικὴν φυὴν ἔχων, ὃ χρὴ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νόμων ἄρχειν ἐπίσατο πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, &c. *in fine Flamin.*

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pen to be defective; that is, *if they are not willing he ſhould do what is fitting in that Juncture, he muſt make them willing. ∴ When the State is in Confuſion, and things brought to a Plunge, the Prince* (ſays *Curtius*) *muſt not think himſelf obliged to follow that which will look or ſound beſt to the World, but that which the preſent Extremity calls for.* And again, * *Neceſſity,* (ſays *Seneca*) *That great Refuge and Excuſe for Humane Frailty, breaks thro' all Laws; and he is not to be accounted in fault, whoſe Crime is not the Effect of Choice, but Force. Ariſtotle's* Rule is, *If a Prince cannot be good in every part of his Government, 'tis enough that he be ſo in the greater, or at leaſt an equal part; but let him be ſure not to be bad in every part.* And *Democritus, That it is impoſſible for the beſt Princes in the World not to be guilty of ſome Injuſtice.*

Thus much however, I preſume to add, that let theſe Actions of theirs find never ſo favourable Interpretations, never ſo juſt Allowances; yet for their own Juſtification, and the ſoftening as much as may be, the Odium of ſuch irregular Proceedings: There is not only a Neceſſity that they ſhould be reſerved for the laſt Extremities, but that when Princes are perfectly driven to make uſe of them, they ſhould go about it with a real unwillingneſs and great Regret. They ſhould look upon This neceſſity to which they are reduced, as a very particular Misfortune, and Mark of an angry Providence; and all their Behaviour and Reſentments upon ſuch Occaſions, muſt be like thoſe of tender Parents, when, ſore againſt their Will, a beloved Child is to have a Limb ſear'd, or cut off; Methods which nothing but the hope of ſaving his Life by this only Remedy, could ever prevail with them to ſubmit to; or as a Man in extremity of Pain goes about the drawing a Tooth, when nothing elſe will eaſe or aſſwage the Anguiſh. And now I have related the Opinions of very eminent Philoſophers and Politicians, and obſerved what Abatements they are content to make for Caſes of neceſſity; I muſt once more ſolemnly avow, that as for any Paſſages, or Politick Maxims, which pretend to greater Liberties, ſuch as ſet a Prince above all Conſideration of Law or Juſtice, that make Profit and Greatneſs the only End worthy

∴ Non ſpecioſa dictu, ſed uſu neceſſaria in rebus adverſis ſequenda eſſe. *Q. Curt. Lib. 5.*

* Neceſſitas magnum imbecillitatis humanæ patrocinium, omnem Legem frangit; non eſt nocens, quicunque non ſponte eſt nocens. *Senec.*

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his proſecuting; and either place Advantage upon the Level with Honeſty, or ſet it higher, every Good Man muſt abominate them; and every good Governour will be ſo far from taking his meaſures according to this Standard, that he will reject them with Deteſtation and Diſdain.

I have inſiſted ſo much the longer upon this Branch of a Prince's Virtue; becauſe of the many Difficulties and Doubts, which ariſe upon this Point of Juſtice; the regular Exerciſe and Adminiſtration whereof muſt needs be very much interrupted and perplexed by the infinite Emergencies, the ſudden and extraordinary Changes, and the Neceſſities that the publick happens to be invovl'd in. And theſe oftentimes are ſo very intricate and preſſing, that they may very well be allowed to puzzle the Wiſeſt, and to ſtagger the braveſt, and moſt reſolute Commanders.

11. *Valour.* After Juſtice follows Valour; by which I mean particularly that Virtue which is Military; The Courage, the Conduct, the Capacity, which go to the making a Compleat General. For this is a Qualificatian abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince, for the Defence and Security of his own Perſon, and the Publick both. The Welfare of his Subjects, the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, the Rights and Liberties of a Nation, All lie at His Charge; He is their Conſervator, and they depend upon his Ability, to aſſert, and protect, and maintain them. All which Valour only can enable him to do; and by the very little ſaid already upon it, That appears to be ſo eſſential a part of the Royal Character, that a Man who hath it not, ſcarce deſerves the Name of a Prince.

12. *Clemency.* Let us now proceed to the Fourth Princely Virtue, which is *Clemency*. By which I mean ſuch a Habit and Diſpoſition of Mind, as inclines the Prince to Mildneſs and Gentleneſs; to Gracious Allowances, and large Abatements from the Rigour of the Law, and Extremity of Juſtice; and all this temper'd with Judgment and Diſcretion. This moderates, manages, and ſweetens all; it ſpurs the Guilty, relieves the Poor and dejected, and reſcues thoſe that are ready to periſh. Clemency in the Ruler anſwers to Humanity in common Men; it is contrary to Cruelty and exceſs of Rigour, but not to Juſtice; for with this it is very reconcilable, and all its Care is to ſoften, and to moderate its Determinations. Nothing can be more neceſſary, more ſeaſonable, conſidering the many Infirmities of Humane Nature; how great a part of Mankind offend wilfully, and do what they ſhould not; and how often do even the beſt intending Men, fall ſhort of

of what they ſhould? Extreme Rigour, and * ſevere Uſage, without any intermiſſion, any Abatement, ſpoils all; it hardens Mens Tempers, and brings Authority into Contempt. Puniſhments loſe their Force, and their End, when made common, and executed every Day; they provoke Mens Indignation and Malice, (for indeed Men are often Wicked out of mere Rage and Spight,) and many Rebellions have been rais'd by the Thirſt of Revenge. There is ſomething in Fear, which is even deſtructive of Duty, if it be not tempered, and kept within Bounds by Lenity and good Nature; and if turn'd into Horrour by ſharp Uſage, and too ſtrong Impreſſions, it grows Furious and Deſperate, Malicious and Bloody. Thus the Author hath obſerv'd very truly, ∴ That *Fear which ſecures Peace and good Order, muſt be moderate; if once it become continual and extreme, it ſpurs Men on to Mutiny and Revenge.* Clemency is likewiſe of great Advantage, both to the Prince and the Publick, as it gains the Good-will of the Subjects, and binds them in the ſtraiteſt and the ſureſt Ties to the Government; even thoſe of Affection and Kindneſs, for theſe are always the ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting Security; and † A *Prince never ſits ſo faſt, as when his Subjects are eaſie, and take a pleaſure in their Obedience*, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew hereafter. For in ſuch a Caſe the People will look upon their Governour, as a ſort of Deity Incarnate; They will honour and adore him as ſuch; they will reſpect and love him as their Guardian, their Common Father, their Friend; and inſtead of any uneaſie Fear of Him, they will be in perpetual Fear for Him; tender of his Life and his Perſon; and in mighty Pain and Solicitude, leſt any Ill ſhould happen to either; conſequently they will be Zealous in his Defence, firm to all his Intereſts, averſe and implacable to his Enemies. This then is the Leſſon, in which all Princes ſhould be perfect; To get themſelves well inform'd of all that is done; Not to proſecute every Crime they know; Nay, many times to act, and manage themſelves, as if they knew it not; To be better ſatisfied with the Character of having found their Subjects made Good to their Hands, than that of having reform'd and made them ſo by any Rigours of

* Severitas amittit aſſiduitate Authoritatem.

∴ Temperatus Timor eſt qui cohibet; Aſſiduus & acer in vindictam excitat.

† Firmiſſimum Imperium, quo obedientes gaudent. *Tit. Liv.*

their

their own; Readily to extend their Grace to ſmall Faults, and where ſuch eaſineſs may be inconvenient, to render heinous Offenders very exemplary, and make them ſmart ſeverely for their Inſolence and bold Contempt of the Laws. To conſider, that frequent Executions are an Aſperſion to their Government; and bring as great a Scandal upon their Reign, as the Death of many Patients doth to the Practice of a Phyſician; and therefore not to be fond of taking Men off upon every Provocation, but to content themſelves oftentimes with a Malefactor's Repentance; and eſteem the Senſe of his Guilt, his Shame, and Remorſe, and Self-condemnation a Puniſhment ſufficient.

† *Relenting Miſery inclines the Brave;*
Conquerours are moſt triumphant, when they ſave;
Juſtice and Mercy may ſuſpend their Strife,
He ſuffers for his Crime, who yields to beg his Life.

Nor is there any juſt Ground of that Apprehenſion, which ſome People very inconſiderately pretend, upon theſe Occaſions; that ſuch Mercy will be taken for Tameneſs or Impotence; that it makes a Prince deſpicable in the Eyes of his People; gives his Enemies Advantage, provokes turbulent Spirits to inſult, and looſens the Nerves of Government: For the Effect is really quite contrary. Such Mildneſs is a mighty ſtrengthening to a Prince; adds Vigour and Efficacy to his Commands, and wonderfully raiſes his Reputation. A Prince, that is well belov'd, ſhall be able to do more with the Hearts of his Subjects, than all the Awe and Terror in the World; This may put Men into trembling and aſtoniſhment, but it gives them no true Principle of Obedience; and as *Saluſt* argued in his Oration to *Cæſar*, ſuch Governments are never Stable and of long Continuance, becauſe they are built upon an ill bottom. Whoever he be, that is feared by a great many, hath a great many whom he hath reaſon to be afraid of too. The Fear, which he ſheds down upon all about him, daſhes back again upon his own Head. Such a ſort of Life is full of Anxieties and Miſgivings; and a Man is ſurrounded with Dangers, that threaten him continually from every Quarter. It is true indeed, this Clemency ought not to be extended without

† —— Ignoſcere pulchrum,
Jam miſero, pœnæq; genus vidiſſe precantem.

any

any Diſtinction; Judgment, as was ſaid in the beginning of the Paragraph, muſt direct and determine it. For, as it is a Virtue, and that which attracts the profoundeſt Veneration, when judiciouſly managed; ſo is it a Vice of moſt pernicious Conſequence, when degenerating into ſoft and eaſie Tameneſs.

13. *Liberality.*

After theſe Four Principal Virtues, which are the brighteſt Jewels in a Prince's Diadem, there follow ſome others of a Second Form; and theſe, though inferiour to the former in Luſtre, have yet their juſt Value, and are neceſſary and uſeful, though not ſo abſolutely, and in ſo high a degree. Liberality for inſtance, which is ſo much more ſuitable to a Prince's Character, as it is a greater Reflection upon him to be vanquiſh'd by Bounty and Magnificence, than to be worſted in the Field. But here too, there is great need of Diſcretion; for, where That is wanting, this Quality will be apt to do more Hurt than Good.

Of two Kinds.

There are two Kinds of Liberality. The one conſiſts in Sumptuouſneſs and Shew; and this is to very little purpoſe. It is certainly a very idle and vain Imagination, for Princes to think of raiſing their Character, and ſetting themſelves off by Auguſt, and Splendid, and expenſive Appearances: eſpecially too among their own Subjects, where they can do what they pleaſe, and are ſure to have no Rival of their Grandeur. This ſeems rather a Mark of a little Soul; an Argument, that they want a due Senſe of what they really are, and is both beneath Them to do, and very unacceptable to their People to ſee. For, however for the preſent Subjects may gaze at their Pomps with Delight, yet aſſoon as the Entertainment is over, they preſently begin to reflect, that Their Princes are thus enrich'd and adorn'd with Their Spoils; that This is no better than being ſumptuouſly feaſted at Their Coſt; and that the Money, which now feeds their Sight with Triumphs and Gaudy Greatneſs, is pinch'd from more neceſſary Occaſions, and wou'd have been much better ſav'd to feed their Bellies. And beſides all this; a Prince ſhould be ſo far from Laviſh and Profuſe, that he ſhould make great Conſcience of Frugality; for indeed he ſhould think nothing he enjoys ſtrictly his own; ſince engag'd in a Truſt, that requires his All, his very Life and Perſon to be devoted to the Good of others.

The Second ſort of Liberality is that which conſiſts in diſtributing Gifts, and making Preſents: Of This indeed there is conſiderable Uſe, and a juſt Commendation due to it.

it. But then this muſt be diſcreetly manag'd too; and good Care ſhould always be taken, To what Perſons, in what Proportions, and after what Manner this is done. As to the Perſons, They ought to be well choſen, ſuch whoſe Merits recommend them to their Bounty; ſuch as have been ſerviceable to the Publick; ſuch as have hazarded their Fortunes and their Perſons, and run thro' the Dangers and Fatigues of War. Theſe are ſuch Perſons, as none but the Unthinking or the very Ill-natur'd can grudg any thing to, or envy the Favour, ſo as to repreſent the Prince as Partial or Undiſtinguiſhing in his Liberality. Whereas, quite otherwiſe, great Gratuities diſtributed without any regard to Merit, and where there really is none, derive Shame and Odium upon the Receiver; and are entertain'd without thoſe due Acknowledgments, and that grateful Senſe, which the Favours of a Prince ought to find. Some Tyrants have been ſacrific'd and given up to the Rage and Spite of an incens'd Rabble, by thoſe very Servants whom they had rais'd from Nothing; while theſe Creatures of theirs have been as much diverted with their Maſters Misfortunes, as any of their Enemies, and have taken this Courſe to ingratiate themſelves with the Mobb, and for ſecuring their own Fortunes, by giving Demonſtrations of the Hatred and Contempt to the Perſon, from whom thoſe Fortunes were entirely deriv'd.

Nor is it leſs neceſſary, that the Proportion of a Prince's Liberality ſhould be ſtrictly regarded; for otherwiſe this may run out into ſuch Squandering and Exceſs, That both the Giver and the Government may be impoveriſh'd and brought to Ruine by it. For, to give to every body, and upon every Occaſion, is to play with a loſing Hand, and till all's gone. Private Men are for making their Fortunes, and it is not poſſible to ſatisfie them; they will ſoon grow extravagant in their Requeſts, if they find their Prince to be ſo in his Favours; and the Rule they Meaſure by, is not Reaſon, but Example; not how much is fit to be granted to Them, but how much hath already been granted to Others. However, by this Means the Publick Treaſures will be exhauſted; and a King be neceſſitated to ſeize other Peoples Rights, that * ſo *Injuſtice and Oppreſſion may heal and reimburſe thoſe Wants, which Ambition and Prodigality have created.* Now, it were infinitely better to give nothing

* Quod Ambitione exhauſtum, per Scelera ſupplendum.

at

at all, than to take away from one to give to another. For after all our Kindneſs, the Gratitude and Affection of thoſe that are obliged by us, never makes ſo deep Impreſſions, nor ſticks half ſo cloſe, as the Reſentments of them, that have been injur'd and plunder'd. Beſides, This Profuſeneſs is its own Deſtruction, for the Spring cannot run always; if you draw too faſt, it will ſoon be drain'd dry. * *By being Liberal*, ſays St. *Jerom*, Man *makes it impoſſible to be ſo.* For a farther Prevention whereof, as well as upon, other very good Conſiderations, it will be convenient to ſpin out ones Liberality; to let it come gently and by degrees, rather than to give all we intend at once. For that which is done on the ſudden, and at a heat, be the thing never ſo conſiderable in it ſelf, yet paſſes off, as it were inſenſibly, and is quickly forgotten. All things that have a grateful Reliſh ſhould be contriv'd to be as ſlow and leiſurely in the Paſſage, as can be; that ſo the Palate may have time to taſt them: but, on the contrary, all thoſe Diſpenſations that are harſh and ſevere, (when Occaſions call for any ſuch) ſhould be diſpatch'd with all poſſible Convenience, that ſo, like bitter Potions, they may be ſwallow'd at once. Thus you ſee, that the Giving as becomes one, is an Act of Prudence, and the Exerciſe of Liberality to the beſt Advantage, requires great Addreſs and Skill. To which purpoſe *Tacitus* hath this notable Remark. † *Thoſe Perſons* (ſays he) *are under a mighty Errour, who know not how to diſtinguiſh between Liberality and Luxury; abundance of Men know how to ſquander, that do not know how to give.* And to ſpeak the very Truth, Liberality is not a Virtue peculiar to King's and milder Governments only, but very conſiſtent even with Tyranny it ſelf. And ſurely the Tutors and Governors of young Princes are much in the wrong, when they labour to poſſeſs their Minds with ſuch ſtrong and early Impreſſions of Giving; of refuſing nothing that is ask'd of them; of thinking nothing ſo well employ'd, as what they give to their Friends. This is the Jargon uſual in ſuch Caſes. But either This ſeems to proceed from ſome Advantage theſe Inſtructors deſign to make of ſuch a Principle hereafter, or for want of due regard to the Perſon they ad-

* Liberalitate Liberalitas perit.

† Falluntur, quibus Luxuria Specie Liberalitatis imponit, perdere multi ſciunt, donare neſciunt.

dreſs

dreſs themſelves to. For a too governing Notion of Liberality is of very ill Conſequence, in a Perſon, whoſe Fortunes are ſo plentiful, as to ſupply the Expences of others, at what rate himſelf ſhall think fit. And of the Two Extremes, though either of them are very far from Good, yet a Prodigal or a Giving Prince, he that ſpends upon his own Vanities, or he that feeds thoſe of his Servants and Favourites, without Diſcretion and due Meaſure, is a great deal worſe than a Stingy One, that keeps his Hand ſhut to all. And, whereas theſe frequent Boons are pretended of Uſe to make Friends, and ſecure the Service and Affection of thoſe who are obliged by them: There is very little or nothing of Subſtance in this Argument; For immoderate and undiſtinguiſhing Liberality encourages every body to ask and to expect, and ſo for One Friend, makes Ten Enemies, in Proportion as the Repulſes muſt needs be more frequent, than the Grants. But indeed, if it be wiſely and well regulated, it is undoubtedly, as I ſaid before, exceeding Graceful and Commendable in a Prince, and may prove of Excellent Advantage, both to Himſelf and to the State.

14. *Magnanimity.*

Another very becoming Virtue is Magnanimity. That I mean more peculiarly, which conſiſts in a Greatneſs of Spirit not eaſily to be provoked, ſuch as deſpiſes and can paſs over Injuries and Indecencies, and moderate his Anger when it begins to fly out. * *A Great Fortune and Dignity ſhould have a Noble Mind; ſuch as can look down upon Wrongs and Provocations, as Matters a great way below it, and not worth its Notice; and Majeſty ſhould conſider that there are not many Offences which will juſtifie a Prince's being angry.* Beſides, to fret and be concerned, is often interpreted for Conſciouſneſs of Guilt; and that which a Man makes ſlight of, blows quickly over, and ſeldom ſticks long. So ſays the wiſe *Roman*, † *If Reproaches put you in a Paſſion, the World will look upon this as a ſort of Confeſſion: But if you diſregard them, they vaniſh and die without doing any manner of Prejudice.* But then, if any Provocation be given, which miniſters juſt and ſufficient Cauſe to be angry, let thoſe Reſentments be expreſs'd openly without labouring to conceal

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*Magnam Fortunam magnus Animus decet. ——Injurias & Offenſiones ſuperne deſpicere.——Indignus Cæſaris irâ.

† Convitia ſi iraſcere, agnita videntur; ſpreta exoleſcunt.

or

or to diſſemble them; that the People about him may have no reaſon to ſuſpect any thing of a Secret Grudge, or a Miſchievous Deſign in him. For theſe are Qualities for the meaneſt and baſeſt ſort of People, and Symptoms of a Malicious, Deviliſh and Incurable Diſpoſition. ∴ *Pitiful Fellows and Unreclaimable Wretches keep Malice in their Hearts* (ſays *Tacitus*) *and to feed upon a Grudge is an evident Mark of Baſeneſs and Barbarity.* Of the two, the giving Offence and doing an Ill thing is leſs diſagreeable to the Character of a Great Man, than the Hating and Maligning of others for doing ſo to Him. And thus I have done with the Head of Virtue; the other Branches of it in general being not ſo properly diſtinguiſhing Properties and peculiar Ornaments of the Royal Dignity, as Excellencies lying in common between Princes and the reſt of Mankind.

15. *The third Head. Behaviour*

The next thing that comes under our Conſideration after the Prince's Virtue, is what they call his *Manner*, that is, his Behaviour and Way of Living; the Mien, the Port, the Addreſs, that ſure with the Majeſty of a Prince; and all thoſe profound Reſpects ſo neceſſary to be kept up. Upon this I ſhall not inſiſt at all, only, by the way as it were, touch upon it. Now though Nature contribute a great deal to this in the Form, and Temper, and Perſon, yet all that Nature does is capable of Amendment and Improvement both, by the additional Helps of Induſtry and Art. Under the Head we are now upon, may be reckoned the Air of his Face, the Compoſure of his Countenance, his Faſhion and Behaviour, his Gate, his Tone, and manner of Speech, his Clothes and Dreſſing. The general Rule to be obſerved in all theſe Particulars, is ſuch a Mixture of Sweetneſs and Moderation, of Stayedneſs and Gravity, as may win upon Mens Minds, and move their Affections pleaſingly; ſuch as may keep the middle Way between Familiarity and Fear, engage their Love, and yet command their Honour and Reſpect. His Court and Converſation are likewiſe worth taking notice of. For the former, it is convenient that it ſhould be very publick, that the Palace he dwells in ſhould be Noble and Magnificent, fit for Reſort and Correſpondence; and if that can be well contriv'd, not far from the Middle of his Country, or, at leaſt, the

∴ Obſcuri & irrevocabiles reponunt odia. Sævæ Cogitationis indicium ſecreto ſuo ſatiari.

moſt ſignificant Part of it; that ſo his Eye may command all the Quarters; and like the Sun in the midſt of the Firmament, pierce, enlighten and warm all round about him, with the Influence of his Beams. For when a Prince reſides in ſome very remote Corner of his Dominions, this Diſtance emboldens thoſe in the contrary Extremity to behave themſelves inſolently, and grow Tumultuous and Unruly. As for his Converſation, That ſhould be very reſerved, his Confidents and familiar Friends but few, his Progreſſes and other Appearances in publick but ſeldom; that the People may always be eager and glad to ſee him: For the ſhewing himſelf often, and giving too eaſie Acceſs to his Perſon, will mightily leſſen the Majeſty of his Character. * *The being always admitted to the Sight and Preſence of Great Perſons, does mightily impair and diminiſh our Reſpect, by Glutting our Curioſity*, ſays one of the *Roman* Hiſtorians: And another to this purpoſe: † *Majeſty is always moſt reverenc'd at a diſtance: for Nature forms all our* Idea's *bigger than the Life; and what we are not acquainted with, is always fancy'd to be very Great and Stately.*

16. *The fourth Head. Counſel.* After the Three Things already treated of, The Knowlege of his People and Government, the Virtues of his Mind, and the Faſhion and Addreſs of the Prince; all which are inſeparable from his own Perſon; The next things we are led to conſider, are ſuch as are near and about his Perſon. And therefore in the fourth place, let us ſay ſomewhat concerning his Counſel, which, in truth, is the main Point of all this Head, which relates to his Politicks, and of Conſequence ſo vaſt, that it is in a manner All in All. For Counſel is the Soul of any Government; the Spirit that infuſes Life and Motion, Energy and Vigour into all the reſt. And upon the Account of This it is, that the Management of Affairs conſiſts in Prudence; becauſe Hands are of no Significance at all, till the Heads have cut them out their Work, and preſcrib'd their Methods. It were indeed to be wiſh'd, That a Prince were enrich'd with ſo great a Stock of Prudence and Conſideration, as to be able himſelf to govern, and diſpoſe, and

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* Continuus Aſpectus minùs verendos magnos homines ipſâ ſatietate facit. *Liv.*

† Majeſtati major ex longinquo Reverentia; quia omne ignotum pro magnifico eſt.

con-

contrive every thing, without calling in Help from abroad; This is ſuch a Sufficiency, as the firſt Chapter of this Book obſerved to be the Nobleſt Perfection, and higheſt Degree of Wiſdom; and no Queſtion can be made, but that Matters would be better order'd, and more ſucceſsfully diſpatch'd if it could be ſo. But this is an Accompliſhment meerly imaginary, no Inſtance of it is to be found in Nature; whether it be, that Princes want the Advantage of Good Temper, or Good Inſtruction. And indeed, let Nature be never ſo bountiful, and Education never ſo proper, yet it is ſcarce poſſible to ſuppoſe That all the Parts, and all the Improvements in the World could ever qualifie one ſingle Head for the Comprehending and Direction of ſuch infinite Variety of Buſineſs. * *No Prince*, ſays *Tacitus*, *can have a Reach ſo great, as to be Maſter of all his Concerns: no one Mind is ſtrong enough to carry ſo great a Burden*. A ſingle Man hears and ſees but very little in Compariſon; But Kings have need of abundance of Eyes and Ears to aſſiſt and give Intelligence. Great Weights and great Undertakings can only be made light by a Multitude of Hands. And therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince to provide himſelf with good Advice, and with Perſons every way capable of giving it; for as the Caſe ſtands, and the Intrigues of Government are perplex'd, he that will take upon him to do all of his own Head, ſhall much ſooner fix upon himſelf the Character of Pride and Conceitedneſs, than gain the Reputation of Wiſdom. A Prince then, of all Men, hath moſt need of faithful Friends, and diligent Servants who may aſſiſt him in his Difficulties, and *eaſe him of part of his Cares*. Theſe are the real, the moſt valuable Treaſures of a King, and the moſt uſeful Inſtruments to the Publick: And therefore the firſt and great Care muſt be, to make a wiſe Choice of Aſſiſtants, and employ the utmoſt Application, and bend all one's Judgment to have ſuch as are excellent and proper for a Poſt of ſuch vaſt Importance. Now of theſe Aſſiſtants, there are two ſorts; One that contribute their Advice, and Project only; and theſe employ their Wit, and their Tongue; and are in ſtrict propriety of Speech, Counſellors; the Other are concern'd in the executive part, they lend us their Hands, and their Pains, and

Liv.

Tacit.

Plin.

Xenoph.

* Nequit Princeps ſuâ ſcientiâ cuncta complecti; nec unius Mens tantæ molis eſt capax.

theſe are more properly ſtyled Officers. Of theſe the former ſort are in much the more Honourable Character: For thus the two great Philoſophers have declared their Opinion, that it is a moſt Sacred and Divine Accompliſhment, to conſider judiciouſly, and be able to adviſe well.

Plato. Ariſtot.

17. *Qualifications of Counſellors.*

Now in Perſons thus to be choſen and employed, ſeveral Qualifications are neceſſary: As, firſt of all, It is neceſſary to chooſe ſuch as are Faithful, and fit to be truſted; that is, in one Word, Men of Virtue and good Principles. * *I take for granted,* (ſays *Pliny*) *that the better Man any one is, the more ſtanch and true he is, and more ſafe to be depended upon.* Secondly, They muſt be Perſons of Ability, and proper for this Office, not only in regard of their Knowledge and Learning in general, but upon the Account of their Skill in Politicks, and that expreſs Form of Government in particular; ſuch as have been uſed, and try'd before, and have come off with Honour and Succeſs, verſed in Buſineſs, and accuſtom'd to Difficulties: For Hardſhips and Adverſities are the moſt uſeful and improving Leſſons. † *Fortune,* ſays one, *in the room of many Advantages which ſhe hath torn from me, hath given me the Faculty of Advice and Perſuaſion.* And in one Word, They muſt be wiſe and diſcreet, moderately quick, not too ſprightly and ſharp; for ſuch Men will be always projecting. And ∴ *Men of Fire are more for Change, than ſteady Management.* Now in order to theſe Qualifications, it is neceſſary that they ſhould be Men of ripe Years, to give them Stayedineſs, Experience, and Conſideration; nay, I may add, to inſpire them with Caution too; for it is one of the many Unhappineſſes attending Youth, that Perſons then are eaſily impoſed upon; of which the Tenderneſs and Softneſs of their Brain may perhaps be one reaſon, as that may diſpoſe them the more eaſily to receive any Impreſſion, and conſequently to Credulity and Eaſineſs of Temper. It is for the Convenience of a Prince to have notable Men of all ſorts about him; both thoſe, who are called ſo upon the account of their Wiſdom, and thoſe that excel in Subtlety and Cunning.

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* Optimum quemque fideliſſimum puto.

† Mihi Fortuna multis rebus ereptis uſum dedit bene ſuadendi. *Mitkr. in Saluſt.*

∴ Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiora ingenia illa ignea. *Curtius*

ning. The former indeed ought to be more numerous, and are more eſpecially requiſite, becauſe they are more for the Honour of their Maſter, and of more conſtant uſe; for theſe are the Managers of all regular and ordinary Proceedings. The Men of Art are for Caſes of neceſſity and extraordinary Emergencies, to help at a Pinch, and to countermine a Danger.

A Third Qualification neceſſary for Counſellors, is Openneſs, and Freedom, and Courage in all their Behaviour, when conſulted with. They muſt uſe their utmoſt Care, that all their Propoſals be for the Honour and Advantage of their Prince; and, when once they have ſecured this Point, that the Advice be wiſe and good, all Flattery and Diſguiſe ſhould be laid aſide; all Equivocatings, and Reſervations, and Craftineſs of Expreſſion deteſted and deſpiſed, by which they may ſeem to aim at ingratiating themſelves, or to contrive that what they ſay may be acceptable to their Maſter. Theſe are the Men *Tacitus* deſcribes, who accommodate all their Language as they ſee occaſion, and do * *not ſo properly diſcourſe with their Prince, as with his preſent Inclinations and Circumſtances.* They conſider him as a Great Man, as one able to make their Fortunes; they obſerve what he would do, not what is beſt and fitteſt for him to do. Whereas indeed all theſe Regards ought to be utterly baniſhed their Thoughts; they ſhould have a conſtant Eye upon the Sacredneſs of their Office, and the Importance of the Truſt repoſed in them; and, looking no farther than the Reaſon, and Juſtice, and Convenience of the thing, ſpeak the Truth and ſpare not: For however harſh and diſtaſteful this Liberty, and Openneſs, and honeſt Blunt-dealing may be at the preſent to thoſe Perſons, whoſe Opinion and Inclinations it happens to croſs; yet there will ſoon come a time, when it will obtain Reſpect and Eſteem. † *Oppoſition is offenſive juſt at the Inſtant; but upon cooler Thoughts, the very Perſons you oppoſed, will commend and admire your plain-dealing.* A Man ſhould likewiſe take care to be conſiſtent with himſelf, firm to his Principle, without veering and wheeling about perpetually,

* Ne cum Fortunâ potius Principis loquantur, quam cum ipſo.

† In præſentia quibus reſiſtis, offendis: deinde illis ſuſpicitur laudaturque.

as oft as other People's Humours ſhift into a freſh Quarter. But as he muſt not be changable and obſequious in a baſe compliance with the Paſſions or Pleaſures of others, ſo neither muſt he be ſtiff and peremptory in his own Opinions. There is always a Decency to be obſerved, and great Difference to be made, between Conſtancy and Contradiction. For Opiniatrety and Fierceneſs confounds all manner of Deliberation; and therefore I am far from deſiring my good Counſellor to be inflexible; as knowing very well, that hearkening to other Men's Reaſons, and changing our own Opinions upon them, is ſo far from deſerving the Reproach of Raſhneſs or Inconſtancy, that it ought rather to be looked upon as a Teſtimony of Modeſty and Ingenuity, and great Prudence: For * *although the wiſe Man always walk in the ſame Way, and by the ſame Rule, yet he does not always go the ſame Pace, nor tread in the ſame Steps; Change he does not then, ſo properly as accommodate and mend himſelf*; Like the skilful Sailor, who plies to every Wind, and whoſe Excellency lies in trimming the Sails that way that the Gale blows freſheſt. Thus a Man muſt oftentimes go about to make the Port he deſigns, when there is no coming at it by a ſtreight Courſe. And it ſhews the Dexterity and Addreſs of a Counſellor, to be able to change his Methods, when thoſe which were firſt choſen are either diſapproved, or by ſome Accident rendred uſeleſs and ineffectual.

Another neceſſary Accompliſhment for this Poſt, is the making a Conſcience of Revealing any Debates he ſhall be privy to. For Silence and Secreſie are exceeding neceſſary in the management of all Publick Affairs: Inſomuch that a great Author hath pronounced it impoſſible for that Man to manage any matter of Conſequence, who is not ſo much Maſter of himſelf as to keep his own Counſel. † For how ſhould he ſupport the weight of Publick Buſineſs, to whom even Silence is a Burden? But upon this Occaſion the concealing what one knows is not ſufficient, I muſt likewiſe caution him againſt knowing too much. A Curious and Inquiſitive Temper, which loves to be buſie, and inform it ſelf of other Peoples Actions and Concerns, is no commendable Quality in any caſe; but to pry

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* Non ſemper eodem gradu, ſed eâdem viâ: non ſe mutat, ſed aptat.

† Res magnæ ſuſtinere nequeunt ab eo, cui tacere grave eſt.

into

into the Affairs of Princes, and value one's ſelf upon knowing Their Secrets, is as dangerous as it is unmannerly: And as *Tacitus* hath well obſerved, * Nothing is more hazardous, nothing more unfit for us, than officiouſly to dive, and be bold with their retired Thoughts and Intentions. And therefore, whatever a Man knows of this kind ſhould come freely and without his ſeeking; nay, I make no difficulty to affirm, that it is commendable in a Man to decline the Opportunities of having ſuch things imparted to him, and to know as little of them as poſſibly he can. This argues Reverence and Modeſty, prevents all Jealouſie, and ſutes the diſtance between a Prince and his Subjects.

Thus I have given my Reader a ſhort Account of thoſe good Conditions which ſeem neceſſary for the qualifying Men to be Counſellors of State. And by theſe he will be able to tell himſelf, what are thoſe ill Qualities, which incapacitate a Man for ſuch a Truſt. That a Prince in making his Choice, ſhould be ſure to reject all ſuch as are of Confident, Aſſuming, Preſumptuous Tempers; becauſe theſe Vices make Men hot, and arrogant in Debates, poſitive and bold in their own Senſe: And a Wiſe Man, quite contrary, will be content to allow Second and Third Thoughts; to examine every thing over and over. It is the Character of ſuch a one to ſuſpect himſelf, to be jealous of the Conſequence, fearful in adviſing and reſolving, that ſo he may afterwards be more vigorous and aſſured, when he comes to execution. † *For the Mind that knoweth how to be afraid, and undertakes warily, will act more ſecurely, and go upon ſurer Grounds.* Fools, quite contrary, are eager and aſſured, blind and bold in Debate; but when they come to Action, cowardly and tame. ∴ Advice given with Heat and Confidence looks fair and gay at firſt ſight; but the execution of it is hard and deſperate, and the Event full of Grief and Diſappointment. Next to this preſumptuous Vanity and Heat, Paſſion is improper for ſuch Miniſters of State; All Anger and Envy, Hatred and Spight, Avarice and Ambition, all Selfiſh Narrowneſs of Spirit, and private

* Exquirere abditos Principis ſenſus illicitum & anceps. *Tacit.*

† Nam Animus vereri qui ſcit, ſcit tuto aggredi.

∴ Conſilia calida & audacia primâ ſpecie læta ſunt, tractatu clara, eventu triſtia.

Intereſt; for theſe are all of them Corrupters of the beſt Senſe, the very Bane of all ſound Judgment; Integrity, and faithful Diſcharge of a publick Character cannot dwell in the ſame Breaſt, with theſe perſonal Piques, and private Affections. * *Private Advantage ever did, and ever will obſtruct and confound publick Counſels; and each ſingle Man's Profit, is that which Poiſons all good Senſe, and kind Inclination to the Common Good.*

One Thing more remains abſolutely Neceſſary to be avoided, and that is Precipitation; An irreconcilable Enemy to Prudence and good Counſel; and fit for nothing but to put Men upon doing amiſs, and then being aſhamed and unfortunate upon that Account. And thus much ſhall ſuffice at Preſent for a Deſcription of thoſe Qualities, which ought to concur, and the Vices and Defects which muſt be declin'd in order to the accompliſhing Men for Counſellors of State.

17. Now, ſuch as theſe it is the Prince's Buſineſs to employ; and thoſe are the Rules, by which his Choice ought to be directed. For his own Perſonal Knowledge of Perſons ſo qualified will be the greateſt Security he can have; but if he be not capable of making the Diſtinction himſelf, nor can with Safety rely upon his own Judgment in the Caſe, then Reputation and common Fame is what he muſt be contented with. And upon ſuch Occaſions a general Character ſeldom leads us into great Miſtakes; for which Reaſon one deſir'd his Prince, *That he would look upon him and his Brethren in Office to be ſuch, as the World eſteem'd them.* For Hypocriſie is but a particular Thing, and of a very limited extent, † *Single Men may deceive and be deceiv'd; but never did any Man deceive all the World, nor was ever any Man miſtaken in all the World.* Great Care ſhould be taken upon this Occaſion, that a Prince do not truſt himſelf with Flatterers and fawning Paraſites, with particular Favourites, Court-Officers, and mercenary Wretches, whoſe Confidence is a Reproach to their Maſter; and will be his Ruine, when they can have a good Price for betraying him. For after all; the Cabal, and the Cabinet is the Foundation of moſt Monarch's un-

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* Privatæ res ſemper officere officientq; publicis conſiliis; peſſimum veri affectûs & judicii venenum ſua cuiq; Utilitas.

† Nam ſinguli decipere & decipi poſſunt; nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt.

doing:

doing: We ſee it not, till it comes upon the open Stage; but there it begun, and from thence it moves and works under Ground, long before the World can diſcern it. Now, when a Prince hath made this Choice, and found Perſons for his Purpoſe, the next thing incumbent upon him is to make a Wiſe Uſe of them. And That is to be done, by conſulting them early and in a Seaſon proper for Deliberation; not driving all off, till the very Inſtant of Action, when the Time is too ſhort for debate, and cool Conſideration; nor, on the other Hand, Trifling and loſing Time in hearing their tedious Diſputes, when his Affairs require a ſpeedy Reſolution. Again, This Advice of theirs muſt be attended to with a Judicious Reſerve; he muſt not give himſelf blindly up to it, and follow their Determinations Right or Wrong, as that very weak Emperor *Claudius* is ſaid to have done: And he muſt likewiſe temper this Diſcretion with Moderation and Gentleneſs, without being too ſtiff and inflexible in his own Senſe: Since, generally ſpeaking, that Remark of the wiſe *Marcus Antoninus* holds good, who ſays it is better for one Man to come over, and to comply with the Advice of a great many good Friends, than that all their Opinions ſhould be ſet aſide, and they forced to truckle to his ſingle Arbitrary Pleaſure. I cannot but apprehend it of great Advantage in this Caſe, to keep a Man's ſelf pretty looſe, and uſe ones Counſellors, with a ſort of Authority mix'd with Indifference. My Meaning is, Not immediately to reward Men for their good Counſel; becauſe ſuch preſent Pay will be a Temptation to ill Men to thruſt themſelves forward in adviſing; and ſo that which is really bad, will be put upon him in hopes of a Reward; Nor on the other Hand to diſcountenance or uſe Men roughly for counſelling amiſs; Becauſe this will create a Shyneſs in all about him; and no body will dare to adviſe freely if the delivering their Opinion ſhall expoſe them to Danger and Diſgrace. And beſides, The Judgment of good and bad Counſel is very uncertain, becauſe it uſually proceeds upon the Iſſue. Whereas the moſt injudicious Counſels have often ſucceeded as well or better than the Wiſeſt, by a ſtrange over-ruling Power of Providence, thus aſſerting its Government of us, and all our Affairs here below. And again, It ought to be remembred, that They, who give the beſt, that is, the ſafeſt, and moſt proſperous Counſel, are not upon that Account to be concluded our faithfulleſt Friends, nor beſt affected to our Intereſt; for many times

times They who love us beſt, may be miſtaken in their Meaſures; and they who wiſh us no Good, may yet put us in the way of a great deal. Nor ought a Prince to reſent Freedom and Plainneſs upon theſe Occaſions. For This in all Reaſon ought rather to be acceptable; and a wiſe Man will keep a Jealous Eye upon Flattering and Timorous Fellows, ſuch as make it their Buſineſs to ſooth his Humors, and had rather ſee him periſh by falſe Meaſures, than diſguſt him to his own Advantage. And ſure if there be a Miſerable Creature upon Earth, it is that Prince, to whom no Body about him dares tell the Truth; he that muſt live by the help of other Peoples Senſes, and yet all who ſee and hear for him, are under a neceſſity of diſſembling and diſguiſing in their own Defence, and dare ſhew him nothing as it really is. A Man * *whoſe Ears*, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it, *are ſo oddly contriv'd, that all Sounds are harſh and grating, which tell profitable Truths; and they never think themſelves entertain'd, but with ſuch pleaſing Words as are ſure to do Miſchief.* The laſt Caution neceſſary for the making a good Uſe of Proper Counſellors, is, To conceal his own Opinion, and not determine Publickly what he approves moſt, or what he reſolves to do; for when all is done, Secrecy is the very Life and Soul of Counſel; and † *That Advice is always beſt, which your Enemy knows nothing of, till the Execution declar'd what it was.*

19. *Officers.* As for the Officers, which come now to be next conſidered; by Theſe I mean ſuch as ſerve the Prince, and the Government, in ſome publick Truſt. And They ought to be made Choice of with great Diſcretion; Perſons of Honour and Virtue, well-deſcended, and whoſe Families are of Quality and Reputation in the World. It is reaſonable to believe, that Men of this Character will approve themſelves beſt in their reſpective Stations; and That of Birth particularly is ſo conſiderable a Qualification, that it is by no Means for the Honour of a Prince, or the Decency of his Court, that People of mean Extract ſhould be admitted near his Perſon, and commiſſioned to preſide over others, except ſome very great and remarkable Merit, give them

* Cujus Aures ita formatæ ſunt, ut aſpera quæ utilia; & nil niſi jucundum & læſurum recipiant.

† Nulla meliora conſilia, quam quæ ignoraverit adverſarius antequam fierent.

a juſt

a juſt and viſible preference, and make amends for the want of Quality and Deſcent. But Men of Infamous Lives, Falſe and Baſe; Men of no Principles, or of ſuch as are Dangerous and Worſe than none; in ſhort, Men under Circumſtances, which either fix an odious Character, ſuch as the World have reaſon to hate, or to deſpiſe, to be aſham'd of, or to ſuſpect, ſhould not upon any Terms be admitted to any Office or Truſt. After theſe Conditions, as to their Morals, we muſt not forget, that as great a Regard is due to their Underſtandings. And that, not only to ſee, that they be Men of Parts and Judgment in general, but that each Perſon be diſpos'd of to ſuch an Employment, as beſt agrees with his own Genius and Attainments in Particular. For ſome are Naturally fitteſt for Military, and others for Civil Truſts. Some have thought it a general good Rule for Officers of all ſorts, to chooſe Men of a mild and gentle Diſpoſition, and moderate Character; for your violent and topping Spirits, that are full of themſelves, and cannot be prevail'd upon to yield to any, or quit the leaſt Punctilio, commonly ſpeaking, are not at all fit for Buſineſs. * Let the Perſons you employ be therefore a Match for their Buſineſs, and able to deal with it; but not too much above, and able to play with it; Men that know how to give and take their Due, but not ſuch as will ſacrifice the Publick to a Nice Point of Honour, and their own Unſeaſonable Vanity.

Next after Counſel, we may very well be allowed to place Treaſures; for certainly theſe muſt be confeſt a very great Point; a uſeful, neceſſary, and powerful Proviſion. If Advice be the Head that ſees and directs, Money is the Nerves, the Hands, the Feet of the State, by which it moves, and acts, and is ſtrongly knit together. For when all is done, there is no Sword cuts deep, nor makes its own way through, like that with a Silver Edge. No Maſter is ſo Abſolute in his Commands, ſo readily obey'd; No Orator ſo Eloquent, ſo Perſuaſive, ſo Winning upon the Wills and Affections of Men; no Conquerour ſo Succeſsful, or ſo great a Gainer by Storms, and Sieges, and force of Arms, as a good Purſe. This is ſerv'd with Zeal, and obeyed without Grudging; this gets Poſſeſſion of Hearts, and draws the World after it; this takes Towns and Caſtles, without the Expence of Blood, or Time, or Hazard.

20. *The Fifth Head. Treaſure.*

* Ut pares negotiis, neque ſuprà; ſint recti, non erecti.

And

And therefore a Wiſe Prince will always think himſelf oblig'd to take care, that his Treaſury be in good Condition; and that he never be diſabled in this ſo very neceſſary, ſo vital a Part of his Government. Now, the Art and the Care of effecting and ſecuring this, conſiſts in Three Particulars. The Firſt whereof concerns the providing good Funds; The Second in employing the Money ariſing from them to the beſt Advantage; and the Third in keeping a conſtant Reſerve, that he may never be deſtitute of a neceſſary Supply, upon any ſudden Accident, or preſſing Occaſion. And in all theſe Caſes, there are Two things, which the Prince muſt by all means look upon himſelf bound to avoid; which are Injuſtice, and ſordid Frugality; for how Neceſſary and Advantagious ſoever the Obſervation of theſe Rules may be, yet he muſt never purchaſe this Convenience at ſo dear a Rate, as the Invaſion of other Men's Rights, or the loſs of his own Honour.

21. For the Firſt of theſe, which relates to laying the Foundation as it were, and amaſſing together a ſufficient Treaſure, there are ſeveral Methods of doing it. Many Springs, which, like ſo many little Streams, contribute to the filling up this common Ciſtern; but, though all of them pour in ſome, yet they do not all ſupply the ſame Proportion, nor are they all perpetual, or equally to be depended upon. For Inſtance.

Funds.

I. One Fund is the Crown Lands, and Demeſnes, and other ſtanding Revenues appointed to the Uſe of the Prince, for the Support of his Grandeur and Government. And theſe ought to be husbanded to the beſt Advantage, and kept up to their old Rents, and put into good Hands: They ſhould by no means be alienated without ſome very urgent Exigency require it; but look'd upon as things Sacred, and ſuch as in their own Nature are not transferrable to any other Owner.

II. Another is, the Conqueſts made upon Enemies, which ſhould be ſo ordered, as to turn to good Account; and not ſquandered, and prodigally waſted, becauſe they are a ſort of additional Wealth, and when they are gone, the Prince is but where he was before. The Power of old *Rome* is in great Meaſure owing to their good Management in this Point: They always took Care to bring in vaſt Summs, not only to pay the Charge of the War, but to enrich and ſwell their Exchequers with the Wealth tranſferred thither from the Towns they took, and the Countries they vanquiſhed. This their Hiſtorian *Livy* tells us, was the Practice of their Braveſt and moſt Renown'd Generals,

nerals, *Camillus*, *Flaminius*, *Æmilius Paulus*, the *Scipios*, *Lucullus*, and *Cæsar*: and not only so, but after this first drawing over their present Treasures, they constantly imposed a Yearly Stipend to be paid; either by the Natives left upon their own Soil, under these and certain other Conditions; or by those Colonies of *Romans*, whom they transplanted thither. But still every Conquest brought some substantial Advantage to the Common-Wealth, and was more than an empty Name, and the meer Glory of the Thing.

III. The Presents, Free-Gifts, Pensions, Donations, and Grants, Tributes, Taxes, arising either from Friends, or Allies, or Subjects; Legacies and Bequests of the Dead, Deeds of Gift from Owners yet surviving, or any other manner of Conveyance: Tolls, and Imposts, Customs upon Goods

IV. imported or exported, Commodities Foreign or Domestick, Duties upon Docks, and Havens, Ports and Rivers; which hath been a general and very ancient Method of raising Money, as well upon Strangers as Natives; and a very just, lawful, and beneficial Method no doubt it is, when limited with these Conditions; That no Provisions or Other Goods, that are Necessaries of Life, shall be transported, so as to impoverish the Country, and reduce the Subject to Streights; nor any raw Wares; but that Materials of home-growth should be likewise wrought up and finish'd at Home; to find the Subjects Employment, and keep the poor and labouring People at Work, upon their own Manufacture; that so the Profit and Wages, as well as the Stuff might centre and circulate among Natives; and the Growth of one Nation not be transferr'd to the enriching of another. But now, when these Commodities are wrought and dress'd, there is good Reason for carrying them to foreign Markets; as it is likewise Policy to import all the raw and unwrought Commodities they can, and to prohibit all foreign and finish'd Manufactures; because in all these Cases there is greater Encouragement, and Opportunity given for Labour. And it is also highly reasonable in all Matters of Traffick, that a heavier Imposition should be laid upon Strangers who trade among us, than the natural Subjects of the same Country. For all foreign Impositions bring large Summs into the Treasury, and are a great Ease to the Subject, which is a Consideration always to be regarded; and for that Reason the Customs which are laid upon all such Necessaries of Life, as are imported from abroad, should be moderated, and brought as low, as possibly they can.

These

Theſe Four Methods already mention'd, are not only allowable, and convenient, but ſtrictly Juſt, and Equitable; Honourable and Fair. The Fifth, which, I confeſs, is not
V. altogether ſo agreable to Decency, and the Dignity of a Prince, is That of Trade, which is carried on for the Profit of the Sovereign by means of his Factors, and hath ſeveral Methods of turning to Account, which are ſome leſs, and ſome more liable to Scandal; but the moſt Infamous and the moſt Deſtructive of all, is the ſetting to ſale Offices, and Honours, Preferments and Places of Truſt. There is indeed a Courſe not yet mention'd, which I think will come within the Notion of Trade; and therefore I chooſe to name it under this Head, for the ſake of the Reſemblance it bears to the Subject now in Hand. This hath no great Matter of Indecency in it, and hath the Example of ſeveral very wiſe and eminent Princes to give it Countenance; It is the letting out the publick Money in Bank, upon a moderate Intereſt, (as Five in the Hundred Profit for inſtance) and ſecuring the Principal, either by an Equivalent in Pawns, or Mortgages, or elſe ſuch Perſonal Security, as is ſufficient and of unqueſtionable Credit. And theſe Loans are of great Advantage in Three Reſpects: For Firſt, They add greatly to the Wealth of any Government, by taking Care, that it ſhall always turn to freſh Account, and no part of it ever lie dead. Then Secondly, It is a mighty Convenience to private Men, who by this means are ſure of a Fund to trade upon; and cannot fail of being furniſhed in any Proportion which their Occaſions ſhall require, or which they can find ſuch Security as is fit to be accepted for. But the Third and greateſt Benefit of all is, That it keeps this Money out of the Paws of Sharpers, and ſaves that to the publick Uſe, which would otherwiſe become a Prize to the Importunity, and nauſeous Flattery of hungry Courtiers, and be thus extorted from the good Nature of a King wearied into giving. And upon this laſt Conſideration ſingly, to ſave the Trouble of being importuned, and the Difficulties of denying; ſome Princes have found it adviſable to lend out their ready Caſh without any Intereſt to be paid upon it; purely for the ſake of ſecuring the Prime Summ, which they took Care to do, by binding the Debtor in a Penalty of paying double, if he were not Punctual to his
VI. Day. The Sixth and Laſt Method is That of Loans and Subſidies extraordinary levied upon the Subject; and this

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ſhou'd be a Reſerve for times of Neceſſity, a Remedy always to be made uſe of with Reluctancy, and ſuch as is properly applyed, when other ſtated Methods fall ſhort, and the Exigence of Affairs calls for a larger Supply, than the former Particulars can furniſh out. In the Circumſtances of this Kind, no doubt can be made of the Juſtice of the Thing: But then to make this ſtill more eaſie and gentle to the Subject, it is not only requiſite, that the Neceſſity of ſuch Supplies be evident, and the Publick Safety highly concern'd in them, but theſe following Conditions ſhould likewiſe concur to the ſoftning them. Firſt: That I. whatever Moneys are advanc'd upon Loans for the ſerving a preſent Occaſion, ſhould be afterwards punctually and honeſtly paid back again, as ſoon as the Difficulty is over, and the Occaſion ſerv'd. This we find practiſed by the Common-Wealth of *Rome*, when driven to Extremities by *Hannibal*. And at this Rate the Prince will never want Money; for while the Exchequer keeps Touch and Credit, private Men will be pleas'd, nay proud to lend; not only becauſe they think their Caſh depoſited in ſafe Hands, and can depend upon their own again with Advantage; but for the Honour and Reputation of having aſſiſted the Publick, and ſerv'd their Prince in a time of Diſtreſs. And this to generous Men is a Valuable, and will always be a Powerful Conſideration, where the Hazard and Fears of a Loſs do not check it. But Secondly, If the Publick Stock II. be drawn ſo low, that the Debt cannot be ſatisfied from thence, and ſome freſh extraordinary Impoſition be neceſſary, this ſhould by all Means be adjuſted and charged, with the Conſent of the Subjects, who are to contribute toward it; The preſent Defects of the Treaſury fairly ſtated, the Occaſion that exhauſted it fully repreſented, and the People made truly ſenſible of the neceſſity they are under; ſo preſſing upon them that Paſſage of the Bleſſed Saviour, the Gracious King of Kings, *The Lord hath need of them*; for thus He in marvelous Condeſcenſion was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf. And in ſuch Circumſtances, if the Caſe require it, and the Satisfaction of the People can be effectually conſulted upon thoſe Terms, it may be very adviſable to lay an Account of the Receits and Expences before them. Perſuaſion and fair Means are always beſt employed in Matters of this Nature; and to be driven to uſe Power and Conſtraint, is the laſt Unhappineſs that can happen to a Governor. *Themiſtocles* was certainly

tainly in the right, when he thought it more for the Honour of a Ruler * *to gain his Point by Requeſt and Expoſtulation, than by Commands.* And, though it be true, that every Word of a King is full of Power and Force; and what he asks, his Character makes in effect a Command; yet ſtill it is more for the Advantage of the Publick, and the Continuance of a mutual Affection and Good Underſtanding between Prince and People, that this kind of Supply ſhould run in the form of a free Gift; that the Subjects ſhould expreſs their Senſe of the Publick Neceſſities; and deſire the Prince to accept what Relief they are capable of contributing toward it; at leaſt, it is fit, that theſe extraordinary Taxes ſhould be limited to a certain Term, that they do not paſs into conſtant Payments, things of Courſe and Continuance, and that the Subjects never be preſcribed to in theſe Ca-

III. ſes, without their own Approbation and Conſent. A Third Courſe to qualifie theſe Impoſitions, would be, to lay them not upon Perſons, but Eſtates; that Men may pay for what they have, and not for what they are. For a Poll-tax hath every where been looked upon as the moſt odious of any; it being indeed by no means juſt, that all ſhould be levelled, where Fortune hath made ſo vaſt a difference; and while the Men of Wealth, and Honour, and Noble birth pay little or nothing, that the greateſt part of the Duty ſhould riſe upon poor Country People,

IV. who work hard for their Living. But eſpecially ſhould all poſſible care be taken in the Fourth place, that ſuch Subſidies ſhould be levy'd fairly and equally. For the being rack't and ſcrew'd above one's proportion, is a very grating and intolerable thing, and breeds more murmuring and Contention, than the Charge it ſelf. Now in order to bring every body in, to bear a part in this common Burden, it will be convenient, to tax ſuch Proviſions with it, as all Mankind have occaſion for, and muſt make uſe of: Such as Salt, and Drink, and the like; for thus the Exciſe will be univerſal; and every Member of the Publick Body will be inexcuſably obliged to contribute ſomething to the Publick Neceſſity. Beſides theſe indeed there may, and it is but reaſonable there ſhould, be conſtant and heavy Incumbrances laid upon ſuch Commodities, whether Foreign or Domeſtick, as are vicious in their uſe, and tend only to

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* Impetrare melius eſt quam imperare.

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debauch the Subject; and thus all those things manifestly do, which serve only for Luxury and vain Pomp; such as are purchased at dear Rates, merely out of extravagant Humour, or useless Curiosity; all superfluous State in Diet, Clothes, Equipage, the Instruments of Pleasure, Corrupters of Manners, and whatever contributes to a Licentious way of Living. And the loading such things with such Impositions as shall make them yet more expensive, may possibly prove the best Method to discourage the use of them. For Men in the midst of Luxury, will sometimes be content to save their Purses, and abstain upon a Consideration of Tenderness in that respect; when their Consciences would be so far from being restrain'd by Laws, that a positive Prohibition would rather set a sharper Edge upon their Appetite, and make them but so much more impatient and eager, to come at these things.

22. II. *The using the Treasure well.*

The Second Branch of this Science, relating to the Publick Treasures, is the taking good Care that they be well employ'd. And to this Purpose I will here lay down a short account of the several Heads of Expence, upon which a Prince must necessarily, and ought in Duty to make use of them. Such are, The Subsistence and honourable Salaries of the Houshold, the Pay of the Soldiers, the Wages of Officers of all sorts, the just Rewards of such, as by their good Services have merited of the Publick; The Pensions and charitable Relief extended to those who come well recommended, and are proper Objects of his Royal Bounty and Compassion. These Five are constant and unavoidable Occasions. But then there are others too, very useful and fitting, tho' not so absolutely and always necessary, such as the Reparation of old decay'd Towns, strengthening the Frontiers of his Country, amending the Highways, and making Roads as direct and convenient as the Condition of the Place will bear; keeping up Bridges, and all other necessary Accommodations for Travellers; founding Colleges for the study and improvement of Learning, and Religion, and Virtue; Building and Endowing Hospitals for distressed and disabled People, and erecting Publick Halls, and other Structures, that are for the Honour and Service of the State. These sorts of Repairs, and Fortifications, and Foundations, are of excellent use and advantage, besides the Profit which immediately redounds to the State in general by their means: For by promoting such Designs, Art is encouraged and improved, Workmen

are kept in Employment, the People are highly contented and pleaſed, and a great part of that Grudging and Repining uſual to the Commonalty, is prevented and cured, when they ſee their Taxes converted to ſo good uſes, and The Benefit comes back to them again: But eſpecially theſe two great Banes of any Commonwealth are by this means utterly baniſhed, the Plague of Idleneſs, and the Scandal of Poverty and Beggery. Whereas on the contrary, the conſuming the Publick Wealth in extravagant Gifts to ſome particular Favourites, in ſtately but unneceſſary Buildings, or in other vain Expences, for which there is no need, and whereof there can be no uſe, draws a general Odium and Indignation. For the Subjects cannot bear to think that ſo many Thouſand ſhould be ſtripped to clothe and make one Man fine; that another ſhould ſtrut and look big with their Money; and that the great Houſes ſhould be built with their Blood, and the Sweat of their Brows: For ſuch as theſe are the grumbling Terms, in which the Vulgar, when provoked to diſcontent, murmur out their Reſentments; and nothing touches them ſo near as Money, and a Notion of Extravagance and Waſtfulneſs in the Diſpoſal of their Taxes.

23. *Saving.* The Third and Laſt Part of this Advice conſiſts in taking care to have a good Supply in reſerve for any extraordinary Exigence that may happen: That ſo, in Caſes of neceſſity, a Prince may not be driven to ſudden and unjuſt Remedies, nor uſe Violence upon others to help himſelf. This Store thus laid up, and frugally managed for the Prince to draw out as he ſees fit, is the common Notion of the Exchequer. Now in the management of this Article, there are two Extremes which muſt be both avoided, becauſe each of them is of very dangerous Conſequence to the Perſon that falls into it. The One is, That of immoderate Greedineſs in amaſſing prodigious Summs; for ſuch Treaſures, tho' got by Methods never ſo juſt and honourable, are not always the moſt for a Prince's Security, when they are out of meaſure. They really very often involve him in Wars, either by putting him upon Oppreſſing and invading his weaker Neighbours, in confidence of his own Strength, and that the longeſt Purſe will be ſure to carry it at laſt; or elſe they are a Bait to ſome Enemy to fall upon Him. And therefore it is much more for the Safety and Advantage, as well as for the Honour of a King, to convert them to ſuch uſes as have been already mentioned, than to let them grow exorbitantly great upon his

his hands, and ſo either tempt the Owner to Inſolence, or expoſe him for a Prey to thoſe who want ſuch Prize. The Other Extreme is ſpending all, and keeping nothing to help at a Pinch; and This is worſe than the Former; for ſuch a Governour ſtands naked and defenceleſs, and like a fooliſh Gameſter, plays away his laſt Stake. And therefore all wiſe Governours take care not to fall into this deſperate Condition. The greateſt Treaſures that Hiſtory informs us of in any Monarchy heretofore, were thoſe of *Darius* the laſt King of *Perſia*, in whoſe Exchequer *Alexander the Great* at the Conqueſt of his Country, is ſaid to have found Fourſcore Millions of Gold. That of *Tiberius* amounted to Sixty Seven Millions. *Trajan* had Five and Fifty Millions laid up in *Egypt*. But that of *David* exceeds all the reſt; for (which is a thing almoſt incredible in ſo ſmall, and, in compariſon, deſpicable, a Dominion as that of *Judæa*) * the Holy Scripture it ſelf takes notice, that he had amaſſed together a Hundred and Twenty Millions.

Now the Method in uſe heretofore, for preſerving theſe great Treaſures from being ſpent and ſquander'd away profuſely, or being ſtoln, and ſecretly broke in upon, was to melt them down into large maſſy Ingots or Balls, as the *Perſians* and *Romans* were wont to do; or elſe to lay them up in the Temples of their Gods, as the ſecureſt and moſt ſacred Repoſitory, as the *Grecians* frequently did in the Temple of *Apollo*. Though this did not always ſucceed to their Expectation; for Covetouſneſs often broke through the moſt ſuperſtitious Reverence for their Deities,

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* What publick Treaſure for Civil Uſes, this Author refers to, I do not know, for want of his Marginal Quotations, in which he is frequently defective; but the Summ reſerved for building the Temple, is yet infinitely more amazing: That in the XXII. of 1 *Chronic.* v. 14. is ſaid to be a Hundred Thouſand Talents of Gold; which, at the rate of Four Pound an Ounce, would be valued among us at Seventy Five Millions Sterling; and a Thouſand Thouſand Talents in Silver, which at five Shillings *per* Ounce, comes to 187 Millions 500000 *l.* computing Seven Hundred and Fifty Ounces of Metal to each Talent. And beſides all this, 'tis ſaid the Braſs and Iron were unmeaſurably great, as alſo the Stores of Timber and Stone left *Solomon* to begin with.

and plunder'd their very Gods themſelves, in deſpight and defiance of all their imaginary Thunder. Thus alſo the *Romans* held their Office of *Exchequer* in the Temple of *Saturn.* But that, which of all others ſeems to be not only the ſafeſt, but the moſt gainful Courſe, is what I mentioned before, of lending out theſe Summs to Private Men at a moderate Intereſt, upon good Pawns, or ſufficient Security, Real or Perſonal. Again, Another adviſable Expedient for preſerving the Publick Treaſures from Encroachment and Diſhoneſty, is to take good care in diſpoſing of the Offices concerned about them. For ſure the Management of ſuch a Truſt is of too great importance to be ſet to ſale; and no Fidelity can be expected, where Men are out of Pocket, and muſt reimburſe themſelves at the Publick Expence: Nor ſhould Men of mean Quality, vulgar and Mechanick People, be admitted to purchaſe them; but they ought in all reaſon to be put into the Hands of Men of Birth and Fortunes, ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to act upon Principles of Honour, and whoſe Circumſtances ſet them above any violent Temptations of ſordid or foul Dealing: And in this particular the old *Romans* ſet us a good Pattern, who entred the young Gentlemen of their beſt Families in *Rome* in this kind of Buſineſs: They lookt upon it as the nobleſt Education; and from this firſt ſetting out, their greateſt Men were raiſed by degrees to the higheſt Honours, and moſt important Offices in the Commonwealth.

24. *The Sixth Head. Military Force.*

His Army, I think may very fitly be placed after the Counſel, and the Treaſury of a Prince; for Nature it ſelf hath put that Precedence out of diſpute, by making it impoſſible for Forces, either to be well raiſed, or well ordered, and uſed ſucceſsfully, and to good purpoſe; or indeed ſo much as to ſubſiſt, when they are raiſed without the Support and Direction of thoſe two former Proviſions. Now a Military Force is abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince, to be a Terrour to his Enemies, a Guard and Security to his Perſon and Government: And for any Man in a Throne to think of ſitting quiet there any conſiderable time, without ſome Number of Forces, is the fondeſt Imagination in the World. There is never any perfect Security between the Weak and the Strong; and no State was ever yet ſo compoſed, as to be quite void of turbulent Spirits, and free from Dangers and Diſturbances, both at Home and Abroad. Now this Power is either a conſtant determinate number,

number, ſuch as are always in Pay, the Ordinary Standing Force; or elſe it is Additional and Extraordinary, levied in time of War, and of no longer continuance than the Occaſion of raiſing it. The Ordinary ſtanding Forces are confin'd to Perſons and Places. The Perſons are of Two ſorts. There are the King's Guards, ſuch as always attend his Perſon, and are of uſe, not only as they contribute to the Safety and Preſervation of his Royal Life; but likewiſe as they add to his Pomp and Grandeur, in making all his Appearances more auguſt and venerable, and every way becoming ſo ſublime a Character. For that ſo mightily celebrated Saying of *Ageſilaus*, That a Prince might always be ſafe without any Guard at all, provided he commanded as he ought, and uſed his Subject as an affectionate and wiſe Father would deal by his Children. This Aphoriſm, I ſay, is far from being always true; and He were a Mad-man, who at this time of Day would venture to make the Experiment, and depend upon the beſt and gentleſt Treatment for his Security. For alas! the Wickedneſs of the World is not ſo eaſily won upon; and Men are too ill-natur'd to be charmed into Gratitude, and Returns of Duty, by all the Tenderneſs, and Affection, and Deſert in the World.

Beſides theſe Guards, it is neceſſary there ſhould be ſtanding Troops kept in conſtant Pay, and perfectly well-diſciplin'd, which may be ready upon any ſudden Accident that ſhall require their Uſe and Aſſiſtance; For it would be extremely improvident to have no Preparations of this kind, and drive off the raiſing of Men, and qualifying them for Service, till the very inſtant that Neceſſity calls for them.

As for the Places, in which ſuch Forces are diſpoſed, they are properly the Forts and Caſtles upon the Frontiers, which ought conſtantly to be well Mann'd, and provided with Arms and Ammunition, to prevent Surprize, and Incurſions from abroad: Inſtead of which, the Ancients heretofore, and ſome at this Day, chooſe rather to tranſplant the Foreigners and former Inhabitants, and to people all ſuch Towns with new and populous Colonies of their own, as they enlarge their Borders by freſh Conqueſts.

The Extraordinary Forces conſiſt of formed Armies, which a Prince finds himſelf obliged to raiſe, and make a plentiful Proviſion of in time of War. Now, what Methods he ought to govern himſelf by in this reſpect; for the undertaking any Military Enterprize, is a Conſideration rela-

ting to the Second Branch of this Politick Prudence, That of Action, I mean, which will be treated of in the following Chapter; and falls not within this Firſt, which is only the Proviſionary part, and ſuch as is requiſite by way of a Preparatory to the other. All therefore that I ſhall ſay upon this Subject at preſent, is only, That a wiſe Prince will always take care, beſides his own Guards, to have a competent number of Men in actual Pay, perfectly diſciſplined and experienc'd in the Buſineſs of their Profeſſion. And that this number ought to be greater or leſs, in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, and the Condition of the Government, to ſecure Obedience and good Order, and immediately to ſuppreſs any Seditious Practices and Commotions, which give Diſturbance, and Threaten any Danger, either from factious Subjects, or buſie deſigning Enemies. Reſerving ſtill to himſelf the Power and Opportunity of making new and greater Levies, when he ſhall be forced into a formal War, and to take the Field in good earneſt; whether that War ſhall happen to oblige him in acting Offenſively or Defenſively. And in the mean while, that his Arſenals and Magazines be conſtantly well ſtored with all manner of offenſive and defenſive Weapons, that ſo both Horſe and Foot may be ſufficiently furniſhed, and compleatly equipped without Difficulty or Delay. In which Proviſion I likewiſe include Ammunition and Proviſion of all kinds, Engines and Utenſils of War, whether for a Camp or a Siege. Such Preparations are not only neceſſary in order to making War and ſuſtaining our ſelves, when Acts of Hoſtility are committed upon us, and conſequently ſuch as every State ought to be beforehand with, becauſe they require a great deal of Time and Expence to have them in readineſs for uſe; but they are excellent Preventions too, and many times put a ſtop to the Deſigns of levying War upon us. For few Enemies will tempt a Danger, or venture upon a Government, which is always in Condition to receive, and revenge their Attempts. Surprize, and Advantage, and the being an Over-match, are the Conſiderations that animate Strangers abroad, or Parties at home, to injure and attack us. The beſt Security, when all is done, will be for a Prince to render himſelf formidable; and Men are moſt likely to be quiet, when they dare not be otherwiſe for their own ſakes. So infallible, ſo eternal a Maxim is it

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in Politicks, That * *the Prince who would eſtabliſh a firm Peace, muſt be ſure to be well provided for War*; and treat with the Sword in his Hand.

25. *The Seventh Head. Alliances.*

After all theſe neceſſary and eſſential Proviſions already mentioned, I add in the laſt place, That of Alliances; which is by no means an inconſiderable Point, but a mighty ſtrengthening and ſupport to any Government. But then the greateſt part of this Advantage is owing to prudent Choice, and good Conduct; and therefore good care muſt be taken with Whom thoſe Alliances are made, and upon what ſort of Terms they are eſtabliſhed.

The Perſons moſt proper for the Friendſhip and Alliance of a Prince, are Neighbours, and Perſons of Power and Intereſt. For if they be either weak or remote, what Aſſiſtance are they in any Capacity of giving? The only Circumſtance that can render ſuch neceſſary, and engage us in their Intereſts, is, the being attack'd by a powerful Enemy, ſo as that by ruining Them, he gains an Opportunity to deſtroy Us; and ſo the ſuccouring Them, is the preſerving Our ſelves. In ſuch a Caſe, let the Allie be otherwiſe never ſo unworthy our regard, we ought to join Forces and defend him with our utmoſt Might. And, if the doing this openly may be a means of involving us in danger, then there muſt be a good Underſtanding and Aſſiſtance given under-hand; for it is a Maſter-piece in Politicks, to manage a Confederacy with one Prince bare-fac'd, and in the Eye of all the World; and to be well with another all the while, by an Agreement behind the Curtain, and unſuſpected. But ſtill my meaning is, that ſuch Secreſie ſhould be free from all Treachery, and Baſeneſs, and foul Dealing: For Wickedneſs and Falſhood are never allowable; but Prudence and good Management are highly to be commended; tho' even Theſe, when they run into Intrigue and Doubling, are more eſpecially to be reſerved for acting the Defenſive part, and ſecuring the Government from ſome imminent Danger; Caſes that admit a much greater Latitude than acting Offenſively, and where there is no urgent Neceſſity, will bear one out in.

But it ought to be farther obſerved, that there are ſeveral Sorts and Degrees of Alliance. The loweſt and moſt ſimple of all, is That which extends only to an Agreement for mutual Trading and Commerce between the Countries

* Qui cupit Pacem, paret Bellum.

concerned; but the more uſual kind is that which obliges to Friendſhip, and reciprocal Kindneſs; and this is either Defenſive only; or elſe Offenſive and Defenſive both: And that again, by a League either limited, and with an Exception of ſome particular Princes and States reſerved out of the Treaty; or elſe general, and without any Reſtraint or Exception at all. The cloſeſt and moſt perfect Confederacy is that which is Offenſive and Defenſive, for and againſt all Perſons whatſoever; this is an Engagement to ſuccour and be a Friend to all Their Friends; and to oppoſe and be an Enemy to all Their Enemies. And this Agreement is of great Convenience to be made with Princes of Power and great Influence, and upon an equal Foot; ſo that each ſide engage upon the ſame Terms. Again, Alliances may differ in Point of Time; Some are preſcribed and limited to a certain Term; Others are perpetual. The more common way is to make them without any fixt Term mention'd in the Treaty, and theſe are call'd *Perpetual*: But the better and ſafer Courſe is to limit it to a number of Years expreſly. Becauſe then the Renewal gives liberty for ſecond Thoughts. Some Articles may be added, and others left out. In a Word, Any Alterations may then be made, as the Circumſtances or Inclinations of the Parties happen to vary: Or if occaſion be, either of them is freely and entirely at his own Diſpoſal, to break off, and be abſolutely diſengag'd for the future. Nay, tho' the Condition of theſe Treaties, and the Princes concerned in them, be ſuch as one would wiſh to perpetuate them; yet even thus it is more convenient to repeat the Engagements, and enter into freſh Covenants upon freſh Conſideration, than to enter into a perpetual League at once. (Provided always, that in ſuch Caſes the Treaty be concluded, and all made faſt again, before the utter Expiration of the former Term.) For all Compacts of this kind naturally languiſh and cool in proceſs of Time; and He that finds it for his Convenience to be off, will be more apt to violate his Faith, if the Alliance be perpetual, and give him no proſpect of Redreſs; than if it be limited, and ſo he can ſee to the End of his Grievance. For in this Caſe he will be tender of his Honour, and wait with Patience till he be abſolved of Courſe, and can come off without any Blemiſh. And thus you have ſeen what thoſe Seven Heads are, which I thought neceſſary for the Proviſionary part of Civil Prudence.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Second Part of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which conſiſts in the Adminiſtration and good Conduct of the Prince.

HAving thus inſiſted at large upon the Proviſion a Prince ought to make, and inſtructed him, what Ornaments and Furniture, what Defence and what Securities, (if I may ſo term them) are neceſſary for the Honour and Safety of his Perſon and his Government; and not only ſo, but likewiſe what Courſes are proper to be taken for the acquiring and furniſhing out ſuch Supplies: Let us now proceed to Action, and obſerve, after what manner theſe things ought to be made uſe of, and employ'd to the beſt Advantage. But, before we come to treat of this Matter diſtinctly, and with reference to the ſeveral Branches of the former Diviſion reſpectively, we may venture to ſay in general, That This whole Matter conſiſts in governing well; and again, That a good Adminiſtration with regard both to the Welfare and Obedience of the Subject, and the Security of the Prince, will depend chiefly upon ſuch a ſort of Conduct as ſhall acquire him Two things, hearty Good-Will I mean, and Authority. The Former is That Affectionate Concern and Kindneſs which Subjects ſhould retain for their Sovereign and his Government. The Latter is a good and great Opinion, an honourable Eſteem of Him and his Government. With reſpect to the Former of Theſe it is, that a Prince is belov'd, and by virtue of the Latter he is fear'd and ſtood in awe of. Now Theſe two Affections of Love and Fear, tho' they be very diſtant, yet are they by no means contrary to, or deſtructive of one another; and conſequently neither are thoſe Regards ſo, which in the preſent Caſe flow from, and are the Reſult of thoſe Paſſions. Both of them are likewiſe of general Extent in the Matter before us; and both Subjects and Strangers are concerned in each. Tho' indeed, if we look ſtrictly into the Thing, and ſpeak more properly, the Good-Will ſeems to be the Quality of Subjects, and the Authority that which hath the Principal Influence upon Strangers; 1.

Strangers. And accordingly *Tacitus* diſtinguiſhes them, when he adviſes Perſons in this Eminent Poſt, to order Matters ſo, * *that their own Country-Men may be ſure to love, and Foreigners and Enemies may be ſure to fear them.* And if we would deliver our Judgment freely and fully upon the Matter, though both are of great Efficacy, yet it muſt be acknowledged, that Authority is the ſtronger and more vigorous Principle of the Two; the more Venerable and of longer Continuance. But, when there is a juſt Temper, and exact Harmony of both together, this Matter is then brought to its utmoſt Perfection. A thing not always practicable, becauſe the different Conſtitutions of Government, and yet more different Humors and Diſpoſitions of People, according to their ſeveral Climates, or Countries, or Complexions make a mighty Difference in the acquiring theſe; and incline Some to the One of thoſe Affections of the Mind, and Others to the other. So that ſome are eaſily brought to Love, and are ſcarce ſuſceptible of Fear; Others as eaſily awed into Reſpect, but not without infinite Difficulty to be won over to Kindneſs and Love for their Prince. What Methods are moſt Proper and Adviſable for the acquiring both theſe Advantages, we have already been inform'd; for the ſeveral Heads of Proviſion ſo largely explain'd, are but ſo many Means for the compaſſing this End: though of Them the moſt effectual and inſinuating ſeem to be Thoſe comprehnded under the Heads, which touch upon the Virtues, and the Manners or Deportment of a Prince. But however, it may not be amiſs, now we are fallen upon the Matter more directly, to ſay one Word or two more with regard to each of theſe powerful Advantages expreſly.

2. *Good Will acquir'd by Gentleneſs.*

This Good-Will and Hearty Affection is of infinite and excellent Uſe; it is in a manner abſolutely neceſſary; in ſo much, that This by its own ſingle Strength is able to do a great deal, and gives a mighty Security; but all the reſt without this is very feeble and unſafe. The Methods of obtaining it are principally Three. Firſt, Moderation and Gentleneſs; not in Words, and Actions, ſoft Language, and courteous Behaviour only, but alſo in the very Temper of the Commands iſſued out, and the whole Adminiſtration. For the generality of Mankind are of ſuch a Diſpoſition, as will neither endure to have their Hands ty'd behind

* Amorem apud Populares, Metum apud Hoſtes quærat.

them,

them, nor abſolutely looſe, and at their own diſpoſal. * *They are impatient* (ſays *Tacitus*) *of an Arbitrary Yoke, and perfect Slavery, and yet at the ſame time every whit as unable to bear perfect and uncontrouled Liberty.* They make a ſhift to obey well enough, and are contented to live in the Quality of Subjects; but the Chains and Captivity of Slaves they can never away with; and therefore he ſays of them, that they are tamed and † *ſubdued not to ſerve, but to obey.* And the very Truth is ∴ Every Man finds himſelf more inclin'd to comply with a Superiour who uſes his Power tenderly; And the greater the Command, the readier and more hearty is commonly the Obſervance paid to it. He that will be well carried muſt take care not to ride with too ſtiff a Rein. *Cæſar*, who was very expert, and a perfect Maſter in Matters of this kind, uſed to ſay, that Power, when moderately exerciſed, kept all ſafe and tight; but when a Man once came to let himſelf looſe, and commanded things without any regard to the Reaſonableneſs or the Decency; when he was ſet upon making himſelf abſolute, and reſolv'd to be obey'd Right or Wrong; ſuch a One could never be belov'd by his Subjects, nor did he ſit faſt in his Throne. In the mean while, give me leave to add, that by this Gentleneſs and Moderation, I do not mean ſuch a tame and eaſie, Negligent and Effeminate Softneſs, as lets the Reins of Government perfectly looſe; For This will expoſe a Prince to Reproach and Contempt, and degenerate into an Extreme, Ten thouſand times worſe than that of Fear. In all theſe Caſes therefore a Commander muſt obſerve, how far he can go Decently, * and what Indulgences are conſiſtent with his Honour. And the proper Province as well as the Excellence and Commendation of Prudence in Matters of this Nature will be, to make ſo juſt a Mixture of Juſtice and Gentleneſs, that a Prince may neither ſeek to be Fear'd by methods of Rigour and Extremity, and rendering himſelf a publick Terror to the World; nor ſtudy to ingratiate himſelf, and become Popular and Belov'd, by Methods ſo mean and unworthy, as ſhould make him Deſpicable, and a Jeſt and Scorn of the World.

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* Nec totam ſervitutem pati, nec totam libertatem.

† Domiti ut pareant, non ſerviant.

∴ Remiſſius imperanti melius paretur. Qui vult amari, languidâ regnet manu.

* Sed incorrupto Ducis honore. *Tacit.*

The

3. *Beneficence.* The Second Expedient, which I think adviſable for gaining the Affections of the World, is *Beneficence*: I mean ſo general and unbounded a Diſpoſition to do Good, as ſhall by no means be confin'd to thoſe of the firſt Quality, or near the Princes Perſon; but ſhed it ſelf all over, upon all Sorts and Conditions of Men, that even the loweſt and moſt diſtant, the meaneſt of the People, may taſt and rejoice in it. One excellent way of doing this, is by good Management, and provident Care; contriving ſufficient Proviſions and ſetting moderate Prices upon Commodities; ſeeing that the Markets be well furniſhed, and Corn and other Neceſſaries for the ſupport of Life, ſold at reaſonable Rates; that if it be poſſible, there may always be Plenty, and whatever Nature cannot ſubſiſt without, may be cheap; for nothing is ſo ſenſible a Grievance as Scarcity, and extravagant Rates; and the Blame of all will be ſure to be laid at the Governour's Door. The Common People have no other Notion of publick Good, but what they are ſuſtain'd by; nor can you make them believe that any other, either Duty or Benefit, is incumbent upon, or to be expected from thoſe that ſit at Helm, comparable to That of feeding the Subject; as if Socity and Government were inſtituted for no other Purpoſe, than to ſee that the vulgar, and poorer ſort of Men ſhould never want a full Belly. * And accordingly *Tacitus* hath obſerved, That the only Motive which can faſten their Affections to the State is the Convenience of being maintain'd at the publick Care.

4. *Liberality.* The Third Attractive of Peoples Affections is Liberality, which is in Truth a more particular Sort of Beneficence; This is a Bait, nay, a Charm rather; for it does not only allure and invite, but draws, bewitches, captivates Mens Hearts, almoſt whether they will or no. So Pleaſant and Sweet it is to be on the Receiving, ſo Honourable and Winning to be on the Giving Hand: Inſomuch that a very wiſe Man laid it down for a Maxim, *That a Government is better ſecured by Kindneſs, and Obligations, than by Strength and Force of Arms.* This is an Expedition uſeful at all Times, but more eſpecially ſo, at the firſt entrance upon Government; when there hath been either ſome late Succeſſion, or ſome new Eſtabliſhment. What Perſons are the Proper Objects of this Liberality, in what Proportions it ought to be extended, and what Addreſs ought to be obſerved in

* Vulgo una ex Republicâ Annonæ cura.

the

the manner of giving, are Particulars, which have been largely examin'd and reſolv'd already. I only add, that *Auguſtus* hath given us in his own Perſon, an eminent Inſtance, both of the Practice of theſe Methods for attaining the Love and Eſteeem of Mankind, and of the Succeſs of ſuch Meaſures † *For he (ſays Tacitus) won upon the Army by Largeſſes; the Common People by Plenty of Corn; and all Degrees of Men by the Sweets of Reſt and Univerſal Peace.*

Authority is the other Pillar, that ſupports any Government; for, ∴ The *Majeſty of the Royal Character is its Safety and Defence.* This is that impregnable Fort, that keeps the lower and naked World in Aw; by Virtue whereof the Prince can demand, and force Satisfaction, from any who ſhall preſume to contemn his Orders, or behave themſelves inſolently to him. Upon the Account of This it is, that the Diſcontents of People end in Murmurs, that the enraged Mobile dares not ſtorm the Palace, but all deſire to be in good Grace with their Great Maſter. Now, this Authority is a compounded thing, and the Two Ingredients that make it up, are Fear and Reſpect. By Theſe two the Prince and his Government become formidable, ſpread a ſort of Awe upon all who behold and conſider them, and are ſecured from Attempts by this Protection. Now, to the acquiring this Authority, beſides that all the Heads of Proviſion inſiſted upon in the laſt Chapter muſt concur, there are Three other Things abſolutely neceſſary to be obſerved, in the Admiſtration, and manner of Governing it ſelf. 5. *Authority.*

The Firſt of Theſe is Severity; which, commonly ſpeaking, is much more for the Safety, and Advantage of a Governour, and a better and more durable Defence from Enemies and Dangers, than Eaſineſs and Clemency; becauſe theſe are ſo very ſeldom tempered with Diſcretion; and a great Softneſs and Gentleneſs of Diſpoſition is exceeding apt to degenerate, and, as was hinted before, to produce very miſchievous Effects. Of This ſeveral good Accounts may be given; As Firſt, the Natural Humor of the People, which, as *Ariſtotle* very truly obſerved, is not caſt in ſo good a Mould, as to be tractable; nor will they be contained in their Duty by any Principles ſo generous, *Severity.*

† Qui militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit.

∴ Majeſtas Imperii Salutis Tutela.

as Love or Shame; nothing leſs, nothing better will do it than Force and Fear, Extremity, and a Dread at leaſt of Puniſhment. A Second Reaſon is the General Corruption of Manners, and that Extravagance and Debauchery, which like a Contagious Diſtemper, haith tainted and overſpread all the World; and this by being general, takes Courage, grows Inſolent and Preſumptuous; and is ſo far from any poſſibility of being reform'd by fair Means, that ſuch Gentleneſs only inflames the Diſeaſe, and makes Vice more Bold and Triumphant. It begets Contempt of Superiours, and ſtrengthens the Wicked with Hopes of Impunity, which is the Plague and Bane of all Law, and all Government. For as *Cicero* ſays * *The moſt Powerful Temptation to offend ariſes from the Hope of Impunity.* And moſt certain it is, that Rigor upon particular Notorious Offenders, is the greateſt Mercy that can poſſibly be ſhewn to the Publick, and the whole Body of Subjects in general. There is ſometimes a neceſſity of making ſignal and ſolemn Examples, thus at the Expence of private Sufferings to teach other People Wiſdom, and to prevent the exorbitant Growth of Villany by cutting it ſhort betimes. The Body Politick is in this Reſpect ſubject to the ſame Dangers, and muſt ſubmit to the ſame Methods of Cure, with our Natural Body; where a Finger is many times taken off out of a mere Principle of Tenderneſs; that by this ſeeming Barbarity, a Mortification may be prevented from ſeizing the whole Arm firſt, and then the Vitals. And thus that King of *Thrace* made no ill Anſwer, to one that reproach'd him, with playing the Part, not of a King, but a Mad-Man; *Aye*, Sir, ſays he, *but this Madneſs of* mine *keeps my Subjects in their Senſes*; and *they grow Wiſer by that which you think my Folly.* Severity keeps Officers and Magiſtrates ſtrictly to their Duty, and promotes a faithful Execution of their reſpective Truſts; it diſcountenances Flatterers, and turns Paraſites out of Doors; the Wicked and Diſſolute, the impudent Beggars, and little Tyrants of the Court are not able to ſtand before it. Whereas on the contrary, Eaſineſs and Exceſſive Mildneſs of Temper opens the Gate Wide, and admits all theſe infamous Wretches; by whoſe Importunity and Unreaſonableneſs the publick Treaſures are exhauſted, and ſquandered away; All manner of Vice is encouraged, The Kingdom is impoveriſhed; all which, and a great many other

* Illecebra peccandi maxima ſpes impunitatis.

Miſeries

Miſeries, like Colds and Catarrhes, in a Rheumatick and diſtempered Body, break the Conſtitution; and fall and ſettle like the Humours, upon the weakeſt Parts. The Good-Nature of *Pertinax*, and the Licentiouſneſs of *Heliogabalus* had like to have loſt All, and were very near ruining the *Roman* Empire; and then the ſtrict Diſcipline of *Severus* firſt, and afterwards of *Alexander* reſtor'd, and made all whole again.

But ſtill Extreams muſt be avoided; and the Severity I recommended ſhould be exerciſed with prudent Reſerve, and juſt Diſtinction: It muſt not be a thing of conſtant practice, but now and then, upon juſtifiable and important Occaſions; and when it may be ſeaſonable and effectual. For the End of this Diſpenſation muſt always direct the Uſe of the Means; and the Deſign of all Rigour in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice is plainly This, * *That the Sufferings of a few, may work Terror and Amendment in the reſt*, Thus the Almighty Law-Giver himſelf, renders an account of ſeveral exemplary and capital Puniſhments among the *Iſraelites*; *That all Iſrael may hear, and fear, and do no more wickedly.* Deut. xxi. Now, ſuch Executions, when grown daily and familiar, loſe their Efficacy; and therefore that ancient Author was certainly in the Right, who affirmed, that ſome few publick Examples contribute more to the Reformation of the People, than frequent Puniſhments, which come thick upon one another can poſſibly do. The Reaſon of which is, that the more Surpriſing and New any Impreſſions of this kind are, the more Strong, and Terrible and Awakening they are. But then all this is to be underſtood of common Caſes; for if Vice gather Strength, if the Proſelytes and Practiſers of it grow Numerous, and Reſolute, and Bold, In ſuch a Caſe Compaſſion is the greateſt Cruelty, Fire and Sword are then the only Remedies, and it is neceſſary to go thro' with the Cure. And whatever Imputations of a Bloody and Barbarous Temper may in ſuch Circumſtances be caſt upon a Prince, they are but the Effects of Ignorance and Unjuſt Cenſure; for here again it is in the State, as in theſe private Bodies of ours, where the † Extremity *of a Diſeaſe and the Ungovernableneſs of the Patient, forces the Phyſician to be cruel*; and he would betray his Skill,

* Ut pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes.

† Crudelem Medicum, intemperans æger facit.

and

and be falſe to his Profeſſion, ſhould he relent, and be otherwiſe.

7. *Conſtancy.* The Second Expedient for eſtabliſhing and preſerving a Princes Authority, is Conſtancy. A Firmneſs, and Reſolv'd Temper of Mind, by which he keeps to his own Methods, treads the ſame Steps, and without any Ficklenes or wanton Love of change, advances ſtill on, gets Ground upon his Subjects; and enforces a due Obſervance of eſtabliſh'd Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms. To be continually Altering and Reviewing, Aboliſhing Old, and Enacting New, beſides, that it argues a weak and unſettled Mind, which never knows when things are well, nor where to fix; it does unavoidably leſſen a Prince in the Eye of the World, and derive a very mean Opinion, both upon his Perſon, and his Laws; nay, it expoſes both to publick Scorn and Contempt. Upon This Account wiſe Men have ever ſhew'd themſelves averſe to Change, and that to ſuch a Degree, as to diſſuade and forbid Alterations in Laws and received Cuſtoms, even though they were to be chang'd for the better. For (beſides the Uncertainty and the Danger of ſuch Courſes, and that we know the worſt of what is practiſed now, but cannot foreſee the Conſequences of what was never yet try'd;) Take the Matter abſtractedly and by it ſelf, and it is certain, that Alteration of an old Law is always more inconvenient, and does greater Miſchief, than the Novelty of a thing introduc'd in its Room can poſſibly do Good. Upon this Account (as I have intimated in a former Part of this Treatiſe) Buſie Fellows and Reformers have all along been look'd upon as very ſuſpicious and dangerous People, and by all means to be diſcountenanced. And in truth nothing leſs than either evident or abſolute neceſſity; or elſe as evident and very conſiderable Advantage to the Publick; and This a certain, and not merely a poſſible, or likely Conſequence of the Change can ever be Argument Strong and Subſtantial enough, for breaking in upon ancient Conſtitutions, and altering the Meaſures of any Government. And when ſuch cogent Motives as theſe are offer'd to perſuade it, yet even then there is mighty Caution and Diligence to be uſed; the Proceedings ought to be exceeding well adviſed; every Step taken warily and with Deliberation. All muſt not be done at a Puſh; but the Old laid aſide with decency and by degrees, and the New introduced as gently and inſenſibly,

bly, as is poſſible. For in this above any other conjuncture of Affairs is that Proverb of * *Fair and Softly* a neceſſary Rule in Politicks.

8. The Third Expedient for this purpoſe is to ſteer this Veſſel himſelf, and not truſt the Helm of Government in any other Hand. My Meaning is, that the Honour and Power of iſſuing out Orders, and giving Commands, ſhould be reſerv'd to the Prince in Perſon; and no other act as Superintendent under him; That he ſhould give the laſt Determinations, and his Will be the Direction, without referring all to his Counſel, and ſuffering Them to act and order, as they think fit. For this will draw the Eyes, and the Reſpects of all his Subjects, and make them ſenſible, that all depends upon his Diſpoſal and good Pleaſure. The Sovereign, who gives away, tho' it be never ſo little of his Authority, is in Danger of loſing All; and will quickly grow inſignificant and deſpicable. For this Reaſon a Prudent King will be ſure never to raiſe any Subject too high, or make him extravagantly Great, or Wealthy above the Reſt. † *The common Safeguard of the Government and Royal State, is to take Care, that no one Subject be made too big by the Favour of his Prince*, ſays *Ariſtotle*. And if it happen that he find ſuch a one already made to his Hands, it is a Maxim in Politicks, to leſſen and lower him: But then that muſt be done ſlily and ſmoothly, by ſome Stratagem not eaſily ſeen through, and in the moſt gentle, inoffenſive, inſenſible Way that can be. Another Rule is, not to give Places of great Dignity and Importance, for Life; much leſs ſuffer them to be hereditary and deſcend in the ſame Family; nay, it is dangerous indeed to continue Theſe for any long Term of Years, leſt Men by this Means ſhould ſtrengthen their Party, and at laſt become a Match for their Maſter. And whoever ſhall conſult Hiſtories, both Ancient and Modern, and there examine the Cauſes of Powerful Factions, and the moſt ſurpriſing and fatal Revolutions of States and Empires, will find the greateſt part of them owing to the Exorbitant Riches and Power of ſome over-grown Subject; or the Influence and Intereſt of ſome old and important Officer:

* Leniter & lente.

† Communis cuſtodia Principatûs, neminem unum magnum facere.

So that *Seneca* had good Reaſon to ſay, * *Nothing is ſo convenient and advantageous to the State, as the frequent Change of high Offices; no Truſt, no Power, which is Great, ought to be continued long in the ſame Hand.*

9. *Againſt Tyranny.*

Theſe are fair, and honeſt Means, agreeable to Juſtice, becoming the Character of a Prince, and fit for him to uſe for the acquiring and ſupporting himſelf, both in the Good Affections of the World, and in a Venerable Authority with them. Upon theſe Terms he may be loved and feared both; and ſo it is neceſſary he ſhould be. For though a convenient Mixture of theſe Two be deſirable and excellent; yet either of them ſingly, and deſtitute of the other, is neither Reaſonable in its ſelf, nor any Security to the Government. Upon which Account it is, that we deteſt and abhor a Tyrannical Authority, a Fear abſolutely repugnant to, and deſtructive of Affection and Love, ſuch as renders the Perſon an Object of all Men's Hatred at the ſame time. † *Let them hate me, ſo they fear me*, is a bruiſh and ſavage Declaration; no one that is really a Man, would be content with Power and Greatneſs at that Rate; and this Authority, if it be fit to allow it ſo honourable a Name, is ſuch as Barbarous, and Arbitrary, and Wicked Men procure to themſelves; not by the Exerciſe, but by the Abuſe of their Power. The Qualities and Character of a good Prince and a Tyrant, have no manner of Reſemblance to one another. The Diſtance is ſo vaſt, the Diſparity ſo notorious, that it is ſcarce poſſible for a Man not to diſtinguiſh between them. In ſhort, they all turn at laſt upon theſe Two Points; One is, The obſerving the Laws of God and Nature, with a Religious Strictneſs, or the trampling both under Foot, with the greateſt Inſolence and Contempt. The other, making the publick Good and true Intereſt of one's Subjects the End and Meaſure of all one's Actions; or the making every Thing truckle to his own Will, and by every Action and Deſign ſerving and aiming at nothing elſe, but private Profit and Pleaſure. Now the Prince, who will anſwer his Character, and be what ſo glorious a Station requires, muſt conſtantly remember, that as it is the peculiar Happineſs and Prerogative of Power to do whatever he hath a Mind to: So it is alſo the true Prerogative of the Will, and the moſt certain Mark of real Greatneſs, to

* Nil tam utile, quam brevem poteſtatem eſſe, quæ magna ſit.
† Oderint dum metuant.

have

have a Mind to ſuch things only as are Juſt, and Lawful, and becoming. * *Cæſar* (ſays *Pliny*) *hath leſs in his Power than Common Men, upon this very account, that every thing is in his Power. For as it is a Happineſs to be able to do what you pleaſe, ſo it is true Greatneſs to will only ſuch things as you can do; or rather, indeed, to deſire and will no more than you ought to do*; for in ſtrict ſpeaking, a Man can do no more than lawfully he may do. The greateſt Misfortune that any Prince is capable of, is the being poſſeſſed with an Opinion, that his Will is his Rule; and that all that is poſſible, is lawful for him. As ſoon as ever he hath given way to this vile Imagination, his whole Temper and Manners preſently grow corrupt, and from a good Man he is transformed into a wicked Wretch, and a Monſter. Now this Opinion commonly inſinuates it ſelf by Sycophants and Paraſites: Flattery infuſes and blows it up; for Perſons of that Dignity never want enough and too many, to preach up to them the Greatneſs of their Power, becauſe this is a pleaſing Doctrine, and tickles the Ear; but the Obligations of Duty carry a harſh and grating Sound; and there are few, but very few Servants ſo hardy in their Fidelity, as to entertain their Maſter upon this neceſſary Subject. But of all ſorts of Flattery, That is the moſt dangerous, when a Man flatters Himſelf. In other Caſes, a Man may ſtop his Ears againſt the treacherous Inſinuation; he may enjoyn Silence, forbid all Diſcourſe of that kind, avoid the Preſence and Company of the nauſeous Wretches that uſe and hope to ingratiate themſelves by it: But when the Perſon who gives, and he who receives the Flattery, are one and the ſame, What ſhall he do, or whether ſhall he run from ſuch deſtructive Converſation? And therefore a Prince above all other People, is highly concern'd to deal honeſtly by himſelf; to decline and deſpiſe the fulſom and baſe Soothings of other People, who hope to make their court this way; and eſpecially to be a ſevere Inquiſitor and Judge of his own Actions, and not to cajole himſelf into Ruine.

After all that hath been ſaid, (and too much cannot be ſaid againſt Tyranny and Arbitrary Adminiſtration) it is neceſſary to add, that ſometimes ſuch critical Junctures of Affairs will happen, ſuch Intricacies and Perplexities in Pub-

* Cæſari cum omnia licent, propter hoc minus licet. Ut fœlicitatis eſt, poſſe quantum velis: Sic magnitudinis, velle quantum poſſis; vel potius quantum debeas.

lick Buſineſs, with regard to Time, Perſon, Places, Occaſions, or ſome accidental Circumſtances; that a Prince will be driven to a neceſſity of doing ſome things, which at firſt view may look like Tyranny: As for inſtance; When the Matter depending before him, is the ſuppreſſing of another Tyranny; the Licentiouſneſs, I mean, of a head-ſtrong, hair-brain'd People, whoſe ungovernable Fury is the moſt abſolute, moſt deſtructive Tyranny in the World; Or when he is to break ſome cloſe Cabal, or powerful Faction of the Nobility, and Perſons of Wealth and Figure in their Country; Or when the publick Treaſures are reduced and waſted, the King driven to extreme Wants, and knows not where to furniſh himſelf with needful Supplies, and ſo is compelled for the Relief of the State in its preſent Exigency, to raiſe Moneys irregularly, and borrow from the Rich, by ſuch Loans as they are not perfectly contented with. Of theſe Extremities, and the Methods and Remedies proper for them, I have ſpoken formerly; and the only deſign of renewing the mention of them here, is to perſuade People to give the beſt and moſt favourable Interpretation to Caſes of neceſſity; and not immediately clamour againſt them, and repreſent them in their worſt and moſt odious Colours, but make all the Allowances they can bear. Much leſs ought we to miſconſtrue Severity upon particular Offenders, or eſteem the number of his Guards, or the Strength of his Forts, or the Majeſty, and Style-Imperial of his Commands to be Tyranny. For all theſe things are not only uſeful in a very high degree, but in ſome Circumſtances indiſpenſably neceſſary. And ſuch Authoritative Methods in Kings, are much better, and more deſirable, than the ſofteſt Entreaties, and kindeſt Careſſes of Tyrants.

And thus I have repreſented the Two firm Supports of a Prince, and a State; and happy is it for Them, who know how to acquire, and to continue theſe Advantages to themſelves; and by ſo doing, effectually prevent the Two Contraries, which are the very Murderers and certain Undoers of a Prince and Government, Hatred, I mean, and Contempt: Concerning which I beg the Readers Patience to ſay one Word, becauſe a brief Conſideration of them may be of ſome Service towards the preventing or defending our ſelves from them.

Hatred

Hatred then, which is the direct Contrary to Love and Good-will, is an obſtinate, wicked, perverſe Affection of the Mind, whereby the Subjects are violently prejudiced, and bitterly ſet againſt the Prince and his Government. This commonly ſprings either from ſome Apprehenſion of future Miſchiefs, or from a Deſire of revenging ſome paſt Injury; or elſe from a Reſentment compounded of both theſe together. When this Hatred is very rank and fierce, and when it ſpreads and grows Epidemical, the Danger is extremely great, and the Conſequence commonly fatal; and very ſeldom it is, that a Prince is able to ſtemm, or get over it. * *No Power* (ſays *Tully*) *is ſo great as to be a match for a general Hatred; The Multitude have many Hands, and the Prince hath but one Head.* This is it they thirſt after, This what they want, to put an End to their Rage; and he is but a Man equal in this regard to any one of his Enemies, but expos'd to the Attempts of them All. You ſee then, how important, how neceſſary it is for a Prince to preſerve himſelf from ſuch a dangerous, ſuch an irreſiſtible Miſchief; and the moſt likely Courſe that can be taken for this purpoſe, will be to avoid the two Extremes of Cruelty and Avarice, ſo directly oppoſite to that Gentleneſs and Liberality, which were obſerv'd before to be the powerful Inſtruments, and moſt powerful Motives to gain the Kindneſs and good Affection of any People. 10. *Hatred.*

Firſt, he muſt by all means keep himſelf clear and untainted from any baſe and barbarous Cruelty, ſuch as is a Blemiſh to his Character, ſcandalous, and abominable, and unbecoming his Grandeur: On the other Hand, let his Mind be ſtrongly armed by Clemency, the Reaſons and Neceſſity whereof have been ſhewn already, when we treated of the Virtues more peculiar to a Prince. But ſtill, in regard Publick Puniſhments are neceſſary and unavoidable; and theſe, even when moſt juſt, even when moſt neceſſary, carry ſome face and appearance of Cruelty, it concerns a Governour to carry himſelf very prudently in the management of this Matter; and perhaps there are not many Caſes which require more Dexterity and Addreſs. And therefore I will preſume to venture at a little particular Advice upon this Occaſion. As firſt, Let him by no means be too eager and haſty in laying his Hand 11. *Cruelty.*

* Multorum odiis nullæ opes poſſunt reſiſtere. Multæ illis manus; Illi una cervix.

upon the Sword of Juſtice; but ſhew, that he draws it meerly in his own Defence; and by his ſlowneſs to be provok'd, and loathneſs to revenge, convince the World, that what he does of this kind, is the effect of meer Neceſſity, and ſore againſt his Inclination. † *He that paſſes Sentence ſpeedily, does it willingly, and with a Glee; whereas there is a Tenderneſs due, and a King ought to be very ſaving even of the worſt and vileſt Blood.* Secondly, Let the Principle upon which he proceeds, be the Proſpect of the Publick Good; and let the making their Faults exemplary, and preventing the ſpreading and growth of it in others, and a Relapſe of the Sufferer himſelf, be the Motives of Puniſhment, rather than any thirſt of Vengeance, or a deſire to torment the guilty Perſon. Thirdly, Whatever of this kind is neceſſary to be done, let it be put in execution with all poſſible Calmneſs and Temper. A King ſhould be like his Laws, cool and ſedate, void of all manner of Paſſion; and therefore Anger, and Joy, and any other Emotion of the Soul is highly unbeſeeming; but if any Paſſion may be allowed, That of Pity is the only one, that can ſhew it ſelf with a good Grace upon theſe Occaſions. Fourthly, Let the Execution be only what is uſual, and according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country in ſuch Caſes; for the aggravating of the Pain, and inventing new and more exquiſite Methods of Torment, are ſo many certain Marks of a cruel and remorſeleſs Mind. Fifthly, Let not the Prince have any hand in inflicting the Puniſhment, nor ſo much as be preſent at the Execution; for this looks like inſulting, and taking ſatisfaction in the Sufferings of the Criminal. Laſtly, if there be a neceſſity of Puniſhing a great many, let it be done with all convenient ſpeed, upon all together, that it may be over and forgotten, as ſoon as poſſible. For the prolonging their Execution, and repeating theſe Tragical Sights One by One, looks as if a Man play'd the *Epicure* in Blood. For we naturally contrive, that thoſe things may be lengthened out, or often renewed to us, which give us Entertainment and Delight. And every Body haſtens to make an End of That, which is diſagreeable, and raiſes his Averſion.

† Libenter damnat, qui cito: ergo illi parſimonia etiam viliſſimi Sanguinis.

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The next thing which he ought to keep himſelf free from, is Avarice, than which no Vice whatſoever can poſſibly be more misbecoming a great Man. Now this may diſcover it ſelf two Ways; either in Extortion, and exacting more than is fit; or in Niggardlineſs, and in giving leſs than is fit. The former of Theſe will be ſure to diſguſt the Common People, who are all of them naturally covetous, and eſteem their Pocket the tendereſt Part; for Money is their Blood, their Life, their very Soul. And therefore nothing gives them ſo ſenſible an Affliction, or raiſes their Indignation, like the Exactions that rob them of it. The Second diſcontents all that have ſerved the State, who have any Pretenſions to Merit, and have ſpent their Time and Pains, their Strength and Blood, upon the Publick, and therefore think ſome proportionable Gratuity their due. Now we have already taken Occaſion in the laſt Chapter, to diſcourſe the matter of the Publick Treaſure at large, how the Prince ought to manage himſelf in this whole Point; what Methods are proper for the raiſing of Funds; what Taxes fit to be impoſed, for the putting his Exchequer into Stock; what Prudence is requiſite in the laying out ſuch Moneys; and what Frugality neceſſary for the reſerving a convenient Supply for extraordinary Exigencies. And therefore all I ſhall need to add here, is only thus much, That the Prince ought very diligently to beware of Three Things. The Firſt, That he bear no manner of Reſemblance to thoſe Tyrannical and Extravagant Impoſitions, the inſupportable Burden whereof have rather made the Leviers of them Devourers of their Country, and common Plunderers, than Fathers and Defenders of it. Such as God deſcribes by the Mouth of his Pſalmiſt, that ∴ *Eat up the People as they would eat Bread; Whoſe Treaſuries are enrich'd with the Spoils of their Subjects, and made the common Receptacle of Blood and Rapine.* For theſe Oppreſſions weary out all Patience, and provoke Tumults and Inſurrections; as infinite Examples of Revenge, and Sedition, and other deſperate Calamities prove to us. The Second Thing to be declined, is Sordidneſs, and that firſt in the gathering part;

12. *Avarice.*

Pſalm liii.

∴ Qui devorant Plebem ſicut eſcam panis; Δημοβόρους, quorum ærarium ſpoliarium Civium, cruentarumque prædarum receptaculum.

(* *Following the Scent of Gain every where, and balking no occaſion, tho' never ſo vile and unbeſeeming his Character; or as the common Proverb ſays, Robbing the very Spittle*) for which reaſon it will be highly adviſable in him, to be very ſparing in taking the Advantage of Accuſations and Attainders, Confiſcations and Forfeitures, and other Spoils, which have an Air of Hardſhip, even when they are clear of Injuſtice. The other Branch of Sordidneſs is in being cloſe-handed, giving nothing, or giving in little and ſneaking Proportions; making his Favours mercenary, or being ſlow and difficult in granting; ſo that whatever is obtain'd ſhall be dear bought, by importunate Requeſts, and long Attendance; and is not ſo properly the effect of Generoſity, or a Senſe of Merit in the Receiver, as extorted by dunning, and wreſted out of his Hands by tiring and vanquiſhing his Patience. The Third is, Methods of Violence, and unreaſonable Exaction in the levying of Taxes; when the manner of bringing it in, looks more like forraging, or going to plunder an Enemy, than to make a Demand upon a Subject. This Caution, I confeſs, is chiefly aim'd at the Inſolence of Collectors and Receivers, who by their baſe Extortions, and grinding the Faces of the Poor, expoſe the Prince to Hatred and Diſrepute, and breed angry Reſentments, and ill Blood in the People. For his Honour ſuffers for the Miſdemeanors of his Under-Officers. Theſe Monſters of Foxes and Wolves, who as one deſcribes them, have Six Hands, and Three Heads apiece. And, as in other Matters, ſo particularly in that of making Seiſures, are barbarous and remorſeleſs; eſpecially ſuch Goods as are Neceſſaries of a Man's Life, the Tools of his Trade, or Inſtruments of Husbandry; a Method to be declin'd in common Prudence, as exceeding odious, and what nothing leſs than Extremity, or very juſt Provocation ought to put them upon. It is therefore of mighty conſequence to a Prince, what ſort of People are employ'd in theſe Offices; for it is highly requiſite they ſhould be Men both of Integrity and Prudence: Nor is it leſs Neceſſary for his Honour, to turn them out with Diſgrace when they misbehave themſelves: A ſevere exemplary Puniſhment, a ſwinging Fine, to make them diſgorge all their ill-gotten Gains, is what he owes to himſelf, and his own Defence: For

* Indignum lucrum ex omni occaſione odorari; &, ut dicitur, etiam à mortuis auferre.

theſe

theſe State-Sponges ſhould be uſed accordingly, and ſqueez'd in their Turn too, till they have given back every Drop of that Blood and Sweat, which they moſt mercileſly ſuckt up, by draining and ſqueezing the poor Country People before.

Let us now proceed to conſider that other, and, if it be poſſible, ſtill worſe Enemy of a Prince and his Government, which is Contempt, ariſing from an ill and mean Opinion both of the One and the Other. What is it that can poſſibly ſupport one ſingle Man, and that ſometimes one of great Years and Infirmities, in a Station ſo much above many Millions of his Brethren, except it be Authority, and a high Eſteem? When once This is loſt, and ſinks into Contempt, all the reſt is loſt with it, and both Prince and Government fall to the Ground. And therefore, as in this reſpect, according to what was urged before, Authority is of greater Strength and Efficacy, and carries more Pomp and Majeſty with it, than the good Affection of a People; ſo likewiſe Contempt is more dangerous and formidable, than even Hatred it ſelf. For Hatred is Modeſt and Timorous, it is reſtrain'd by Fear, and dares attempt nothing, till Contempt let it looſe; but this ſhakes off that Yoke, animates and arms it for the moſt deſperate Undertakings. It is true indeed, Contempt ſeldom riſes very high, eſpecially under the Government of a Rightful Prince, unleſs he be perfectly inſignificant, and degrade and proſtitute himſelf and his Honour to that degree, as only to be * *a King of Clouts.* But ſtill, ſince there is a poſſibility of its happening, we ſhall do well to obſerve what are the Occaſions moſt likely to produce it. Now This, as it is in its own Nature the very Reverſe to Authority, ſo does it derive it ſelf from Cauſes directly contrary to Thoſe, by virtue whereof a Prince's Authority is procured and preſerved: As for Inſtance, thoſe Three that follow. 13. *Contempt.*

Firſt, as to his manner of Government; a looſe, effeminate ſoftneſs, ſupineneſs, and negligence in Buſineſs; a tame, heedleſs, unthinking Temper; or elſe Fickleneſs in his Reſolution, and perpetual Change and Uncertainty in his Opinions and Methods: For when there is no Attention, no Steadineſs, no Spirit or Vigor, this is the mere empty Name of a Government, without the Thing. Sub- I.

* Ut videatur exire de imperio.

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jects under ſuch Princes grow inſolent, and bold, and encroaching: They think they may do what they will, and that He will never regard, or reckon with them for it: † *It is a great Calamity to have a Prince, under whom no Man enjoys any Liberty at all; but it is ſtill greater to have one, under whom none are ſubject to any Check or Reſtraint at all.*

II. Secondly, This is frequently the Effect of his Misfortunes, either with regard to his Affairs when they ſucceed ill; Or in reſpect of his Family, when there is no certain proſpect of Succeſſion, either of his own Iſſue, or elſe by a fixt Settlement; for Children are a mighty ſtrengthening to a Prince's Intereſt; and the not knowing what will become of the Crown when the preſent Poſſeſſor fails, is ſuch a Diminution and Unhappineſs, that we find even *Alexander* himſelf, in the midſt of Glory and Conqueſt, complaining bitterly of it; ∴ *My want of Heirs,* ſays he, *is deſpiſed, becauſe I have no Children to ſucceed Me. For the Children of a Prince are the Honour and the Strength of the Court.*

III. Thirdly, Princes often draw Contempt upon themſelves by their Manners, and way of Living, particularly, if they be diſſolute and debauch'd, ſenſual and effeminate; Slaves to Vice, and abandon'd to Luxury and Pleaſure; eſpecially to Sottiſhneſs, and Drinking, and Gluttony, the loweſt and moſt deſpicable of all Pleaſures: Alſo their Behaviour expoſes them to it, if this be churliſh and moroſe; their Diſcourſe, when childiſh and impertinent; their Perſons, when nauſeous and notoriouſly deform'd.

And thus we are got to the End of what I thought convenient to be premiſed, with relation to the Active part, or Adminiſtration of a Prince in general. We proceed now to handle it more diſtinctly and particularly. But in order hereunto, it muſt be remembred, that this (as was obſerv'd in the beginning of this Chapter) conſiſts of Two parts, the One Civil, or that which concerns a State of Peace and publick Tranquillity. The Other Military, and proper for a State of War: For by the former I underſtand the common and ordinary Methods of Goverment, which are of conſtant

† Malum, principem habere, ſub quo nihil ulli licet; pejus, eum, ſub quo omnia omnibus.

∴ Orbitas mea, quod ſine liberis ſum, ſpernitur. Munimen Aulæ Regii Liberi.

and

and daily uſe, whether in a time of Peace or War. By the Latter I mean thoſe Methods which are proper to Martial Diſcipline, and the practice whereof is peculiar to the Time of War only.

14. *The Peaceable Adminiſtration.*

The peaceful and ordinary Adminiſtration of a Government is a Province of ſuch vaſt Comprehenſion, and the Accidents and Occurrences of it ſo various and unforeſeen, that it is impoſſible to reduce it to any general Rules. And beſides, The Prudence of it conſiſts oftentimes as much in forbearing to act, as at other times in acting. But however, I will venture to lay down here ſome few Heads of Advice, which are neceſſary to be conſider'd, and may be of ſome Advantage perhaps, when the Duties they preſcribe are obſerv'd duly, and improv'd, by applying the Subſtance of thoſe general Intimations to particular Actions and Circumſtances. Firſt then, the Prince is concern'd above all things, to take care, that he be faithfully and diligently inform'd of all Matters which any way concern him to know. The Matters I mean here may be comprehended under Two Heads; and conſequently the Informations themſelves, and the Perſons made uſe of in them, are of two different Qualities. And to render thoſe of each ſort what they ought to be, theſe Qualifications are abſolutely neceſſary, and in common to both; Sincerity and Confidence, Secreſie and Prudence. But tho' theſe be requiſite to both kinds, yet they are not ſo to both equally: For the One have occaſion for much greater Liberty, and Openneſs, and Plain-dealing, than the Other. The One of theſe are the Perſons whoſe buſineſs it is to put him in Mind of his Duty, what he is obliged to, and what becomes his Character; and not only ſo, but to make him duly ſenſible of his Faults and Failings, and to ſpeak bold Truths to him concerning himſelf. There are no ſort of Men in the World, who ſtand in ſo great need of ſuch Friends, as Princes do; For they have no Senſes of their own, nor any other Direction, but what is receiv'd from ſeeing with other People's Eyes, and hearing with other People's Ears. They ſuſtain a publick Character, and have a World of People to ſatisfie; ſo that every Word and Action of Theirs is the Matter of Cenſure or Commendation, and expos'd to the critical Malice of all Mankind. And, as they have in this reſpect more Humours to pleaſe, ſo are they leſs capable of doing it than common Men, becauſe they are induſtriouſly kept in the Dark; and very

very little of what concerns them is ſuffer'd to come to their Knowledge. And thus for want of better Inſtruction, they do things which prove inconvenient and diſguſting; and ſo, with all the undeſigning Innocence imaginable, expoſe themſelves to the Hatred and Reſentments of their Subjects. All which had certainly been prevented, or very eaſily remedy'd, had they been fairly and freely dealt with in time. But then it muſt be ſaid, on the other hand, that they are in ſome degree deſtin'd to this Ignorance, or accountable for it Themſelves; becauſe Matters are ſo order'd, that Frankneſs of Humour, and Home-Truths by way of Admonition or Reproof, (tho' the beſt Offices, and ſureſt Marks of Friendſhip and Affection) are yet ſeldom well taken; and eſpecially to Princes they are not only unacceptable, but ſometimes extremely dangerous to the Perſon, who hath Courage and Honeſty enough to venture at them. And yet this cannot in reaſon but appear a very criminal Nicety, and an Argument of great Weakneſs; when ſuch Perſons cannot bear having their Ears grated, and made to glow a little, for their Good: For this Harſhneſs of the Sound is all they can endure; They are above Compulſion or Reſtraint; and have the whole Management of themſelves left ſtill entirely in their own Diſpoſal.

The Other ſort of Informers are ſuch as are employ'd to bring what we properly call Intelligence; by repreſenting all the conſiderable Actions and Occurrences, not only within the Compaſs of his Dominions, and by his own Subjects; but by diſcovering the Projects and Intrigues of neighbouring Courts: I ſay of All that is doing at Home or Abroad, wherein either his Own, or his Allies, or Borderer's Government is either immediately, or but remotely concern'd. Theſe Two diſtinct kinds of Correſpondents do in ſome degree anſwer the Character of thoſe two Friends to *Alexander*, *Hepheſtion* and *Craterus*. One of which is ſaid to have loved the King, and the other *Alexander*; That is, One of them was fond of his Perſon, the Other of his Government; One regarded him in his Private, the Other in his Publick Capacity; * but the tenderer Friend dealt moſt freely with him.

* The Deſcription given of this perſonal Dearneſs betwixt *Alexander* and *Hepheſtion*, hath that among other Circumſtances mention'd in it. *Secretorum omnium arbiter; Libertatis quoque in admonendo non alius jus habebat.* Qu. Curt. Lib. III. 12.

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In the Second place, The Prince ſhould always have by him a private Book of *Memorandums*, conſiſting principally of Three Heads. Firſt, An Abridgement of all Matters of Publick Concern then depending: That by recourſe to This, he may imform himſelf at one View, what is fit to be done in the preſent Juncture of Affairs; what Matters are already in Motion, and want to be compleated; that ſo every thing may be attended to in its proper Seaſon, and nothing done out of time, or by halves. The Second is a Liſt of Perſons Names, whoſe Merits may recommend them to his Favour, either upon the Account of paſt Services, which call for Rewards and Gratifications; or of extraordinary Abilities, which qualifie them for Preferments and Places of Truſt. The Third, A Memorial of Gifts and Grants already conferred, to whom, and upon what Conſiderations: For without a diſtinct and particular account of theſe Three things, it is ſcarce poſſible to avoid the being frequently at a loſs, and making a great many falſe Steps. And accordingly we find, that Princes of the juſteſt Renown, and moſt celebrated in Story for their Wiſdom and Policy, have conſtantly taken this Method, and felt the Convenience of it; as *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, (for inſtance) *Veſpaſian* and *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the *Antonines*. 15.

A Third Rule may be This; That in regard One of the moſt material Parts of the Royal Character conſiſts in diſtinguiſhing the deſerts of Men, and aſſigning Rewards and Puniſhments accordingly; and in conſideration, That the One of theſe is extraordinary graceful, and recommends him to their Affection; The Other naturally diſguſting, and what will be ſure to draw a great Odium upon the Inſtrument of it: Therefore the Diſtribution of Rewards ſhou'd be reſerved to himſelf. Honours and Eſtates, Offices and Preferments, Privileges and Penſions, Exemptions and Immunities, Reſtitutions and Pardons; and, in a word, every thing of Grace and Favour ſhould come immediately from his own Hand: But every thing that is grievous and grating, ſhould be turn'd over to ſome other Hand: And therefore inferior Officers are more properly made uſe of, for pronouncing Sentences of Condemnation, impoſing Fines, levying of Forfeitures, making Diſtreſſes, and executing all manner of Penalties: For tho' it be true, that all Matters of this Nature depend upon the ſame Authority, and it is virtually the Prince that does them; yet 16.

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it is certain from Experience, and the common Senſe of Mankind, that This is not ſo duly conſider'd, but that it leaves a particular Grudge behind, and creates angry Reſentments againſt that very Perſon, who is the next and immediate Actor, tho' he be in reality never ſo paſſive in the thing.

17. In the Diſtribution of Rewards and Gratuities, and other Marks of Favour of the like Nature, this farther Intimation may not be unſeaſonable. That a Prince, upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhould ſhew himſelf forward and free; he ſhould if it be poſſible, even prevent the Receiver's Expectations, and give unasked; and not defer the matter ſo long, till he bring himſelf under a neceſſity of denying any Applications made to him for them: He ſhould likewiſe give in Perſon, when that can be done conveniently; or order them to be given in his Preſence, and with ſome particular Expreſſions of his Favour and Eſteem. For all theſe Circumſtances are wonderfully engaging; they add to the intrinſick value of the Gift; make it more welcome, and more effectual to all the purpoſes it can be capable of ſerving. Beſides, that in obſerving this Method, Two mighty Inconveniences will be avoided, which do really diminiſh in a great meaſure, if not quite, defeat abſolutely the Acknowledgments due to Perſons of Honour and Deſert; One is that of a tedious Attendance; the Difficulty and intollerable Expence they are forced to be at, in obtaining the Advantages which are really intended them, and thought to be very juſtly conferred; and This to Men of Eminence and Spirit, is a great Grievance, and grates very hard. The Other is, That after the Prince hath actually beſtowed the Gift, and declared his Pleaſure in it, the Forms of the Grant, and the Delays and indirect Dealings of the Officers, thro' whoſe Hands it muſt paſs, do ſo inflame the Reckoning, that before a Man can be diſpatched, and come into actual Poſſeſſion of his own, it coſts him at leaſt half what the thing is worth; nay, ſometimes the full value, or more; and when all Charges come to be computed, he hath the Name only, but receives nothing; or ſomething he had better have been without, than have ſpent his Intereſt, and Money, and Time, for that which turns to ſo very poor Account.

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We come now to that part of the Adminiſtration, which is Military: and This every Man eaſily ſees to be neceſſary for the Defence and ſupport both of Prince and People, and preſerving the Order and Honour of any Government. And therefore I ſhall treat of it with all the Brevity that the Subject will bear. Now, the whole of what is Proper to be ſaid upon it, may be reduc'd to Three Heads; The engaging in a War at firſt, the Carrying it on when begun, and the Putting an End to it.

18. *Of Military Affairs.*

1. For the engaging in a War, Two Preliminaries are Neceſſary, Juſtice and Prudence, and conſequently the Two Vices oppoſite to Theſe by all Means to be avoided, which are Injuſtice and Raſhneſs. Firſt of all, It is neceſſary that the War be Juſt; for Juſtice ought to march in the Head, and lead Courage on to Actions; as Counſel and Deliberation ought to go before the Execution of the Deſign. And therefore ſuch Maxims as theſe, though common in every Bodies Mouth, are yet moſt Wicked and Abominable; That Right is always on the ſtrongeſt Side; That the Succeſs will determine the Cauſe; That the longeſt Sword will carry it. For certainly the Goodneſs of any Cauſe is not to be meaſur'd by the Event, but by the Equity and the Reaſonableneſs, that is at the Bottom of it. And though War be a Thing of Violence and Force, and the Deciſions of it very diſtant from the Method of determining civil Controverſies; yet even War it ſelf is not utterly Lawleſs, but hath its Rules and Meaſures to be obſerved; as well as Peace. Almighty God, who calls himſelf the Lord of Hoſts, and God of Battles, does favour juſt Wars in a peculiar Manner; it is He, who diſpoſes of Victories, and caſts the Scale, as he in his infinite Wiſdom ſees fit. But it is the Duty of every Prince to qualifie himſelf for that Favour; and, as much as may be, to engage Providence on his Side; and the firſt of thoſe Qualifications, is the Juſtice of the Undertaking. To pick Quarrels therefore, and * *commence a War upon every Occaſion, is what can never be anſwered.* The Itch of Honour and Triumph will bear no Monarch out in it. And therefore ſuch ought to take good Heed, that Ambition, and Avarice, and Paſſion, be not too buſie upon theſe Occaſions; which yet, if a Man may be allowed to ſpeak the Truth freely are, it is to be feared, the great Incendiaries of the

* Non ex omni occaſione quærere triumphum.

World

World, and generally at the Bottom of ſuch Undertakings. † *One, and that indeed the unuſual and ancient Cauſe of War is the inſatiable Thirſt of Riches and Dominion; That Abyſs of Avarice and Ambition, which meaſures the Greatneſs of a Prince's Glory by the Extent of his Territories, and Enlargement of his Conqueſt. The Raging Deſire of Gain, and the Raſh Heat of Anger are the Diſturbers of Peace, and Violaters of Leagues and Treaties.*

19. *A juſt War, what.* Now, to make a War juſt, and in all Points what it ought to be, Three Things muſt concur: The Firſt, That it be denounced, and undertaken, why a Perſon, who hath the Power of making and proclaiming it; which can only be the Sovereign himſelf; or in Common-Wealths, thoſe who are inveſted with the Supreme Authority, and whom the Law in that reſpect looks upon, but as one ſingle Perſon.

20. The Second is, That the Cauſe, upon which it is ſo denounc'd be juſt; and ſuch without all Diſpute, is the Caſe of a Defenſive War; the Light of Reaſon clearly and conſtantly pronounced in Favour of ſuch a War in the Judgment of all the Wiſe and civiliz'd Part of Mankind; and Neceſſity ſupply'd the Place of Argument and Thought, and moved the Barbarous and Ignorant, to agree in the Juſtification of it too; Cuſtom hath made this Opinion and Practice univerſal among Men; and Nature her ſelf hath infus'd this Principle into Brutes. But then by Defenſive, I mean, That which is truly and properly ſo; when Life, or Liberty, one's Relations, or one's Country are aſſaulted. Nay, not only ſo, but a War is really defenſive, when begun in behalf of our Confederates and Allies, or to chaſtiſe Breach of Faith and former Treatiſe, or for the Protection and Redreſs of thoſe that are oppreſſed Grievouſly, and injuriouſly treated. For, it is the great *Roman* Orator's Judgment, That * *He who does not defend the Injured, and as much as in him lies, prevent and ward off the Wrong, is as much in Blame as if he deſerted Country or Kindred, Parents or Friends.* So that Injury it ſelf, without the Addition of any other Motive, is,

† Una & ea vetus cauſa bellandi eſt profunda cupido Imperii & divitiarum; maximam gloriam in maximo Imperio putant. Rupere fœdus impius lucri furor & ira præceps.

* Qui non defendit, nec obſiſtit, ſi poteſt, injuriæ, tam eſt in Vitio, quam ſi Parentes, aut Patriam, aut Socios deſerat. *Cic. Lib. I. de Offic.*

and

and ought to be eſteem'd Engagement Sufficient for the employing our beſt Endeavours, to right and aſſiſt the Perſons labouring under it. And accordingly we find St. *Ambroſe* comprehending all theſe three Kinds of Defence under the Character of Juſtice. † *That Fortitude* (ſays he) *is highly Juſt and Commendable, which by Force of Arms defends our Country from the Invaſions of Enemies and Barbarians; or protects the Weak and Suffering, from thoſe that are too mighty for them; or ſaves our Friends and Allies from Plunder, and Robbers.* Another ∴ Author brings the Matter into a narrower Compaſs ſtill, and reduces it to theſe two Particulars, of Faith and Safety. *No War* (ſays he) *is undertaken by a Righteous* and Good *Government*, except *either Breach of Covenant, or the* Proſpect of *their own Danger provoke it.*

Offenſive War muſt likewiſe have Two Conditions to render it juſtifiable; The One is, that there be really ſome Offence given, and Damage ſuſtain'd, upon which the Quarrel can fairly be grounded; as in the Caſes of Violence, and Outrage, and Uſurpation: The Second That Satisfaction and Reſtitution be firſt demanded, in the uſual Manner and Solemnities; in which among the *Romans* a * *Herald* was the proper Miniſter: For Force is the laſt Remedy, and ought never to be made uſe of, till the reſt have been tried to no Purpoſe. And Juſtice cannot be duly ſought this Way, till it hath been ſought in ſofter and more amicable Methods, and deny'd. If the Aggreſſor will hearken to calm Reaſon, and ſubmit to ſuch Terms as are agreeable to it, there ought to be an End of the Controverſie; but if he will be obſtinate, and refuſe to do this, then indeed War is Juſt and Allowable, becauſe it becomes neceſſary, and the only poſſible Method left for redreſſing ſuch Grievances, and preſerving our own Rights. For † *that is a juſt War, which cannot be avoided; and thoſe are righteous Arms, which are taken up by Men who have nothing leſs to truſt to.*

† Fortitudo, quæ per bella tuetur à Barbaris Patriam; vel defendit infirmos; vel à latronibus Socios, plena Juſtitiæ eſt.

∴ Nullum bellum à Civitate optimâ ſuſcipitur, niſi aut pro Fide, aut pro Salute. *Saluſt.*

* Poſt Clarigatum. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. XXII. Cap.* 2.

† Juſtum Bellum quibus neceſſarum; pia Arma, quibus nulla niſi in armis relinquitur ſpes.

21. The Third neceſſary Qualification for making a War juſt, is that it be undertaken for a good End; and ſuch is no other than the Peace and Security of a Nation. † *Wiſe Men* (ſays my Author) *wage War for the ſake of Peace; and are content to ſuſtain great Labour and Pains for the Proſpect of Eaſe and Leiſure, that ſo they may live quietly and ſecure themſelves from Wrong.*

22. *Prudence.* After once the Juſtice of the Cauſe is taken care of, then and not before, it is ſeaſonable to conſider of the Prudence of the Undertaking. And this Conſideration conſiſts in Mature Deliberation, that a Prince may not run giddily on, and engage in Attempts which have no probable Proſpect of Succeſs: And therefore to prevent Heat and Raſhneſs, it will be very convenient that theſe following Particulars ſhould be very ſeriouſly weighed.

Firſt, the Strength, and Conveniences on both ſides; what the Aggreſſor, and what his Enemy is capable of.

Secondly, The Hazard and doubtful Chance of Wars the mighty and ſurpriſing Revolutions of Humane Affairs; Particularly the unaccountable Events of Engagements and Stratagems, which we ſee happen daily; and wherein, when the niceſt Policy hath done its utmoſt, Providence hath ſtill the chief Hand, and gives the finiſhing Stroke; For it is obvious to every Man's Obſervation, that what the World calls Fortune, cannot pretend to ſo abſolute a Dominion in any one Inſtance, as in the Deciſions of the Field. And accordingly we often ſee, that One Hour there turns the whole Face of Affairs, and exalts or reduces a Prince to the very Reverſe of what he was an Hour ago. And therefore *Livy* hath obſerv'd very truly, that ∴ *the Glories and Laurels which have been the Acquiſition, or the Expectation of a whole Life, are all blaſted and withered by the Fortune of a ſingle Hour*; and he who thought himſelf ſure of All, and ſtood actually poſſeſt of a great deal, the next Moment hath not ſo much as the Hope of any thing left to ſuſtain him.

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† Sapientes pacis causâ bellum gerunt; & laborem ſpe otii ſuſtentant; ut in pace ſine injuriâ vivant.

∴ Simul parta ac ſperata decora unius horæ Fortuna evertere poteſt.

The

The Third Conſideration neceſſary upon this Occaſion is, That of the horrible Grievances and Hardſhips, the Calamities and Miſeries, which War (ſuppoſing the very beſt of the Event and final Determination) does unavoidably draw both upon the Publick in general, and private Perſons in particular. And theſe indeed, when duly reflected upon, are ſuch, that the very Thought alone is Diſmal and full of Diſcouragement and Horror.

A Fourth Reflection will concern the Slanders and Calumnies, the Reproaches and Curſes, which are ſure to light upon the Authors and firſt Beginners of any War. For the Misfortunes and Loſſes, which cannot but happen, will be ſure to alienate the Affections, and provoke the Reſentments, of thoſe who ſuffer under them; and they, when thus incenſed, will not fail to expreſs thoſe Reſentments, in a very plentiful and bitter Manner: For, from what hath been ſaid already, we may eaſily be convinced, that, nothing lies more expoſed to the Tongues and Cenſures of the World, than War. And whoever is the Immediate Actor of the Miſchief, the main Burden will be ſure to fall upon the Principal. * *This*, ſays *Tacitus*, *is the particular Hardſhip of War, that Men always make an unjuſt Diviſion of Events; all that ſucceeds well, every Man arrogates to himſelf; but all the Miſcarriages and Loſſes, every one Shifts off from himſelf, and all agree to lay the Load at the Principal Commanders Door only.* Thoſe that fail in Execution, blaim them whoſe Buſineſs it is to give Orders; and they who iſſue Orders, lay the Blame upon Negligence and Failure in the Execution; and, at the laſt Rebound, the Whole reſts upon the Prince himſelf. Upon all theſe Accounts the very juſteſt War, as St. *Auguſtine* ſays, is odious and deteſtable; and a Prince does very ill, and Acts imprudently, when he engages in it, without extremely urgent Neceſſity. According to that Remark made upon *Auguſtus Cæſar*: And therefore Kings muſt not ſuffer themſelves to be won over to it, by thoſe buſie Incendiaries that ſet the World on Fire, and deſire to incenſe their Maſter with groundleſs Jealouſies, or allure him with imaginary Conqueſt, merely to gratifie ſome particular Paſſion of their own.

* Iniquiſſima Bellorum conditio hæc eſt; Proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant, Adverſa uni imputantur.

* *Men*, who (as one deſcribes them) *think Peace a Burden, and to live at Eaſe, a perfect Slavery; of ſuch Diſpoſitions, that Nature ſeems to have cut them out for publick Diſturbers; for they will neither be quiet themſelves, nor content to let other People be ſo.* And yet theſe very Perſons are commonly the moſt backward and diſpirited, when once they come to Action; They talk Big, and take Towns, and beat whole Armies, and entertain themſelves and others with the Pleaſures and Advantages of a Camp, and the Love they have for Fighting; but at laſt the old Proverb Proves its own Truth, That † *War is pleaſant to none, but thoſe who have never tryed it.* Now, a Wiſe Prince will take the beſt Care he can, to keep, and to promote the Peace of his Country; he will not be afraid of War on the one Hand; for this is mean and beneath his Courage; but then he will not provoke, nor draw it upon himſelf on the other Hand; for That is every whit as much unworthy of his Wiſdom, the Effect of Heat and Inconſideration. For how raſh, how unreaſonable is it, to put his own, or another Government into needleſs Combuſtions; to give ſo many Perſons the uneaſineſs of a long and anxious Suſpence between Hope and Fear; and to drive things to that deſperate Puſh, that He muſt at laſt, either ruine other People, or be ruined himſelf?

The Second Head. Carrying on the War.

23. The Second Branch of this Military Diſpenſation, I ſaid, is carrying on the War. And for This, Three things are neceſſary; Proviſion and Ammunition; Men; and Conduct, or Skill in the Rules of War. The Firſt is Proviſion of things uſeful and neceſſary for the War, and that ought to be done early and in good time. For it would be an intolerable Weakneſs and Reproach, to put off the Supplies which ought conſtantly to be in readineſs, till the very inſtant, that our Occaſions call for the uſing of them. He that is to ſeek then, hath loſt himſelf; for a ∴ *Long Preparation is the ſureſt Expedient to procure a ſpeedy Victory.* Now, as for the Proviſions requiſite for the Honour and Safety of a Prince and his Government, in the uſual and ordinary State of Affairs, there hath been enough ſaid already, in the former Part of this Chapter; and that be-

* Quibus in Pace durius ſervitium eſt; in id nati, ut nec ipſi quieſcant, neque alios ſinant.

† Dulce bellum inexpertis.

∴ Diu apparandum eſt, ut vincas celerius.

longs

longs entirely to the Matter now before us. The Principal Provisions and Strengthenings for War are Three: First, Money; which is the very Life and Spirits, the Nerves and Sinews of War; as hath been already shewed at large. Secondly, Arms Offensive and Defensive, which have also been spoken to before: These two are of common Use, and what a Prince should always have plenty of in Reserve. The Third is Victuals; without which an Army can neither conquer, nor fight, nor live; if This be wanting, Engagements are needless, for your Men are cut off without ever a Blow struck; and the Soldiers grow wild and unruly, and cannot possibly be kept under Government. * *A hungry Army observes no Rules*; and Men ready to starve cannot be expected to perish in obedience to Discipline. 'Tis true. I mention'd a Provision of Necessaries before; but that which I am now upon is a different thing, and laid in on purpose for this Extraordinary Occasion. One therefore of the earliest and most important Preparations for War, is, upon the first Thoughts or Motions towards any such thing, to see that there be large and convenient Magazines, stor'd with all manner of Victual, Corn, Salt-Meats, and other proper Sustenance, not only for the Army, which takes the Field, but for the Garrisons upon the Frontiers; so much as may enable them to hold out a Siege, if the Enemy should find it for his purpose to sit down before them, and so intercept any Supplies which should come to them from abroad.

The Second Thing requisite for carrying on a War, is a Competent Number of Hands, Men fit to make, or to receive an Assault. And here we shall be obliged to distinguish between them. As first of all, between Private Soldiers, or those who are commonly said to carry Arms; and Officers, or Persons in Commission. The Private Soldiers are the Body, the Officers the Head, or Life of the Army; That which inspires and directs every Motion, and by Virtue whereof they act. Now here, we will first of all consider the common Soldiers, who make the Bulk and main Substance of the Army. Of these there be several sorts, some Foot, and others Horse; some Natives, others Foreigners; some the standing proper Force of the Government, others Auxiliary Troops, or such as are levied upon a particular Emergency. We shall do well to take a transient view 24. *Men.*

* Disciplinam non servat jejunus Exercitus.

of every one of theſe, and beſtow the Pains of comparing them a little together; that ſo we may be ſatisfied which are beſt and moſt eligible: And then we will proceed farther to obſerve, what Methods are to be made uſe of for the directing and governing our Choice; and what laſtly for the ordering and well-diſpoſing them, when thus levied, and got together.

25. *Foot.* Now, the Judgments of Men have been very different in the firſt Branch of this Compariſon. For ſome, and eſpecially the Barbarous and Undiciplined Nations are much more for Horſe than Foot; but others are generally of the quite contrary Opinion. Indeed it may with great reaſon be affirmed, that if both are conſidered ſimply, and abſolutely without any regard to particular Exigences and Qualifications, Foot are much the better of the Two, For they are of Service all along, and run through the whole Courſe of the War; no place excludes them, no Action is atchieved without them. Whereas the Horſe are often uſeleſs; for in Mountainous and rough Countries, and where the Defiles are very ſtraight, and in the beſieging and taking of Towns, they ſtand a General in very little ſtead. Foot are alſo more ready at Hand upon all occaſions; they cannot lie far out of Call; and, as their Attendance and Service is more, ſo the Expence of raiſing and maintaining them, is conſiderably leſs. The Subſiſtence and Equipage of Horſe is extremely Chargeable; and even for That Action, where they are of moſt Advantage, Flanking and Galling the Enemy in a Battle, if the Foot be well appointed, armed Subſtantially, and Skilful in their Buſineſs, they will ſtand the Shock, and maintain their Poſt very well. And accordingly, Thoſe who ſet up for Maſters in this Art, uſually give them the Preference. The Horſe indeed are of greater uſe in a pitch'd Battle, and for making quick Work. * *For this* (ſays one) *is the Quality of Horſe, that they ſoon get, and ſoon loſe the Day.* The Foot, it is plain, cannot be ſo good at diſpatch; nor can it be expected they ſhould. But then they make amends another way, and as they are the ſlower, ſo they are a great deal the ſurer of the Two.

26. *Natives.* Nor do we find an entire Agreement of Opinions, concerning the next Article; Whether Natives or Strangers are fitteſt to be made uſe of; tho' to me the Odds appear

* Equeſtrium virium proprium eſt citò parare, citò cedere victoriam.

ſo

ſo very great, that I make no manner of difficulty to give it on the Native's ſide. For certainly, we may expect better Principles, and greater Fidelity from Home-born Subjects, than we can from Strangers, who are Soldiers of Fortune, and only fight for their Pay. They will endure more, be better contented, ſubmit more quietly to Orders, carry themſelves with more Reſpect to their Officers, uſe more Civility in Quarters, will think their Honour more concerned; and when they come to Action, ſhew more Courage in the Engagement, as they cannot but have a more affectionate and tender Regard to their own Country, for the defence whereof they are engaged. Beſides, the Publick ſaves more by them; they coſt a great deal leſs; and are more ready at hand than Auxiliaries from Abroad. For Foreigners are very often mutinous and grumbling; and that ſometimes, juſt when there is occaſion to make uſe of them: They commonly keep a great bluſtering, but have more of Inſolence and Vanity, than of real Service in them: They are generally Troubleſome, and a Burden to the Publick; cruel and oppreſſive to poor Country People, and fancy themſelves licenſed to plunder, as if it were an Enemy's Country, becauſe it is none of their own. Then the Expence of Tranſporting them backward and forward, the Voyages by Sea, or long Marches by Land, are a prodigious Charge. And, which is worſt of all, their Motions are frequently ſo tedious, and their Delays ſo many, that Opportunities are loſt, incredible Damage ſuſtained, and the Seaſon of Action quite ſpent, before they come up. This, I ſay, is very often the Caſe, and therefore where Natives are equally qualify'd in other reſpects, and there is no want of Hands, theſe are certainly fitteſt to be employed. But ſtill This hinders not but that there may be occaſions, in which a Foreigner's Aid is adviſable, and therefore this ſtating of the Compariſon is not to be lookt upon as a concluſive Rule, nor of any force againſt Caſes of Neceſſity, or particular Convenience. But even then, it will be for the ſafety of a Prince, to take heed that the Strangers do not exceed thoſe of his own Subjects; for though they may conſtitute a Part or Limb of the Army, yet they muſt by no means make up the main Body of it: For when once they feel themſelves ſuperiour, or but an equal Match for the Natives, there is danger of their making uſe of ſuch an Advantage, to ſubdue and make a Prey of their Maſters that hired them. And Hiſtory takes no-

tice of this Trick being play'd ſo often, that no prudent Governour would run the riſque of it, or put ſuch a Game into Strangers Hands. And a fair Game to be ſure it is; for He that is Maſter of the Field, may be Maſter of all the Kingdom whenever he pleaſes. Again; If there be a neceſſity for the Aſſiſtance of Strangers, let them be borrowed from our Allies and Confederates, whoſe Intereſts are interwoven with our own; and ſo whatever Damage one ſuſtains, will affect both. Upon which account we have reaſon to repoſe greater Confidence in their Fidelity, and to expect better Service, and more Zeal from them, than we can from mere Strangers, who have no concern at all either with, or for us. To make ſuch then, not one's Refuge, but one's Choice, and to multiply them to the Danger and Terror of one's own Subjects, is a Courſe fit for none but Tyrants; who, becauſe they uſe their Subjects ill, are afraid of them. They treat them as Enemies, and are ſenſible, how general a Hatred they have incurred; and therefore they dare not truſt them, for fear they ſhould have the Inclination to take it when they are put into a Condition of Revenge; and turn thoſe Swords upon their Maſter, which he taught them to uſe for His defence, but hath provoked them to uſe for their Own.

27. *Ordinary and Subſidiary.*

As for the Ordinary and auxiliary Forces, a Prince will find occaſion for both ſorts. Now the Difference betwixt theſe two is, That the Former are but very few, they are conſtantly in Pay, and upon Duty, as well in times of Peace as of War. And of Theſe therefore all that was neceſſary hath been delivered under the Proviſionary Part of Civil Prudence. Theſe are People entirely deſtined to War, This is their whole Trade, and therefore they ought to be perfect Maſters of it, dexterous in all manner of Exerciſe, and reſolute as well as skilful in handling their Arms. This is what the Moderns call the Standing-Forces of a Kingdom: the Prince's Honour in Peace, his main Protection in War, and much of the Nature with that Inſtitution of the Old *Roman* Legions. Now it will be convenient that theſe ſhould be canton'd out by Regiments in time of Peace, and quarter'd in very ſmall Bodies, remote from one another, to prevent any Combinations among them, or the giving Diſturbance to the Publick. The Auxiliaries or Extraordinary Force, are much more numerous indeed; but then they are not perpetual, nor devoted to War, and nothing elſe. They have other Profeſſions to ſubſiſt upon;

And

And Theſe they follow, till the Service and Neceſſities of their Country draw them off: When this happens, and there is occaſion for their Aſſiſtance, they are called in by Beat of Drum, liſted and muſter'd, led on, and taught their Military Exerciſes. And when the Service is over, Their Buſineſs is ſo too; they are diſmiſt again, return to their Trades, and work to maintain their Families at home.

28. *Choice of Men.*

You have now heard the Differences and Diſtinctions between Men of Arms; the next thing that requires good Advice and Direction, is the Choice of them. And this in truth is of mighty conſequence, and will ask great Prudence and Care. It ſignifies but very little to draw together ſo many thouſand Men; for Armies are not to be valu'd by Tale; nor does Victory attend upon the greateſt Numbers, but the braveſt Fellows. And commonly, That part which turns the Day, and is in the Hotteſt of the Action, conſiſts but of a few Squadrons in compariſon. A wild tumultuous Rout does more hurt than good. * *It is not a ſtrengthening, but a Burden; and deſerves rather to be called the heavy Baggage that retard a Prince's March, than a Relief or Protection to him.* So perfectly inſignificant are Multitudes void of Courage; and † *The Goodneſs of the Hearts and Hands is a better Security than the exorbitant length of a Muſter-Roll.* And thus you ſee, how great, and how fatal an Error it is, for Commanders to preſs or pick up the next Men they meet, or hire them at ſo much a Month, without any diſtinction. Whereas they ought to be rather nice and curious in making this Collection. And, as it is always the Reproach, ſo it ſometimes proves the Deſtruction of a Nation, to have an Army compoſed of the next Chance-Comers, perfectly ignorant of the thing they undertake; the Sweepings of Goals, the Scumm of the Nation, Lewd and Vicious to the laſt Degree, Bullies and Braggadochio's; bold in Plunder, and when no Enemy is in ſight, but timorous and ſwift of Foot aſſoon as Danger makes its Appearance. Or if you pleaſe, take that ancient Deſcription, ∴ *Men trained up to no part of War but the Rapine and Robbery of it; Inſolent and Big;*

* Non vires habet, ſed pondus; potius impedimentum quam auxilium.

† Manibus opus eſt bello, non nominibus.

∴ Aſſueti latrociniis bellorum; inſolentes; galeati Lepores; Purgamenta urbium, quibus ob egeſtatem & flagitia maxima peccandi neceſſitudo.

Hares

Hares in Armour; the Dirt and Dregs of the Town; Rakehells whom Want and Wickedneſs hath brought intimately acquainted with Debauchery, and made exquiſite in Impudence and Villany of every kind.

29. Now in order to making a good Choice, the Ends they are to ſerve ought to be duly conſider'd; which will require ſome Judgment and Application of Mind. And to do this effectually and with Addreſs, Five things ought to be taken into our regard.

Firſt, The place of their Nativity and Dwelling, and the manner of their Education ſuitable to it: For they ſhould be taken principally out of the Country, from mountainous, barren, and rugged Situations, or elſe from Sea-Coaſts; in all which places People are uſually brought up to all ſorts of Labour and hard Fare. So ſays *Vegetius*, * *The Levies ought chiefly to be made out of the Country; for ſuch Men will be a Strength indeed: They are fitter to bear Arms, after being accuſtomed to endure all manner of Weather, and to live by Drudgery. Their very Soil and Climate hardens and gives them Courage. And the leſs eaſie and delightful any Man's Life hath been, the leſs he will be afraid to die.* But now your People in Cities and great Towns are more nice and tender; they run to cool and artificial Shades, and know not what it is to endure either a ſcorching Sun, or a cold Winter Blaſt. Profit and Pleaſure are all They are intent upon; and this makes them ſoft, and idle, and effeminate. † *Bred up by their own Fireſide, and good for nothing; uſed to Delicacy and Luxury; Slothful, and incapable of any laborious Undertaking, or hardy Uſage.*

Secondly, The Age of the Men is of great conſequence; for the beſt Seaſon of taking them is in their Youth; about Eighteen or Twenty Years old, when they have not only Vigour and Strength, but are teachable and pliant, fit to learn, as well as able to perform their Duty. For Vice and Stubbornneſs grows upon them with Years: There is ſcarce any reforming old Fellows; the bad Habits of their former Days ſtick by them; and beſides, they are ſo Headſtrong and Self-conceited, that it is next to impoſſible to bend them to Inſtruction and Diſcipline.

* Ex Agris ſuppletandum præcipuè robur exercitûs; aptior Armis Ruſtica plebs, ſub dio & in laboribus enutrita; ipſo terræ ſuæ ſolo & cœlo acrius animantur.

† Vernacula multitudo, laſciviæ ſueta, laborum intolerans.

A *Third* Conſideration is their Body; which, according to the Opinion of ſome, ought to be very tall; and thus *Marius* and *Pyrrhus* particularly deſired their Soldiers. But the Stature does not ſeem to be of that mighty importance; for a moderate Size will do very well, provided the Body be dry and firm, vigorous and ſtrong: So ſays *Tacitus*, ∴ *Their Bodies ſhould be clean, and well ſet, their Limbs tight, their Countenance ſtern; for theſe are good Indications of a Qualification moſt requiſite of all, a briſk and couragious Mind.* Your huge, over-grown, fat, flabby Fellows, with looſe and waſhy Bodies, are good for nothing at all.

In the *Fourth* place, They ſhould look out for Men of lively Tempers, brave and reſolute Spirits, bold and daring, and valuing themſelves upon their Abilities; ſuch as are greedy of Praiſe; impatient to be out-done, and afraid of nothing ſo much as Diſhonour and Reproach.

Laſtly, Their Condition is likewiſe of very great Conſequence: For thoſe that are the very Lees and Dregs of the People, of a ſcandalous Character, or brought up in Lewdneſs or Infamy; or ſuch as have follow'd lazy and ſedentary Trades, or never knew any Buſineſs but following Pleaſures and Women: In a Word, All manner of ſauntring and diſgraceful Profeſſions, render a Man extremely unfit for This, which muſt engage him in Activity, and all manner of Hardſhip.

30. *Diſcipline.*

The next thing after the making a good Choice of proper Men for our purpoſe, is to qualifie them for Service by good Diſcipline. For it is by no means enough, that Perſons capable of making good Soldiers are procur'd, if that Capacity be not improv'd, and they actually made ſuch; and to as little effect is it, that they are once made ſo, except they be kept ſo by habitual Practice afterwards. There are but very few Men in the World, who are valiant merely from Nature and Diſpoſition; for, generally ſpeaking, Courage is owing to Inſtruction and Art, to Cuſtom and Diſcipline. And theſe things are of ſo exceeding great importance in War, that the Uſes and Advantage of them are never to be expreſs'd. Good Diſcipline is really All in All. It is to This, that old *Rome* was indebted for all her Glories; This ſecur'd and enlarg'd her Conqueſts, and made her Miſtreſs of the World; all which that People were ſo ſenſible of,

∴ Dura corpora, ſtricti artus, minax vultus, major animi vigor.

that

that no one Virtue whatſoever, not even natural Affection to their own Children, was reputed more neceſſary, or had in higher Eſteem. Now the main Point of Diſcipline is Obedience; and that old Rule expreſſes this Matter very truly and well, which ſays, That a Soldier ought always to be more afraid of his Officer than his Enemy.

31. *Two Parts.* Now there are two great Ends, which this Diſcipline ſhould aim at, which are, making good Soldiers, and good Men; and conſequently, it muſt needs conſiſt of two parts; one of which reſpects the Valour, the other the Virtue or Manners of the Perſons concern'd to be kept under it. For the promoting of Valour, and perfecting them in the Buſineſs of their Profeſſion, Three Things are expedient.

Firſt, Conſtant Exerciſing them in the handling of their Arms, which ought to be the repeated Work of every Day, and never intermitted at all. And this is ſo eſſential to the very Being of an Army, that the *Latin* Tongue calls it by *Exercitus.* a Name which ſignifies *Exerciſe*. Now this is properly inſtructing them how to handle their Arms, and be expert in the uſe of them upon all occaſions; to prepare for, and by juſt degrees advance to Action; to ſhoot and draw regularly upon their Enemy; to make the beſt of any defenſive Weapons they are provided with for themſelves; to ſhew them diſtinctly every thing that is likely to happen in the midſt of an Engagement; to bring them acquainted with Tryals of that kind; and train them as in form and heat of Battel: And laſtly, to propoſe Rewards and Honour for Them that excell, and are moſt dextrous; by that means to quicken their Diligence, and warm their Ambition.

Secondly, Hard Labour, which is of great benefit for inuring them to Pain, and Toil, and Sweat, and Duſt: For † *An Army improves and grows more vigorous by Labour, but languiſhes and decays by Sloth and want of Employment.* It alſo does good Service toward the Security of the Army, the Fortifying of their Camp, and Diſpatch of Intrenchments. And therefore they ſhould be taught to break Ground, and caſt up well; to plant regular Palliſadoes, to raiſe ſtout Barricadoes; to run, and fetch, and carry heavy Burdens; for all theſe things are highly neceſſary, both to cover their own Lines, and defend themſelves; and likewiſe for the preſſing upon, and incloſing an Enemy.

† Exercitus Labore proficit, Otio conſeneſcit.

The

The *Third* thing they are to be inſtructed in, and accuſtom'd to, is exact Order; which as it is of infinite uſe, ſo is it likewiſe of different ſorts, according to the different poſture of Affairs, and Exigencies of War. Firſt it may be conſider'd with regard to the ranging and diſtributing the Troops, cantoning them out either into Battalions, or Regiments, or Standards, or Companies. Secondly, In the Diſpoſition of the Camp; that due Diſtances and Proportions be obſerv'd in the ſeveral Quarters; that its Avenues, Outlets, and Lodgments be conveniently order'd for Horſe and Foot; ſo that it ſhall be eaſie for every one to find his own Quarters, and proper Poſt. Thirdly, In Motions and Marches, whether only from Place to Place thro' the Country, or to front an Enemy; and here they are to be taught to keep their Ranks, to move equally, and at juſt Diſtances from each other, ſo as neither to go looſe and too far off, nor too cloſe and crowded together. All this Order is highly neceſſary, and is of great uſe in ſeveral reſpects. It adds much to the Beauty of an Army; is entertaining and marvellous delightful to all that ſee and obſerve it; it cheers our Friends, and animates them ſtrangely; confounds our Enemies, emboldens and inſpires the Soldiers themſelves with Security, and exceedingly facilitates all their Motions; and the obeying any Orders that ſhall be given by their Generals. For by this means the Word is no ſooner given, but, without any Noiſe or Confuſion in the World, it is convey'd from one to another, and the meaneſt moſt private Man preſently underſtands the Mind of his ſupreme Officer. † *All the Forces receive their Leader's Command at once, and in an inſtant with all the Order and Compoſedneſs imaginable attend and execute the leaſt Significations of his Pleaſure.* In a word, When Orders are well obſerv'd, they almoſt make an Army invincible. And on the other hand, a great many Inſtances have happen'd, of Armies much ſuperiour in Number and Strength, and all other Advantages, which have been entirely routed, and cut to pieces, merely for want of Diſcipline, and knowing how to tranſmit, and obey Orders readily.

The Second Part of Military Diſcipline concerns the Regulation of Manners; which naturally, and for the moſt part are ſcandalouſly diſſolute and extravagant, and to the 32. *Manners.*

† Imperium Ducis ſimul omnes Copiæ ſentiunt: & ad nutum regentis ſine tumultu reſpondent.

Refor-

Reformation of which a Camp brings greater Obſtructions, than any other Place or Condition of Humane Life: ∴ *It is not eaſie for Men that are engag'd every Day in Blows and Blood, to keep a juſt Temper, and ſtrict Virtue.* But yet how difficult ſoever the bringing them to this be, it is neceſſary to be attempted, and ought to be taken Pains in; and eſpecially all poſſible diligence muſt be us'd to eſtabliſh Three Virtues among them.

The Firſt is Continence, in the larger and more comprehenſive ſenſe of the Word, as it is oppoſed to Exceſſes and Senſualities of all ſorts; Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Debauchery with Women, and every other kind of Pleaſure, that is lewd and ſcandalous: All which are moſt unfit for Men of this Profeſſion; becauſe ſuch Practices do ſo manifeſtly debaſe the Courage, and enfeeble both the Body and Mind of the Soldier. * *For Men of Arms* (ſays *Tacitus*) *preſently degenerate from their primitive Vigour, and grow ſoft and tame, by abandoning themſelves to Pleaſure.* And *Hannibal* ſtands upon Record a ſcandalous Monument of a General, whom one Winter's Luxury perfectly melted down into Effeminacy, and made that great Man, who conquer'd all before him, and was invincible by Arms, a Captive and Conqueſt to his own Vices.

A Second neceſſary Virtue is Modeſty. In Converſation firſt, and Words; free from Vanity and Boaſting, and big bluſtering Talk. For Courage exerciſes the Hands, and not the Tongue; and ſeeks its Praiſe, not from fine Speeches, but brave Actions. † Men that are diſpoſed for War are great in Deeds, but unskill'd in Diſputes of Words; For indeed theſe Engagements are of very different kinds: A Stout and truly Brave Man is not forward to come to Action, but eager and violent in Action; calm and compos'd till he come to it. On the other Hand, your great Talkers are good for nothing, and are only valiant in Words, as one hath very truly repreſented them. Now the Tongue is the Inſtrument of Counſels, as the Hand is of Action.

∴ Aſſidue dimicantibus difficile Morum cuſtodire menſuram.

* Degenerat à Robore ac virtute Miles aſſuetudine Voluptatum.

† Viri nati Militiæ Factis magni, ad Verborum Linguæque certamina rudes. Diſcrimen ipſum certaminis differt. Viri fortes in opere acres, ante id placidi Verbis, Linguâ feroces. *Plin.*

But

But then there is a Modeſty in Deeds and Behaviour too, by which I mean a ready and entire Obedience, without any trifling, or delaying, or diſputing the Commands of his Superiours, and pretending to be wiſer than They. For ∴ *Theſe*, (ſays one) *are the Properties of good Soldiers, to be ready and willing, reſpectful and obedient.*

The Third Virtue is Abſtinence: By which Soldiers would learn Honeſty and Contentedneſs, and keep their Hands clean from all manner of Rapine and Violence; and not (as too frequently happens) turn Robbers and common Ravagers, and make every thing a Prey that comes within their reach. This in ſhort is the Subſtance of Military Diſcipline, to which a General muſt give Force and Authority, by Largeſſes and Rewards bountifully ſcatter'd among thoſe that are tractable and valiant, and deſerving; and by ſevere and exemplary Puniſhments inflicted upon the Refractory, and Idle, and Negligent. For Indulgence in an Army is the Ruine of the Soldiery.

33. *Of the Commanders.*

What hath been ſaid already may ſuffice for private Soldiers; and therefore the little I ſhall add more Concerns the Officers; who are of ſo great Conſequence, that their Soldiers can do nothing without them. For it is then no longer an Army but a Rabble; a Body without a Soul; a Ship with Sails indeed to move, but no Helm to ſteer, no Pilot to direct it. Of Theſe there are two ſorts. The General, who is the Supreme, and then the Subalterns; ſuch as Lieutenant, and Major-Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, and ſo down. But the General is All in All; and He can be but One, upon Peril of Confuſion, and loſing All. Hence it is, that we commonly ſay, an Army is conſiderable in proportion as the General is ſo; * That *he is worth all the reſt*: more account to be made, more depending upon him; more Hope or more Diſtruſt and Fear upon his Account, than the whole Body under his Direction. Now this General is either the Prince in Perſon, or ſome Perſon of Eminence for Proweſs and Conduct, choſen and commiſſion'd by him. The Preſence of the Prince himſelf is of mighty Moment and Efficacy toward the obtaining a Victory; for it provokes the Emulation, and inflames the Courage of his Subjects; and indeed, when the Preſervation of the Government, or any part of his Dominions, is the

∴ Hæc ſunt bonæ Militiæ, Velle, Vereri, Obedire.
* Plus in Duce repones, quam in Exercitu. *Tacit.*

Occaſion

Occaſion of the War, his Perſonal Appearance ſeems highly expedient and neceſſary. In Diſputes of leſs Conſequence it may well enough be diſpenſed with: For ſo *Tacitus* adviſes, That * *Monarchs would not ordinarily expoſe their Perſons to the common Hazards of War; but reſerve themſelves for the more important Concerns of the Government*; and ſtay till Extremity calls them into the Field.

But be the General who, or of what Character he will, a good one he cannot be, without the following Qualifications. Firſt, Knowledge and Experience in the Art of War; one that hath ſeen and felt the different Events of War; † acquainted with Conqueſt and Defeat, the Succeſſes and the doubtful Chances of the Field; and neither to be exalted with the One, nor dejected and diſpirited with the Other. Secondly, Caution and provident Care; and conſequently a Man of ſound ſubſtantial Senſe, cool and ſtrong Thought, weighed and ſteady Reſolution, free from Heat, and Raſhneſs, and eager Haſte; which is not only an Argument of Folly, but the Cauſe of infinite Misfortunes, and irreparable Calamities. For Falſe Steps in War are hard to be recovered; and a Man may not have the ∴ *opportunity of playing the Fool twice.* For which reaſon we commonly ſay *a General ſhould rather look behind him than before him*; and *be more ſollicitous to ſecure what he hath already, than eager of getting more to it, at the hazard of the whole.* A Third is Vigilance and Activity, winning upon the Soldiers by impoſing Labour and Hardſhip upon himſelf, and by his own Example going before, and leading them on to every thing he would have Them do. A Fourth is good Succeſs. Men indeed are not, cannot be fortunate, as they pleaſe; This is a peculiar and immediate Gift of Heaven; but yet the Divine Providence does uſually give Succeſs to probable Means and Endeavours; and where the Three former good Qualities meet, this is very ſeldom wanting to crown them. In the mean while, it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that I give This a place here among the other Accompliſhments; tho' it be not ſo directly within a Man's own Power to

* Dubiis Præliorum exemptus, ſummæ Rerum & Imperii ſeipſum reſervet. *Tacit.*

† Secundarum ambiguarumque rerum ſciens, eoque interritus. *Tacit.*

∴ Non licet in Bello bis peccare---Ducem oportet potius Reſpicere quam Perſpicere.

acquire

acquire it. For every Body knows what prodigious Effects the Perſuaſion of a lucky Commander produces; and how much more bold, and daring, and aſſured thoſe Men are, who have a Confidence in the Fortune of their General, and fight under one who hath been accuſtomed to conquer.

34. *Advice for Action.*

Having now done with thoſe Conſiderations, which relate to neceſſary Proviſion of Ammunition and Men, we will proceed to the Rules and Directions to be obſerved in the making uſe of both theſe. This Third Point is of infinite Conſequence, and the only thing that can render either of the former Conſiderations, Numbers, Arms and Men, are [illegible] without it. There muſt be [illegible] inſtruments, but Skill [illegible] Conduct and Wiſdom [illegible] But it muſt be [illegible] ſhall be [illegible] Circumſtances [illegible] upon [illegible] muſt [illegible] And upon this [illegible] Men did not ſo much [illegible] their Affairs [illegible] muſt make [illegible] ſuch upon Diſ[illegible] cannot be ſo [illegible] done, as He [illegible] Author, who [illegible] ſome few of [illegible] I ſhall briefly [illegible] Reader here, and leave

Plura Conſilio quam Viribus peficiuntur.

1. Conſilium in Armis.

it to him from his own Observation or Experience, to add more, as he shall see occasion. Now of these there are two sorts: Some of constant use throughout the whole Course of the War: Others accidental and occasional only, as Times, or Places, or other Circumstances shall happen to make them seasonable. I begin with the Former sort.

I. The first of these is Watching all Opportunities with the utmost Diligence and Circumspection; securing all that offer, that none slip by unprofitably; and at the same time preventing and countermining the Enemy, that he shall have no benefit by those that are put into His Hands. For Opportunity hath a huge Run, a mighty Stroke in all Affairs of Human Life, and more especially in War; where one lucky Hit does more sometimes, than all the Hands and Heads of a Kingdom put together.

II. The Second is Making his Advantage of Reports; for be they true or false, they are capable of doing great Service, and especially while they are fresh and warm. * *Common Fame breeds, continues, ends Wars; exalts Men's Minds with assured Hopes, dejects them with panick Fears.* They fight as the News goes; and many a Field hath been lost and won by virtue of a current Rumor; which, tho' so powerful in its Effects, had yet perhaps little or no Foundation to stand upon it self. This last Advice chiefly regards a Man as yet unfixed in his Measures: But when the Scheme is laid, and he is not only determin'd so much as in those Circumstances one can, but hath entred upon his Design.

III. Then my Third Direction is, not to trouble himself about any such Rumours, but will do well indeed to get what intelligence, and to consider of them carefully; but still to proceed in his own Methods. To do what he is able, and what in Duty and Prudence he is obliged to; what Reason prescribes, and there is Hope, and expect the Event, as a wise and a brave Man should do.

IV. But above all, let him in the Fourth place, take heed of being too confident and secure; for this will lead him on to infinite Mistakes and Inconveniences, perhaps never to be retriev'd. A Man thinks meanly of his Enemy, as if he were despicable, and not worth his Care; and this betrays

* Famâ bella constant, fama bellum conficit, in spem metumve impellit animos.

him

him to Negligence, and Thoughtleſsneſs, and Sloth. Now This is the moſt dangerous and deſtructive Condition that a State of War is capable of. For whoever deſpiſes his Enemy, does moſt certainly expoſe and betray himſelf; and give that ſo deſpiſed Enemy an Advantage, which if no other Conſideration did, would ſingly render him extremely formidable. * *Security is uſually the Forerunner and Occaſion of great Diſtreſs. No Body is ſo quickly defeated, as the Man that is under no Apprehenſions of Danger. Nothing in an Enemy can be deſpiſed with ſafety; for even that Careleſsneſs, which naturally ſprings from Contempt, gives him more power to do you Miſchief.* Theſe Reflections are true in their moſt general Senſe; but in War nothing ought to be deſpiſed; becauſe There nothing is, or can be frivolous enough to juſtifie or deſerve it; for it often happens, that what we look upon to be very ſmall and inconſiderable in it ſelf, is yet fruitful in great variety of Conſequences, and even prodigious Effects. † *Small Motions are often followed by monſtrous Events; and therefore a nothing of this kind ought to perplex us with anxious Fears of it, ſo neither ought any thing to lull us aſleep with the ſlight of it, as not worth our Notice and Care.*

Fifthly, He ought to be extremely curious, and inquiſitive into the Condition of his Enemy, and the poſture of his Affairs; particularly he ſhould be ſure to get certain Information of the following Points. The Temper and Complexion, the Inclination and Deſigns of the Commander in chief; the Temper of the People and Army under him; what their Manners are, and in what way they live; the Situation of the Places, and Condition of the Country all round about his Camp; and where either the Scene of Action, or any Motions of his Army will probably be. And This was *Hannibal*'s peculiar Excellence. VI

As for Engagements and Action it ſelf, ſeveral things muſt be taken into Conſideration; the Time, the Place, the Perſons againſt whom, the Manner how, a Man engages. Otherwiſe it may be as unſucceſsful as it is an ill-adviſ'd Attempt. A Battel ought never to be hazarded, but upon 35. VI. *For Battels*

* Frequentiſſimum initium Calamitatis, Securitas. Nemo celerius opprimitur, quam qui non timet. Nil tutò in hoſte deſpicitur. Quem ſpreveris, valentiorem negligentiâ facies.

† Sæpe parvis momentis magni caſus; ut nil timendi, ſic nihil contemnendi.

great Deliberation, and very pressing Reasons to perswade it. Any other Method less hazardous is rather to be chosen; He should try to break and tire out his Enemy; to harrass him with long Marches; to batter him with tedious Encampments; with incommodious Places; with want of Provision, and other Conveniences. In short; To beat him any other way, rather than by Dint of Sword. * *For the Chance of War is extremely dangerous and uncertain: One Moment turns the Scales, routs and overthrows the Victorious in the midst of Joy and Plunder, and carries the just-before beaten and despairing, triumphant out of the Field.*

VIII. *The Time.* A General then must never let Matters come to this Extremity, except it be very seldom: That is to say, when absolute necessity compels, or some great Occasion perswades him to it. The Cases of Necessity are such as these; when you feel Difficulties grow upon you daily; when you are reduced to want of Provision, when Money runs low, and no Supplies can be had; when your Soldiers grow discontented, and desert apace. In such Circumstances there is no subsisting long; and therefore *A desperate Disease must have a desperate Cure*; for you can but perish either way. For the Occasions which may render it advisable, I reckon the manifest Odds of Strength on your side, either in Numbers, or in other Qualifications superiour to the Enemy; when Victory seems to invite, and stretch out her hand on purpose to be receiv'd and embrac'd; when the Enemy is at present considerably weakned by some Detachment, or otherwise; or not yet fully joyn'd; but expects in a very short time to be compleated or reinforc'd, and will then bid you Battel: When you have it in your Power to surprize them, and they imagine that you are at a Distance, and incapable of reaching them; When he is harass'd, or taking Refreshment; When he is divided, and Parties out Petrolling or upon Booty; busie in Victualling their Camp, or their Horses forc'd to be Stabl'd up at a distance, and feed upon dry Meat, for want of Forage near their Camp.

IX. *Place.* The Place of Engagement deserves also to be very diligently consider'd; this being of very great Importance in

* Incerti Exitus pugnarum. Mars communis, qui saepe spoliantem & jam exultantem evertit, & perculit ab abjecto.

Action

Action. One may venture to say in general, That it is by no means prudent to wait for the Enemy in your own Country; his Entrance thither should, if possible, be prevented; and you ought either to advance and meet him, so as to make his Territories the Seat of War; or else to secure your own Passes, and stop him at his approach. But if he have already vanquished that Difficulty, and got Footing; it is by no means advisable to run the Risque of a Battle, except you have another Army in reserve to sustain and recruit you speedily. For this would be to play a desperate Game, and to stake All upon one single Throw. But when Matters draw toward an Engagement, the Ground ought to be well viewed, and prudently chosen; and as you find it for your own, or your Enemies Convenience, you must manage your self accordingly: For the Ground it self is a very great, and sometimes almost an insuperable Advantage. Now a plain open Country is most convenient for the Horse, because this gives them Room to wheel and Scour in; but your narrow Defiles, and Places full of Boggs, Morasses, Ditches and Trees, are most Favourable to the Foot, because These give no Opportunity to the Cavalry to break in and Flank them.

X. *Persons.*

A General must also be Careful with whom he engages, and never venture a Battle with an Enemy stronger than himself. Now, this Strength is not always to be measured by Numbers; but by the Courage and Resolution of the Men. And nothing makes Men so Valiant as Necessity; because this is almost an invincible Enemy; and therefore the Sureſs of it awakens all our Powers to make Opposition. Upon this Account it is a good Rule, never to fight with Men reduced to desperate Circumstances, but rather to put an Opportunity into their Hands of being upon better Terms with you. And this agrees exactly with the Counsel given in the former Paragraph, of not Hazarding an Engagement in one's own Country; because the Enemy must then be forc'd to make a Desperate and Bloody Business of it; as being sensible, that if he happen to be worsted, there is no avoiding of utter Ruine. No Fort to protect, no Retreat to receive, no fresh Succours to relieve and sustain them, and so nothing in Prospect but certain Victory, or certain Death. *

* Unde necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex Victoriâ.

XI. *Manner.* As for the Manner of engaging, That is certainly the best, which is most Advantageous, and likely to succeed; whether Surprise, or Stratagem, or making a Feint; pretending to retreat for Fear, to draw the Enemy out of a good Post, or into an Ambuscade, and take them in a Trap. Thus † *the Expectation of Victory is the very Instrument made use of to work their Overthrow*; Watching all their Motions narrowly, taking Advantages of every false Step; and charging them when and where they are least in a Condition to receive the Attack.

36. *Form'd Battels.* For the due Management of a formal and ranged Battel, these following things are very expedient. The First and indeed the Principal, is a regular Disposition of one's Men, and Marshalling every part of the Army in their proper Place and Order. A Reinforcement, Secondly, constantly ready, so near at Hand, that they may pour in upon the least notice; and yet so much under Covert, that the Enemy may not discern, or be at all aware of any such Thing, till they are actually upon them. And tho' this Reserve be not very considerable in it self, yet the Effects of it will be so; for in a Hurry there is nothing so Ridiculous or despicable, but it is able to create or increase our Confusion. And * *in all Engagements, the Conquest is first gain'd upon the Eyes and Ears*; for when once their Senses are struck, and make a Report full of Terror, the Heart fails, the Hands grow faint and feeble, and all is our own. A Third useful Direction is, To be first in the Field, and stand ready in Form of Battel. This gains time, and gives a Commander Leisure to do what he sees fit, with Deliberation and Ease; it likewise animates our own Men, and discourages the Enemy, who measure our Assurance by our Forwardness. Besides, This is to make our selves the Aggressors, and the First Blow is commonly given with more Spirit and Resolution, than it is received. A Fourth Expedient is, a Becoming, Bold, Brave, and resolute Aspect in the General and the rest of the Commanders; when their Countenances do not only speak their own Courage, but inspire and animate those that want it. The Fifth and Last is a seasonable and pertinent Exhortation to the Soldiers; encouraging them to do well, representing to them, the Glory, the Advantages, nay, the Safety of behaving themselves

† Spe Victoriæ inducere, ut vincatur.

* Primi in omnibus Prœliis vincuntur Oculi & Aures

Gal-

Gallantly; That Infamy and Reproach, Danger and Death, are the certain Portion and Fate of Cowards. For ∴ *the leſs Fear, the leſs Danger always: Courage is its own Defence; and the readieſt way to eſcape Death, is, boldly to face, and generouſly to deſpiſe it.* He that runs, haſtens to his own Deſtruction; and for one that falls in the Heat of Action, there are Ten cut to Pieces in the Flight.

37. *In the Action it ſelf.*

When once the Armies are engaged, the General is to obſerve on which ſide the Advantage inclines; and if he find his own Party give Ground, he is then to act the Part of a Firm Undaunted Mind; to do all that can be expected from a Reſolute Officer, and a Gallant Soldier. To rally them again; lead them on in Perſon; bring them out of their Confuſion; ſtop them in their Retreat; throw himſelf into the midſt of them; hearten and encourage them to a Second Shock, by all manner of means; and in his whole Behaviour to give evident Demonſtration, both to the Enemy and his own Soldiers, of his own Bravery, and Preſence of Mind; that his Head, his Hands, his Tongue are free from Fear and Confuſion, and ſerve him for proper Orders, and vigorous Action, with all Imaginable Readineſs, and Addreſs.

If his own Side be Superiour, and the Fortune of the Field reſt there, his Duty is to repreſs, and Check their Eagerneſs; to prevent their Scattering and Diſorder, by too fierce and obſtinate a Purſuit. For in this Caſe, he ought to be Apprehenſive of a Turn, which hath often happened; that the vanquiſhed may take Heart again when they feel themſelves hard preſs'd; and by making a deſperate Puſh, rally upon, and rout their Conquerors. For Neceſſity is a furious Miſtreſs, and puts Men upon very violent Methods. * *When Men are ſurrounded with Death, Deſpair emboldens them; and after Hope is loſt, Cowards turn Stout, and Fear it ſelf takes up Arms.* Rather therefore let him open a Paſſage, and facilitate their Flight; but leaſt of all muſt he ſuffer his Men to fall upon the Booty, and while they are employed in ſifting, and all in Diſorder, endanger the being made a Prey themſelves. Victory, when obtain'd, muſt be uſed with Moderation and Prudence; for Victory it ſelf is

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∴ Minus Timoris, minus Periculi; audaciam pro muro eſſe; Effugere mortem, qui eam contemnit.

* Clauſis ex deſperatione creſcit Audacia; & cum Spei nihil eſt, ſumit arma Formido.

not always Safe; if it be ſtained with Barbarity and bruti∫h Uſage, and put the Enemy out of all Hope, it may turn to very ill Account, and add to our Danger. For † *Neceſſity and Ill Treatment give an edge to the dulleſt Soul; even Deſpair ſometimes produces Hope; and no Bite is ſo Keen, as That, when Extremity is provoked and makes her Teeth meet.* On the other Hand, as it is more Humane, ſo it is really more Adviſable and Safe, to uſe a beaten Foe gently; to leave Room for Hope, and encourage Overtures of Peace; not to ravage his Country, nor make Havock and Deſolation, wherefoever we come. For Rage and Fury are very fierce and dangerous wild Beaſts; and therefore we ſhould take care not to let them looſe. A Wiſe General will likewiſe behave himſelf with Temper and Modeſty, upon his Succeſſes; for Inſolence is moſt unbecoming a Man converſant in War; moſt abſurd in one, who cannot but have been upon that Account acquainted with the Inconſtancy of Fortune; and ought to remember its Ebbings and Flowings, how quickly it rolls over to another Shoar; how ſtrange thoſe Revolutions are, by which Proſperity ſometimes takes its Riſe out of extreme Adverſity; and on the Contrary final Ruine begins at Great, Good Fortune. That ſome Men are drown'd with Two Foot of Water, and loſt when they eſteem themſelves moſt ſafe. That more die of Surfeits, than of Hunger; and ſome have ∴ *not Stomachs ſtrong enough to digeſt a plentiful Meal of Happineſs. That Fortune is Perfect Glaſs, and apteſt to be broken when it is cleareſt and fineſt. And therefore all Confidence in it is Faithleſs and Unſafe; and the Conquerour frequently taken Captive in the midſt of Security and Triumph.*

If you are beaten, it is an Inſtance of Wiſdom to know it; to examine well your Circumſtances, and conſider what your Loſs is. And never think to ſtifle your Misfortune, or Fancy, that This is nothing, All will be well again, and no body know it; for ſuch Hopes are trifling and vain; and the Contrivance of ſuppreſſing the News of your Defeat is Childiſh and Ridiculous. 'Tis only to commit the carrying of it to uncertain Rumours, which repreſent nothing truly,

† Ignaviam Neceſſitas acuit; ſæpe Deſperatio ſpei causâ eſt. Graviſſimi ſunt morſus irritatæ neceſſitatis.

∴ Magnam Felicitatem concoquere non poſſunt. Fortuna vitrea eſt, tunc cum ſplendet, frangitur. O infidam Fiduciam! & ſæpe Victor victus.

and

and will make the Matter Ten times worse. You must therefore apply your self to a full and serious Consideration of the Case; for how will you ever be able to find out a Cure, if you do not first search to the bottom of your Disease? After this, It will become his Courage to entertain better Hopes, to refresh his Forces with all imaginable Diligence; to call in fresh Succours, and make new Levies; and put good sufficient Garrisons into all his Places of Strength. And after all, if Providence be still contrary, as indeed sometimes it is so far from seeing fit to prosper, that one would almost imagine it perfectly sets it self against the justest Arms, and most commendable Undertakings, there is always one Remedy left; for no Man can be denyed the Privilege of lying down in the Bed of Honour: And sure a Decent and Reputable Death is much rather to be chosen, than a Life of Contempt and Reproach.

38. And thus we have gone through the Second Head of this Subject, concerning Military Matters, excepting only, that there is One Objection arising upon it, which some scrupulous People may think necessary to be resolved. And That is, whether Subtilty and Deceit, Feints and Stratagems are lawful Methods, and how far they may be used. Some are absolutely against them, and decry them in all Cases whatsoever. They tell you no Circumstances can justifie a Practice so contrary to Virtue and Truth, and unworthy Men of Honour and Conscience; and therefore that Remark of *Virgil*'s will by no Means go down with them.

A Courage and Cunning both, the Laurels claim,
And Foe is Privileg'd; that very Name
Protects Deceit and Stratagem from Shame. }

We find *Alexander the Great* so exceeding nice in this Punctilio, that he would not so much as take the Advantage of a dark Night, but declared, he scorn'd a stollen Victory. † *I had rather have occasion to be sorry for my ill Fortune, than to be ashamed for my good Success.* Of the same generous Temper were the old *Romans*; They sent back the Schoolmaster of the *Falisci*, who proffered to betray them; and the Trea-

Dolus, an Virtus quis in hoste requirat?

† Malo me Fortunæ pigeat, quam Victoriæ pudeat.

cherous

cherous Physician to *Pyrrhus*, who was ready to poyson him. They always pretended to Virtue and down-right Honesty, dealt fairly and above-board, disclaim'd and discountenanced all their own Country-men, who gave themselves a Liberty of doing otherwise; reproached the *Greeks* and *Africans* with breach of Faith; and turned their Craft and Cunning into a Taunt and a Proverb. * They made it a Principle, That those only are Conquests indeed, which are gain'd by Dint of Courage, by honest and just Methods, and such as cast no Blemish upon the Conqueror's Honour: But as for those which are the Acquisition of Subtlety and Stratagem, they are neither generous, nor reputable, nor safe, nor lasting. For those who are beaten upon these Terms, do not look upon themselves to be fairly vanquish'd; and the effect of that is what the Historian observes: † *They impute their Defeat to a Chance, to the Subtlety of the General, who took his Advantage, and dealt indirectly: And thus they do not think a Victory, but a Trick and a Cheat.* And again, *He scorn'd to revenge himself by foul play and Surprize, but took up Arms fairly, and came into the Field openly, and carv'd out his Vengeance with his Sword.*

Now these Reflections, I must own, are very just, but then they must not be extended too far. There are indeed Two Cases, wherein such Rules are obligatory; That I mean of Personal Quarrels, and Disputes between private Men; and that of National Controversies too, where the Matter in question concerns some former Engagements, or when there have been mutual Alliances and Compacts treated formerly between them. But where neither of these is the Case; that is to say, in a formal and direct War, and where no Faith hath been given, and consequently none can be broken, it is allowable to humble and defeat an Enemy any manner of Way: For the proclaiming of War is like passing Sentence of Death; all against whom it is denounc'd, lie under Condemnation; and if that Sentence were just, it will be lawful to exterminate and bring them to Execution, by the snatching every Opportunity and Advantage of doing it. This agrees with the Notion of very brave and deservedly renowned Generals,

* Quæ salvâ Fide & Dignitate paratur.

† Non Virtute, sed Occasione & Arte Ducis se victos rati: Ergo non Fraude, & Occultis, sed palam & armatum Hostes suos ulciscì.

who

who have been so far from disdaining or condemning a Victory obtain'd by Subtlety and secret Stratagem, that they make no Scruple, even of preferring it before those that are acquir'd by Dint of Blows, and open Force. And accordingly they made Distinctions in their Sacrifices of Thanks upon these Occasions; ordering the most valuable, an Ox, to be offer'd up for the former sort; whereas a Cock was esteem'd Acknowledgment sufficient, and more suitable to the Advantage of the Latter. Nor is it Their Opinion only, but even the great Christian Doctor, St. *Austin*, thought it no way disagreeable to the Strictness even of Our Religion, to give this Determination of the Matter. * *When a righteous War is begun, whether Men fight by open Force, and formal Engagements, or by Subtlety and Stratagem, and secret Ambuscade, it makes no difference in the Justice of the Proceeding.* And indeed a State of War in the very Nature of the Thing hath some Priviledges reasonably allow'd to it, even against what Reason in other Matters wou'd think necessary or allowable. And surely in Time and Place convenient, a Man is not bound to refute any Occasion; for why should it not be counted as fair to take the Advantage of an Enemies Indiscretion and Folly; as it is to make the best of their Weakness, or their Cowardice? And yet no Man, that I know of, ever pretended, that it was unbecoming a General to attack his Enemy, except both their Courage, or their Numbers were in all Points a Match, and equal to his own.

39. *The Third Head. Putting an End to the War.*

Let us now Proceed in the last Place, to the Third Head of this Subject, which concerns Conduct in Military Matters; which, as it is the Shortest, so is it likewise the Joyfulest and most Desirable of all the rest; Putting an End, I mean, to the War by Peace. Peace! There is Musick in the very Sound, Delight and Advantage in the thing; it is Beautiful and Charming in any Dress, and infinitely Profitable for all Parties, both the Victors, and Vanquished.

* *The sweetest Bliss that e'er indulgent Heav'n*
To smooth the Storms of Humane Life hath given.

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* Cum justum bellum suscipitur, ut aperte pugnet quis, aut ex insidiis, nihil ad justitiam interest.

——— Pax optima rerum,
Quas homini novisse datum est; Pax una Triumphis
Innumeris potior ———

Repeated

Repeated Pomps and Trophies of the Field,
To the ſoft Triumphs of One Treaty yield:
Theſe Laurels full of Blood and Blemiſh are;
He only conquers, who concludes the War.

But the Advantages I confeſs, though univerſal, are not diſtributed in equal Proportions; the Loſers, by the War have by much the greater and more ſenſible Share of them. And theſe, who are ſuppoſed to be enfeebled and reduced, muſt be adviſed, to keep themſelves ſtill in a poſture of Defence, and preſerve an Air at leaſt and outward Appearance of Reſolution, and Courage ſtill unbroken, and Hope of a more favourable Change of Affairs: For (as hath been ſaid before) He that is deſirous of Peace in good Earneſt muſt be always ready for War; and That Obſervation is moſt true, That the Beſt and Happieſt Agreements are made in the Field, and treated with Sword in Hand. But though Peace be never ſo deſirable and convenient for our preſent Circumſtances, yet even a good thing may be bought too dear. We muſt not therefore be ſo immoderately Fond of it, as not to take Care, that it be Honourable, and upon fair and Reaſonable Terms; For if this be not rightly adjuſted, however that common Notion may prevail of a counterfeit and baſe Peace being better than a juſt and Creditable War; yet a Prince had better preſerve his Liberty at the Price of his Life, and hazard all gloriouſly, than ſubmit himſelf and his People to vile reproachful Terms, and live in Slavery and Infamy. A Peace then ſhould not be patch'd up for a preſent Turn, and to Skin over a Sore; but it ſhould be free and fair, without Trick, or Deſign, or deceitful Reſervations; ſuch as may entirely end the War, and not only ſuſpend Acts of Hoſtility for a while, and ſo protract, and kindle War afreſh. For * *Downright War is better than a ſuſpected Peace.* But, all This notwithſtanding, when Matters are brought to an Extremity, a Man muſt comply whether he will or no, and make the beſt Terms he can. When the Pilot ſees himſelf ready to be Shipwracked, he lightens the Ship, and is content to ſave his Life with the Loſs of his Lading; and thus it often happens, that the throwing all over-board in the Caſe before us; inſiſting upon no Demands, but committing our ſelves entirely to the Mercy of the Conqueror,

* Pace ſuſpecta tutius Bellum.

ſucceeds

succeeds very happily. For *Prosperity hath a softening Influence upon generous Adversaries, and they feel their Anger melted into Pity; and the more they have it in their Power, the less Inclination they find to take a Revenge.*

The Prosperous and Triumphant must give me leave to advise them, that they would not be over-nice, and difficult to grant a Peace; for, tho' perhaps the vanquish'd get abundantly more by it than the Victors, yet still even These get a great deal. For, supposing the best Fortune, and the easiest Terms the thing will admit, yet the carrying on of a War cannot but be a Matter of infinite Trouble and Inconvenience. And *Lycurgus* had another Consideration, for which he thought it always inexpedient to be often at War with one and the same Enemy, because this is training him up, as it were, and teaching him the Trade, till at last he grow as expert as his Masters; and learn not only to defend himself, but to attack us. The Teeth of Beasts in the Agonies of Death are exceeding venomous, and the Wounds made by them then, commonly prove mortal.

* *Valour's last Efforts bold and dangerous are,*
And double Fury rages in Despair.

And besides, the Contingencies of War are more than can possibly be foreseen; they are intricate, and dark, and the Issue always uncertain. One unlucky Action may blast all that went before; and therefore † *A good Peace, which secures All, is much safer and more eligible, than an absolute Victory at distance, and in reversion only; because That is in the disposal of Providence, and may never be yours; but this is your own hand, and you have it actually in possession.* So great a difference ought we to make between Things Present, and those that are Future, and but in Prospect; if no other Arguments concurr'd to influence our Choice. But it [illegible] that the Sting lies usually in the Tail; [illegible] always floating and in-[illegible] and also [illegible] secur'd us already, the

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[illegible] quæ [illegible] animo, secundæ res in miserationem ex[illegible]

[illegible] violentior ultima virtus.

[illegible] Pax [illegible]peratæ Victoriæ. Illa in Tuâ, Hæc in Deorum manu est.

greater

greater reason we have to apprehend, that he will be shifting shortly. And ∴ *No Man can with safety to himself tempt dangers, which must thicken upon him every day.*

But, besides the making a saving Game while we may, we should do well to reflect, how honourable a way of proceeding this is. For when all is our own, and our Enemy lies at Mercy, then to hearken to Proposals, and readily accept a Peace, is truly Great and Glorious. This shews those Pretences to be true, which all Princes affect to make, that we are desirous to end the War, and fight only for the sake of Peace. And on the other side, The refusing good Terms, and suffering any Change of Fortune afterwards, makes one full inspir'd, and exposes him to the Scorn and Indignation of all Mankind. They tell you, That such a one is a Sacrifice to his own Vanity and Ambition. He disdain'd Peace, and grasp'd at Honour; and by refusing one when he might have had it, he hath now lost both. But, when we are so disposed to grant a Peace, we should be liberal in our Concessions, and give large and liberal Conditions, that so it may be firm and lasting. For if it be rigorous and hard, we must expect, that those who are oppress by us, will be sure to revolt, and break loose from their Covenants, as soon as ever they find it feasible and convenient. So says *Livy* in one of his Treaties, * *If you grant a good Peace, it will be durable and firm; but if the Terms be harsh, this can never bind so fast, but that the Opportunity of mending their Circumstances, will be sure to break through it.* And it is an Argument of a great Soul to be flexible and indulgent, and yield to an Enemy, when he sues for Pity; as it is to be inexorable, and keep one's Ground when he engages you in the Field. The Ancients Annals we find have let an extraordinary Character of this kind, and the good Account it earn'd [illegible] Reason to recommend [illegible] Posterity.

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* Nemo se tuto in [illegible]

* Pacem, si bonam [illegible] haud diuturnam.

CHAP. IV.

The Preface.

Having dispatch'd, as you see, the several Directions necessary for that part of Civil Prudence, which is required to guide a Prince in the Administration of the Government, and the maintaining the Character which is altogether Publick; I design in the next place to shew the Prudence, which is requisite, in Affairs Considerable. That is, such, which is necessary for the preserving himself under, or for opposing private Resentments, the Designs, and Dangers, and Calamities that may happen. And this is that Prudence, I spoke so much, and but so little, because both the Rules themselves, and the Occasions which require the Practice of them, are peculiar to the Circumstances of all Governments. Those two, both Prince and Subject, both where the Subject, and those in Private Capacities.

[illegible] the Question, where there [illegible] great Variety of Business [illegible] engage us in [illegible] some [illegible] Difficulty [illegible] Of [illegible] against [illegible] Government [illegible] are [illegible] the Favourites of Princes, [illegible] Particular Commissions, [illegible] some slight Occasion of Offence; [illegible] by some Subjects against the [illegible] these may be Numerous or [illegible] Seditions or Mutinies against the Prince

Prince or
Authority
Or else

poſe Himſelf. The Former is the briſker Man, and plays a bolder; but the Latter is the ſurer, and plays a more ſaving Game. The Former is always in deep Anxiety and Suſpenſe, agitated and toſſed between Hope and Fear; the Latter puts himſelf under Covert, lies down upon the Ground, and ſatisfies himſelf with the Comfort that he can fall no lower. The Former takes pains to eſcape the Calamity; the Latter labours to endure and get through it; and it very often happens, That This Man hath the better Bargain of it, and comes off with leſs Trouble and Loſs. We know Men are often at more Expence to defend their Title by Law, than the whole thing they contend for is worth: And thus it is very often in other Matters. The cheapeſt Courſe they can take is to ſit down by the Loſs; and many an Affliction is born with more Eaſe to the Sufferer, than it can be either avoided or ſtruggled with. The Covetous Wretch is a greater torment to himſelf, than He that is really Poor; and the Jealous Huſband feels more uneaſineſs, tho' his Jealouſie be groundleſs and undeſerv'd, than the Cuckold who hath been actually diſhonour'd, but either knows it not, or regards it not. The peculiar Virtue of the Former, and that which is moſt neceſſary for his Circumſtances is Prudence; for His is active Valour; That of the Latter is Temper, and Conſtancy, and Patience; for his part is purely paſſive. But indeed, why ſhould a Man be confin'd to either of theſe ſingly? Wherefore ſhould he not uſe and try both, in their Order and proper Seaſon? For methinks Prudence and Vigilance ſhould be the firſt Attempt; and when theſe are found inſufficient, then is the time for changing our Meaſures, and Patience ſhould ſucceed in their Place. Thus much at leaſt is certain and undoubted, that in all Publick Contingencies the Methods for Prevention and Remedy ought firſt to be try'd; Thoſe that are in Truſt and Office, and have it in their Power to ſerve and promote the Common Good, are indiſpenſably obliged to it, and ought to ſtand in the Gap againſt all managable Difficulties and Misfortunes. In the Caſe of private Perſons, I confeſs it is otherwiſe; there a Man hath none but himſelf to anſwer for; and it will be agreeable to Wiſdom and Duty both, to conſider the ſtate of the Matter before him, and conſult his own Abilities; and then to make a Choice of ſuch Methods and Management, as appear moſt advantageous in the preſent Circumſtances, and as he feels himſelf beſt qualify'd for.

SECT. II.

Of Evils and Difficulties actually preſent, and preſſing.

THE proper and moſt effectual Courſe to lighten the Sufferings of Human Life, and to ſweeten the Paſſions under them, is by no means to ſet on's ſelf in Battel array, and enter into a formal Combat with them; for Oppoſition in this Caſe does but blow the Coals, and render them more furious and inſupportable. The Eagerneſs of Debate and Contradiction does but irritate and inflame the Sore, inſtead of mollifying the ſharp Humour, or aſſwaging the Pain. And therefore He who would conſult his Eaſe, and the Serenity of his own Mind, ſhould betake himſelf to one of the two following Remedies.

The Firſt is, That of diverting, and drawing them off to another Courſe. Thus we preſerve our Lands from Inundations, by opening Trenches, and carrying off the Water by another Channel: And thus Phyſicians, when they find the Morbifick Matter too obſtinate to be purg'd away, try to give it a Turn, and throw it into ſome other part, where the Conſequence may be leſs dangerous to the Patient. And This, when attempted, muſt be done by means as gentle, by degrees as eaſie and inſenſible, as can poſſibly be. For the Application, when prudently and dexterouſly made uſe of, is of marvellous Efficacy in all manner of Calamities. Nor ought it to be thought odd or peculiar, ſince it is the common Remedy and Practice of Mankind, not in Affliction only, but in every other Caſe which is difficult or diſguſting: And what I adviſe here, every Man who obſerves nicely, will find to be the Expedient, which he naturally preſcribes to himſelf. This is the Art we uſe, to ſwallow down the bittereſt Morſels, and by which we feel our ſelves inſenſibly harden'd to endure the Approach of Death it ſelf. So ſays the Philoſopher, * *The Mind muſt be drawn off to new Objects, freſh Diverſions of Pleaſure, of Buſineſs, nay even of Cares and anxious Thoughts of another kind; or, if nothing elſe will do, we muſt treat it as they do ſick People, and try if change of Air, and another Country, will con-*

* Abducendus Animus eſt ad ſtudia alia, curas, negotia; Loci denique mutatione, tanquam ægroti non convaleſcentes, curandus eſt.

tribute

tribute any thing to the Cure. Thus, when timorous People are to paſs by ſome dreadful Precipice, we prevent or leſſen the Fright, by prevailing with them to ſhut their Eyes, or look another way. And thus Men commonly wink, when the Executioner is to give the Stroke: Thus we endeavour to amuſe Women and Children upon letting Blood; and tho' neither the Danger or the Pain be what can juſtifie their Fears, yet the very Sight and Approach of the Lancet is ſomething they cannot ſupport. And, ſince all Mankind are in ſome meaſure tinctur'd with this Infirmity; ſince ſome Sufferings ſeem to be an over-match for Human Nature; we have all the reaſon in the World to think the Stratagem of *Hippomenes* a very proper Pattern for our Imitation. The Story we find repreſented by the Poets; and it is briefly thus. *Hippomenes* was to run a Race with *Atalanta*, a Lady of exquiſite Beauty, and celebrated Agility. The Conditions were, That if he loſt the Race, he ſhould loſe his Life; but if he won it, the Lady was to be his Prize. He diſtruſting his own Swiftneſs of Foot upon even Terms, provided Three Golden Apples, and as they were running, took occaſion to let theſe fall at convenient diſtances one after another; and thus by taking up her time, who ſtooped to gather them up, he diverted her from the Buſineſs of the Race, and won both the Day and the Bride into the Bargain. The Application I would make of that Fable is only This; That if the Conſideration of one Misfortune, or grievous Accident, which we at preſent labour under; or if the Remembrance of any paſt Calamity lie heavy upon our Minds; or if ſome boiſterous and violent Paſſion ruffle and torment us, which we our ſelves feel ſelves unable to ſubdue by downright ſtriving; the beſt Expedient will be, to ſhift the Scene, and bring ſome other Thought upon the Stage. For when we cannot abſolutely exterminate, and perfectly compoſe it, there is the gaining of a Point in ſome meaſure at leaſt, when we can change a more dangerous Calamity for one that is leſs ſo, and baniſh one Paſſion with another leſs outragious. All this, in the mean while, is not intended to diſcourage Men's entring into the Liſts, and making a formal gallant Oppoſition againſt the Evils they ſuffer, and the Reſentments provoked by them. But the proper Seaſon for this Advice, is when the Enemy is too mighty, and the Combat unequal and unſucceſsful: For when Fighting will do no good, a wiſe Man will try to

ſave himſelf by Flight; he muſt dodge, and wheel, and get out of the way of Miſchief. Or, if it dog him ſo cloſe, that there is no avoiding it, he muſt try to ſoften and break the Force of it, by ſome freſh Diverſions, and taking Sanctuary in ſome Thoughts of another kind, which may give a Turn to the Soul, and change the Current of the Imagination.: Or, if they cannot go ſo far as to make a perfect Exchange, yet ſuch at leaſt may give the Miſery ſome Interruption, and divide thoſe ungrateful *Idea's*, which they are too feeble either to keep down, or to root out totally, tho' at the Expence of new one's planted in their room.

The Second Expedient, and that which is moſt adviſable in Caſes of great Extremity, where the danger is ſo evident, and inevitable, that a Man hath nothing left him to do, but to ſtand the Shock, is to ſtoop a little under the Blow, and give place to Neceſſity: For by ſhewing a Man's ſelf obſtinate in ſuch a Caſe, and reſolving not to yield in any Point, the Violence is but the greater, and the Treatment we meet with ſo much the rougher; it being the Nature of Oppoſition to provoke; and our Paſſions in ſuch Caſes, like Torrents, which no Dams are ſtrong enough to ſtemm, rage the more for being pent up, and at laſt ſwell the higher, and bear down all before them. In ſuch Caſes therefore, a Man muſt be content to ſee himſelf over-rul'd; and whatever Rules he hath fix'd to his Behaviour in ordinary Circumſtances, they muſt be dealt with as wiſe Politicians do by the Laws of the Land; who, when they fall ſhort, and cannot do what they would have them, alter their Meaſures, and make them do what they can. It hath been by Many eſteem'd a Reproach upon *Cato*, and a conſiderable Blemiſh in his Character, that he was ſo very ſtiff and nice in the Civil Wars which happen'd in his Time, and rather ſuffer'd the Commonwealth to be driven to the laſt Extremities, than he would contribute to its Relief at the Expence of ſome Laws, which the preſent Neceſſity and Diſtreſs made it very reaſonable to have diſpenſed with. On the other hand, *Epaminondas* had ſo great a regard to the Publick Good, that he continu'd in his Office beyond the Term prefixed, tho' the Law prohibited the doing ſo upon pain of Death; ſo juſt a Senſe had he of the End and Nature of Laws, that they are deſign'd for the Service and Advantage of the State, and cannot in any equitable Conſtruction be ſuppoſed to bind, where the Exigence of Affairs

is

is ſuch, that by obſerving the Letter of the Law, a Man deſtroys the End of it. Accordingly we find this Commendation of *Philopæmon*, that he was a Perſon born to Command: For he was not only Maſter of the Art of Governing according to Law, but had the Skill of Governing the Law it ſelf, when any Publick Neceſſity requir'd that it ſhould be ſet aſide; and left no other Refuge, but the Diſcretion of the Magiſtrate. For it often happens, That Thoſe at Helm are put out of their common Road by ſome difficult and extraordinary Emergencies; and in ſuch Caſes it is their Duty as well as Wiſdom to ply to Windward, and ſteer what Courſe they can. And indeed, in all Extremities, Private as well as Publick, a Prudent Man will be content to bend a little, to yield and comply as far as he may, and by all honeſt Stratagems to ſave the main Chance. For in theſe Matters there is a Latitude and Privilege of Relaxation allowed; ſome Moderation and Abatement, which thoſe who are unacquainted with the preſent Circumſtances, can be no competent Judges of. And therefore we ſhould be very tender, how we condemn a Proceeding, which is ſo far from being contrary to Reaſon, and Juſtice, that it is highly agreeable to both; and not only ſo, but a Maſter-piece of Prudence in thoſe who manage it skilfully.

SECT. III.

Affairs Intricate and Uncertain.

BY this Intricacy and Uncertainty of Affairs, I underſtand ſuch a Juncture as hath great Appearance of Reaſon, and ſtrong Arguments on both ſides; ſo that the Man is at a loſs, and does not diſcern, nor know how to chooſe what is beſt and moſt convenient for him; This creates diſtraction and perplexity of Thought; and till ſome other Conſideration fall in to turn the Scale, the beſt thing we can do is to conſider, where there are the greateſt Odds of Juſtice, and Honour, and Decency; and by all means fall in with that ſide. For, altho' the Event ſhould prove contrary to our Expectation or Deſire, yet ſtill there will be a ſecret Satisfaction, the Complacency and Teſtimony of our own Breaſts, to ſupport us within; and the Reputation and Praiſe of Men without, for having choſen the better, tho' not the more fortunate Courſe. Nor ought any Miſcar-

riage in ſuch a Caſe, to provoke the leaſt Remorſe; becauſe no Man can tell what Providence hath to do, or how that will diſpoſe of Him and his Endeavours; and conſequently he cannot be ſecure that his Diſappointment or his Calamity would have been leſs, tho' he had taken quite different Meaſures. And therefore, when a Man cannot reſolve himſelf which is the eaſieſt and the ſhorteſt way to his Journey's End, the beſt Determination he can come to, is to keep the ſtreighteſt Road.

SECT. IV.

Difficult and Dangerous Caſes.

IT is often Men's Fate in Matters of Difficulty, to ſucceed as They that are over-nice and cautious commonly do in Bargaining, and Articles of Agreement; where an exceſſive Care to make all faſt, and prevent all manner of Danger, is but a means of increaſing the Danger, and ruining All. For by this mighty Circumſpection, ſo much more Time is ſpent, ſo many more People are employ'd, ſo many more Clauſes and Proviſo's inſerted; that the Differences and Squabbles ariſing upon it, are multiply'd in proportion to the Clutter made for avoiding them. To all which we may add, that this is the way to provoke Fortune, who is jealous of her Honour, and will not bear the Preſumption of any Man's pretending to exempt himſelf from Her Juriſdiction. Which after all is a vain Attempt, and what the moſt provident Man alive can never compaſs: For there is One Above, who hath a Power Paramount, * and will not ſuffer his Dominion to be encroach'd upon. And therefore the beſt way ſeems to be the diſpatching them with all the Expedition and Eaſineſs we can, and rather to run the Riſque of ſome little Danger, than create a great deal of Diſſatisfaction and Torment to our ſelves, by our extraordinary Nicety and Caution.

In Caſes of manifeſt Danger, it is neceſſary a Man ſhould have both Wiſdom and Courage; He ſhould look before him, and ſee Dangers at a diſtance, and make a right Judgment and Eſtimate of them; For Men are very apt to ſee theſe things in falſe Proportions, and to look upon them thro' the Glaſs of Paſſion, rather than calm and un-

* Vim ſuam ingruentem refringi non vult.

diſturb'd

diſturb'd Reaſon. This is one account, why ſuch things are generally apprehended otherwiſe than in reality they are, becauſe the Affection predominant at that time, repreſents them greater or leſs, and impoſes upon the Judgment by ſuch *Idea's*. But then, tho' it may become a wiſe Man to foreſee all Hazards that are in any degree probable; yet it is no way unworthy of him to conſider them as Contingencies, that they may not, as well as that they may happen; that it is great odds all of them will not happen; That of thoſe which do, All will not have the Conſequences and Effects, which it is fit for one to form in his own Mind, who makes it his buſineſs to provide againſt the very worſt that can come; that a Man ſhall, by the help of Induſtry and Prudence, be able to deal with the greateſt part of them well enough. In this Caſe too, it is fit to conſider in which of thoſe Accidents that threaten us, we may promiſe our ſelves Aſſiſtance, and accordingly to provide our Succours: And as generally in All, ſo in theſe Junctures more eſpecially, to take Courage, to fix our Reſolutions, and be ſteady in our Undertakings. For, when once a Man hath conſider'd what he goes about, and finds it agreeable to his Duty, and what every way becomes him to do, he is obliged by all means to perſevere, and not ſuffer any Proſpect of Danger to diſcourage him in a commendable Attempt. A Wiſe Man indeed will never want Courage, becauſe he proceeds with Deliberation and Thought; prevents the Miſchief of Surprize, and provides againſt every thing likely to croſs his Deſign. But then it is no leſs expedient, That the Man of Courage have a Mixture of Wiſdom too; for without This all his Boldneſs is but raſh Heat, and a blind fool-hardy Giddineſs.

SECT. V.

Conſpiracies.

WE are now advancing to ſuch Accidents, as of all others are of the greateſt, moſt general, and moſt dangerous Conſequence, and therefore it will be fit to enlarge a little the more upon them. Which ſhall be done, firſt by giving a particular Deſcription of the Thing it ſelf; Then by laying down ſuch Directions as may be ſerviceable to a Prince under them. And then in the Concluſion of this Subject, caſting together into one Chapter that Ad-

vice proper for private Perſons to follow upon theſe Occaſions.

By Conſpiracies I mean the Attempts made, either by ſome one Man ſingly, or by ſeveral in Combination, againſt the Perſon of the Prince, or the State and Government in general. And this muſt be acknowledged a Circumſtance of infinite Danger, extremely hard either to eſcape or to remedy, by reaſon of the Secreſie, and induſtrious Concealment of the Thing. For which way ſhall a Man be able to ſecure himſelf from the treacherous Aſſaults of an unknown, unſuſpected Enemy? And what ſhall give any juſt Jealouſie of that Man's being ſo, who wears the Face, and acts the part of our faithfulleſt, tendereſt, and moſt zealous Friend? The Thoughts and Inclinations of the Heart lie too dark and deep for Human Eyes to penetrate; and yet here is all the Danger; for they who deſign a Prince's Ruine, will take all the care they can, that no Overt Act, no failure of Reſpect, no Coldneſs or Negligence in Behaviour, may miniſter cauſe of Suſpicion; but will rather exceed in the Expreſſions of Duty and Reſpect, and maſk their Villany by an officious and double Diligence. Beſides, do but conſider the Advantages of a deſperate and bloody-minded Man; for he that does not value his own Life, may make himſelf Maſter of any other Man's whenever he pleaſes.

* *He knows not how to fear, who dares to die.*

So that a Prince is continually expoſed to Danger and Death, and lies at the Mercy of every private Man, who hath hardineſs enough to ſacrifice himſelf in the Attacking him.

Machiavel takes great Pains to ſhew how Plots againſt the State ought to be contriv'd, and ſo laid as to prove Succeſsful. We leave that wicked Policy to Him; and ſhall employ all our Care to ſhew how they may beſt be diſcover'd and defeated.

Now the beſt Remedies and Directions that I can think of for ſo critical and hazardous a Juncture, are theſe that follow.

Firſt, Private Intelligence, and cunning underhand Methods, to diſcover and counterwork all Attempts of this Na-

* Contemnit omnes Ille, qui Mortem priùs.

ture;

ture; in which Faithful, Vigilant, and Diſcreet Perſons ſhould be made uſe of as Inſtruments. Theſe are the Eyes and Ears of the Prince; and therefore they ſhould be every where, to diſcover and bring Information of all that may concern him to know; but particularly they ſhould have a ſpecial regard to all that his Principal Officers and Miniſters ſay and do: becauſe Theſe are capable of doing moſt Miſchief, and he cannot be tolerably ſafe, if they be falſe to him. Now it is as obſervable in this Caſe, as in any whatſoever, That *Out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth ſpeaketh*; For People, who have a Deſign upon the Government, naturally love to aſperſe and blacken the Prince, cenſure his Adminiſtration ſeverely, and load him with Calumnies; or if they have Temper enough to be ſilent themſelves, yet they love the Converſation of thoſe that do ſo, hearken with a ſenſible Reliſh and Delight to all kind of Factious Diſcourſe; and frequent the Company of Men, who by railing and blaming all that is done, infuſe Jealouſies, and foment Diſcontents among the People. It is very neceſſary therefore, that a Prince ſhould be well informed what his Subjects, but eſpecially what thoſe about his Perſon, ſay of him; what Company they keep, and how they entertain themſelves; and it is fit that he ſhould engage to reward the Perſons, who make ſuch uſeful Diſcoveries, not only with Impunity, but large Summs of Money for their good Service. But then he muſt be no leſs careful too of another Inconvenience which may ariſe from too eaſie a Credulity. For tho' he will do wiſely to hear all, yet he is by no means bound to believe all. The Rewards I mentioned, as they are Recompences well beſtow'd upon faithful and good Men, ſo are they likewiſe great Temptations to ill Men; and therefore every Report of this kind ſhould be very diligently examin'd, before a Prince gives credit to it; or otherwiſe this Expedient for his own Preſervation will be converted into a means of cruſhing and murdering the Innocent; and of making himſelf the common Deteſtation and Reproach, the Terrour and the Curſe of his People.

The Second Preſervative in this Caſe, is Winning and Engaging the Hearts and Affections of all his Subjects, nay even of his very Enemies, by Methods of Juſtice and Goodneſs, of Courteſie and Clemency. For when all is done, * *A Prince's beſt and ſtrongeſt Guard is his Innocency*; the be-

* Fidiſſima Cuſtodia Principis Innocentia.

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ing an Univerſal Bleſſing, good to all, injurious and grievous to none. The Apoſtle had reaſon when he asked that Queſtion, *Woo is He that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?* For, uſually ſpeaking, The Man that gives no Offence, takes an effectual Courſe that none ſhall be given him: But he who does Injuries, muſt expect to have them paid back again with Intereſt: And therefore the worſt uſe that can poſſibly be made of Power, is to exert it to unjuſt and baſe Purpoſes, and make it an Inſtrument of Oppreſſion and Violence. So ſays a wiſe Author, * Power never puts out its own Strength ſo ill, as when it breaks forth into Inſolence, and contumelious uſage of thoſe Perſons whoſe Weakneſs hath laid them at its Mercy.

A Third Expedient upon theſe Occaſions is, To ſet the beſt Face upon the Matter; not to betray any Dejection of Mind, but carry all off with one's uſual Gayety and Freedom of Behaviour; To give out abroad, that he is very ſenſible what People are doing, and punctually inform'd of all their Secret Practices and Deſigns; that there paſſes nothing at any of their Cabals, but he hath immediately an Account of it: For where Privacy is the Life of an Attempt, if once the Plotters can be brought to believe that all they do, takes Air, the Project is broken of courſe. This was an Expedient which a certain Perſon aſſiſted *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant with, and it was bought cheap at the Price of a Talent.

The Fourth Direction is, To wait for any danger of this kind without any Confuſion or Conſternation of Mind: Theſe Three laſt Rules *Cæſar* practiſed in great Perfection; but in the firſt he was altogether deficient; Indeed he profeſt to diſdain it, as a thing below him, and not worth his while; and declared, That he thought a Prince had better die once for all, than live in a perpetual Anxiety and Pain, for any Accident which the moſt vigilant thoughtful Man alive hath it not in his Power to prevent; and therefore he would rather chooſe to be eaſie, and in This, as well as other Matters, truſt the Event entirely to Divine Providence, which alone can protect and ſecure the Perſons of Princes effectually. But ſtill this Reflection does not take off the uſefulneſs and neceſſity even of my firſt Advice, and the reſt it leaves in their full force. Which in truth are yet more recommended by the ill Succeſs of Courſes

* Male vim ſuam Poteſtas, aliorum contumeliis experitur.

contrary

contrary to theſe: For all Hiſtories, and particularly thoſe of the *Roman* Emperors, ſhew beyond contradiction, that the Intentions to prevent ſuch Plottings by ſpeedy Vengeance, and rigorous Puniſhments, did very ſeldom obtain their deſired Effect: They rather exaſperated Men's Minds, than ſubdu'd them; and the ſevereſt and moſt haſty to take Revenge, and terrifie their People, were commonly leaſt ſecure, and found the worſt Treatment from them.

Thus much may ſerve for Advice how Princes ought to behave themſelves, while the Deſigns againſt their Perſons and Government are kept cloſe and in the dark. But when ſuch Conſpiracies come to be diſcover'd, and the Truth brought to light, What is fit to be done then? Why truly my firſt and moſt general Direction muſt be, To make the Conſpirators publick Examples, by puniſhing them with all the Severity their Villanies deſerve. To ſpare ſuch black Wretches as theſe, were not Compaſſion but Cruelty; Cruelty to the Innocent, and Peaceable, and Good; and Treachery to the Publick, whoſe Safety is expoſed and endanger'd by ſuch indiſcreet Inſtances of Pity: For Juſtice and Equity require, that Thoſe who are Enemies to the Peace and Quiet, the Liberties and Rights, and common Happineſs of Mankind, ſhould make Reparation with their Blood, for their Attempts to over-turn and deſtroy theſe ſo neceſſary, ſo valuable Advantages. But then, even thoſe Executions are to be managed with Prudence and Diſcretion; and the manner and Method of Puniſhing muſt vary, according as the Face and Condition of Affairs ſhall happen to vary. Sometimes it is convenient to uſe all poſſible Diſpatch, and puniſh preſently, eſpecially where the Conſpirators are not very numerous. But be the Number of them great or ſmall, I can by no means approve of putting Criminals to the Torture, in order to larger Diſcoveries, and the bringing out Accomplices not yet known. (For there are other ways of getting Information by ſofter and more ſecret dealing, which very ſeldom fail; and beſides, it may often be of uſe not to ſeem very ſollicitous to know, or if one does know, to appear otherwiſe, and pretend Ignorance in ſuch Caſes.) But, beſides all other Miſchiefs of ſuch a barbarous Cuſtom as the Rack, this is one certain Diſcouragement, that a Man is ſure to torment others for the Diſcovery of that, which when found out, will be a Plague and Torment to himſelf, and ſet a world of People againſt him too. Nor do I think it always neceſſary that every

every Individual Malefactor ſhould ſuffer: It is enough that ſome few are made exemplary Warnings to the reſt; ſo many as may encourage and contain good Subjects in their Duty, and reclaim the Factious, by ſtriking an early Awe into thoſe, who are not yet, or at leaſt do not imagine that they are diſcovered. Sometimes again it is neceſſary to defer puniſhing the Offenders; but to be ſure upon all ſuch Emergencies, the Prince's own Safety muſt be his firſt and great Care: In this no Time muſt be loſt; the reſt may well ſubmit, and be regulated afterwards, as Opportunities beſt offer. But the Caſe may have greater Difficulties in it ſtill, The Conſpirators may be Perſons of ſuch Quality and Figure, or the Diſcovery may be made in ſuch a critical Juncture, that a Prince may be obliged to diſſemble his Knowledge and his Danger; and the offering to ſeize or puniſh the Guilty, may hazard his Life and Kingdom another way: In ſuch a Streight it requires a great deal of good Conduct to play a ſafe Game. The beſt Courſe of all is without queſtion to countermine and prevent their Plot; to break all their Meaſures privately; and when the Danger is thus avoided, to decline the giving Offence, by pretending not to know the Parties concern'd, but to manage the Matter, and ſecure himſelf, while all the while he appears intent upon ſomething elſe. Thus the *Carthaginians* managed their General *Hanno*, and the Hiſtorian's Remark upon this Method of proceeding is, * *That oftentimes the beſt, nay the only way to prevent treacherous Practices, is to act as if one knew nothing at all of the Matter.* Nay, which is ſtill more; I am poſitive that ſometimes it is abſolutely neceſſary not to puniſh Conſpirators at all. For if the principal Contriver be a very great Man; if his Abilities or his Deſerts have made him popular; if his former Services have been very conſiderable, and the Prince and Government particularly obliged by him: If his Children, his Relations, his Friends are in great Poſts, or Men of Wealth, and general Intereſt: What would you do in ſuch a Caſe? How would you break through all theſe Difficulties? Who indeed would attempt it? Who would provoke ſuch Dangers, and make ſo many and ſuch dangerous Enemies, and not rather by wholly remitting his Puniſhment, if that can ſafely be done; or if not, yet at leaſt by miti-

* Optimum & ſolum ſæpe inſidiarum remedium, ſi non intelligantur.

gating,

gating, and rendring it as gentle as the Caſe will bear; continue a good Underſtanding, and ſecure the Affections of all who have an Intereſt in his Pardon? Clemency upon ſuch an Occaſion is not only Brave and great, (for indeed nothing can be more for the Honour of a Prince, * nothing give us a brighter Image of Virtue and Magnanimity, than a Monarch pardoning the Affronts and Ill-Uſage which he never deſerv'd) But it is alſo very often the moſt prudent and politick Courſe, and moſt effectual Security to him for the Future. For Men, who have any the leaſt remains of Ingenuity and Humanity, will be melted by it into Repentance and better Principles. Perfidiouſneſs it ſelf will be put out of Countenance; and others who ſee ſuch eminent Goodneſs, will be aſhamed of any baſe Deſign, and effectually diverted from purſuing or projecting it. And of this *Auguſtus* hath given us a famous Inſtance, both as to the Prudential, and the Succeſsful Part, in his Behaviour to *Cinna*, when engaged in a Conſpiracy againſt him.

SECT. VI.

Treaſonable Practices.

BY Treachery and Treaſonable Practices, I underſtand a ſecret Attempt or Conſpiracy, not againſt the Prince's own Perſon, or the Government in general, as the former Head was; but againſt ſome particular Poſt, or Place of Strength, or ſome diſtinct and leſs Body of Men. In this reſpect it differs from what went before; but they both agree in their Nature and Character of being ſecret and unforeſeen Evils, extremely dangerous if they ſucceed, and as hard to be avoided or prevented. For the Traytor is commonly hid in a Crowd, in the very midſt of the Party he deſigns to betray, or of the Fortification which he intends to make ſale of, and deliver up into the Enemies hand. The Perſons moſt diſpoſed to this abominable perfidious Trade, are the Covetous, the fickle and fond of Change, and the formal Diſſemblers. And this Quality too they have, that they make a mighty Noiſe and Buſtle with their Loyalty, are large in their Commendations of it; violently and unſeaſonably clamorous againſt all breach of Truſt; ſuperſtitiouſly nice in Matters of little or no Conſequence;

* Nil glorioſius Principe impunè læſo.

and

and theſe Pretences and Extraordinary Affectations of Fidelity, by which they labour to conceal their Villany, are really the beſt and ſureſt Marks to diſcover and diſtinguiſh them by: For they are ſo natural to Men of ſuch Principles, that any Man who knows what it is to over-act a Part, cannot but find them out. Now the Directions proper for ſuch Occaſions, are for the moſt part the ſame with thoſe in the former Caſe. Only in the Matter of *Puniſhment* indeed, this difference is to be made, That Theſe Men ought to be made Examples immediately, to be dealt with after a very rigorous manner, and excluded from all Mercy: For they are Men of wretched, profligate, incorrigible Tempers, the Bane and Peſt of Mankind; no Reformation is to be expected from them; and therefore ſince Pity is loſt, as to all hopes of doing Good upon the Offenders themſelves, it is neceſſary they ſhould be cut off for the Sake and Safety of others.

SECT. VII.

Diſorders and Popular Inſurrections.

OF theſe I reckon ſeveral Sorts, according as the Cauſes which provoke and kindle theſe Combuſtions, the Perſons concern'd in them, the Manner and the Continuance of the Diſorders, differ. The Variety whereof will appear more evidently, by treating in the following Sections of Factions and Combinations, Seditions, Tyranny, Rebellion, and Civil Wars. But at preſent I ſhall inſiſt upon the plaineſt and moſt generally receiv'd Notion of the Word; for ſuch Riſings of the People, as proceed from ſome preſent Heat, and are only a Tumult ſoon up and ſoon down again.

The Preſcriptions proper for this Diſtemper are, To draw them, if poſſible, to a Parley; to try if they can be prevail'd with to hear Reaſon; and in caſe they will ſuffer themſelves to be argu'd with; Then to expoſtulate and remonſtrate things fairly, by the Interpoſition of ſome Perſon of eſtabliſhed Reputation, eminent Virtue, powerful Eloquence, and skill'd in Addreſs; One whoſe Gravity and Induſtry, and Authority may be ſufficient to gain upon them, and ſoften the Fury, even of an incens'd Rabble. For at the Preſence of a Perſon thus qualify'd, they will preſently be Thunder-ſtruck, and all he ſays will gain credit, and make its own way through them.

* *As*

* *As when in Tumults riſe th' ignoble Crowd,*
Swift are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud;
And Stones and Brands in rattling Vollies fly,
And all the Ruſtick Arms that Fury can ſupply.
If then ſome Grave and Pious Man appear,
They huſh their Noiſe, and lend a liſtning Ear;
He ſooths with ſober Words their angry Mood,
And quenches their innate Deſire of Blood.

Mr. Dryden.

It may not be amiſs upon ſome Occaſions for the Prince himſelf to appear among them; but then he muſt take great Care in what manner this be done: He muſt have a ſerene and free Countenance, an Air of Gayety and Aſſurance, a Soul at perfect Liberty, and free from all Apprehenſion of Death or Danger, and ready prepared to entertain the worſt Treatment that can poſſibly happen to him. For, to ſhew himſelf with a Face full of Fear and Diſtruſt, to deſcend to Flattery and mean Remonſtrances, is beneath a Prince's Character: It makes him cheap and contemptible, encourages the Inſolence of the People, and does but inflame inſtead of appeaſing their Rage. This therefore was done, exactly as ought to be, by *Cæſar*, who, when his Legions were in a Mutiny, and roſe up in Arms againſt him, is deſcribed in the midſt of them thus:

† ----- *On the Top*
Of a Turf Mount ſtands Cæſar *fearleſs up,*
Deſerving Dread by his undaunted Look.

The ſame Account in effect does *Tacitus* give of *Auguſtus*, compoſing the Diſcontents of his Legions at *Actium*. So that upon the whole Matter there are two ways of managing

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* Veluti magno in populo cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces & ſaxa volant; furor arma miniſtrat.
Tum pietate gravem ac mentis, ſi forte virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus aſtant;
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet. *Virgil.*

† ——Stetit aggere fulti
Ceſpitis intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri
Nil metuens —— *Lucan.*

the

the Mobb, and quieting them when they run into Tumults and riotous Inſurrections. The beſt and braveſt is that of the Prince himſelf quieting them; but This (as I obſerv'd) is a nice Undertaking, and had much better be waved, if he have not an abſolute Maſtery over his Paſſions, and be not in all Points qualify'd for the managing it dexterouſly. The other, which is more uſual, and more feaſible, is to do it by another hand; and here a greater Latitude may be allow'd, than the Majeſty of a Monarch can admit of. Flattery, and Cajolling, and all the Arts of Mollifying, are the proper Applications; for Stiffneſs and open Force will do nothing; and the more you oppoſe the Torrent, the higher and louder it grows. The many-headed Beaſt is in this regard like all other Wild ones, which are never to be tam'd with Blows and Beating, but may be brought to hand by ſoothing and gentle Uſage. And therefore an Agent ſhould never ſpare for good Words, and fair Promiſes, ſince theſe are the moſt ſucceſsful Artifices upon thoſe Occaſions. Nay ſome Philoſophers and wiſe Men have allow'd ſuch Mediators to be liberal, even at the expence of Truth; and think that the Folly and Madneſs of an incenſed Multitude, may as innocently be amuſed with Fables and Fictions, as the Simplicity of Children, and the Phrenſies of Feveriſh Men are with idle Stories and Promiſes, that are never intended to be made good. *Pericles* had a wonderful Knack at this Leading the People at Pleaſure; he held them faſt by the Eyes, the Ears, the Belly; entertain'd them with Shews, and Plays, and Feaſts; and then made them do whatever he had a mind to. This, I confeſs, is much the meaner Method of the Two; There is ſomething in it ſervile and ignoble; but thoſe Punctilio's muſt be laid aſide, where Neceſſity gives a Diſpenſation. But then they are only fit for ſome Deputy, or Agent, and can never be Condeſcenſions becoming a Prince in his own Perſon. And thus we ſee *Menenius Agrippa* manag'd the Matter, when delegated from the Senate to the Commoners of *Rome*. But, if ſuch a one pretends to act with a high Hand, and expects to reduce People when they fly out, and break through all the Reſtraints of Reaſon and Duty, without making any Conceſſions, or offering any Terms of Accommodation, as *Appius*, and *Coriolanus*, and *Cato*, and *Phocion* did; this is a very idle Attempt, and muſt ſucceed accordingly.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Faction and Combinations.

BY Factions and Combinations, I mean the Diviſions and Bandings together of Subjects againſt one another; and Theſe may differ both in Quality and Number; as the Perſons concerned are Great and Wealthy, or of a meaner Fortune and Condition, or as the Clans and Parties are each of them more or leſs numerous. This ſometimes proceeds from private Piques and Grudges, which have grown and been cheriſh'd between ſingle Perſons, or are perpetuated and made hereditary to whole Families; but the uſual and more frequent Original of it is Ambition and Emulation, that Bane of Society and Government, which ſets the World on Fire, by kindling in every one a deſire of aſpiring to the higheſt and moſt honourable Poſt. The Diviſions, which happen between Perſons of Eminence, and the firſt Quality, are by much the more dangerous and deſtructive to the Common-wealth. Some indeed there have been, who ſet up for Politicians, and pretend, that theſe diſagreeing Parties are of great Service and Convenience to the Publick; and that a Prince by this means is ſafer, and better ſupported, as *Cato* was of Opinion, that the Authority of Maſters in private Families was ſecured by the Diſcords and Quarrels of their Servants. But This ſeems a Notion too refin'd and far-fetch'd; and we may venture to ſay, there are but a few Caſes in which the Obſervation holds good. It may be true with regard to Tyrants and lawleſs Governours, to whom nothing is ſo formidable as the good Agreement of their Subjects; becauſe ſuch a general Underſtanding may tend to unite them againſt their common Oppreſſor: It may hold too in ſlight and inconſiderable Factions, ſuch as the Quarrels and Competitions betwixt one City and another; or betwixt Ladies at Court, who pretend to ſet up for Intelligence, and under-hand Intereſts: But in any Combinations of Conſequence, and in Governments well conſtituted, and duly adminiſtred, it is manifeſtly falſe. It is of infinite Concern, and abſolute Neceſſity, that, in ſuch Circumſtances, all making of Parties ſhould be check'd, and Faction cruſht in the very Egg. All their Diſtinctions, the Names they go by, the Dreſs or Badges by which

they know one another, and all the Foppery of that kind, utterly diſcountenanc'd and put down. For even Trifles of this Nature have ſometimes laid the Seeds, and been the firſt Beginnings of prodigious and unconceivable Miſchiefs. Witneſs the miſerable Combuſtion, and horrid Murders, which *Zonaras* tells us, happen'd in *Conſtantinople* by the Perſons who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by wearing Blue and Green, in the Reign of *Juſtinian*. And accordingly all Clubs or private Cabals that tend to the promoting ſuch Diviſions, ſhould be carefully diſperſed, and ſtrictly forbidden.

The Counſel I have to give upon ſuch Accidents, is briefly This. If the Faction happen between two Peers, or Perſons otherwiſe of Conſideration and Character in the State, the Prince will do well to bring them to a better Underſtanding by fair Means, and good Words; or if That do not ſucceed, by laying his poſitive Commands, and threatning the Party who refuſes to be reconciled, with his Diſpleaſure, and other ſevere Penalties upon his Diſobedience. And this Courſe we find taken by *Alexander the Great*, to compoſe the Difference between *Hepheſtion* and *Craterus*; and by *Archidamus* with Two of his Friends. If they ſtill ſtand out, it may be proper to nominate ſome Arbitrator between them; and This a Perſon liable to no juſt ſuſpicion of Partiality; no way intereſted or prejudiced, for or againſt either of the Parties. And this will alſo be a very good Expedient to end the Diſputes, and ſettle the Pretenſions controverted on both ſides between greater Numbers of Subjects, or between Cities, or Societies of Men. If it be requiſite, that the Prince himſelf interpoſe, let this by all means be done with the Aſſiſtance of Counſel, that ſo the Odium of the Thing may be taken off from himſelf, and thoſe who ſuffer in the determination, may have no Foundation for Reſentment. For the Counſel of Princes ſerves to this and many other Purpoſes, as well as for Direction; and it is Prudence to call them together, and act with and by them, in a very ſolemn manner, in ſundry Inſtances, where there ariſes nothing of Difficulty, that can deſerve the Formality of a Debate. If the Faction be among Perſons of meaner Circumſtances, but ſo, that great Numbers are engag'd in it; or if it grow too ſtrong to be compoſed by gentler Methods, and the Courſe of Civil Juſtice, the Prince muſt then have recourſe to his laſt Remedy, and extinguiſh it by Force. But in this way of quelling

it

it especially, he must take good heed not to discover any particular Inclination to one side above the other. For This is very Ominous, and many Kings have lost themselves by their unreasonable Partialities. They are the common Fathers of their whole Country; and it is unworthy the Dignity of that Relation, as well as beneath the Majesty of their Character, to make Distinctions, and be of a Party themselves. They must be Friends to All their Subjects; not side with Some, and by making their Quarrels their own, suffer themselves to become Enemies, and in effect denounce War against Others. We easily see the the Indecorum of such Proceedings, when the Master of a Family debases himself to take part with one Servant against another; for what is this indeed but to become a Fellow-Servant too, and to forget that both the Contending Parties are under his Jurisdiction? But sure the Absurdity is more monstrous in Princes, when they forget that all the Subjects are their own; and therefore the Superiour hath nothing to do but to deal Justice with an even hand between Them, who are equal to one another, but can never be so to Him. Once more: In all the foremention'd Cases, 'tis best, if the Discontents can be quieted, and Controversies decided, without making any publick Examples; because Suffering exasperates, and many angry Remembrances will remain, and rise up hereafter. But if there be a necessity of Punishing, this should be confin'd to as few as may be; and It sufficiently vindicates the Honour of the Prince, and answers the End of the Penalty very well; if some of the Ringleaders, who were first and most active in creating the Disturbance, be made to smart severely, and all the rest be dismiss'd with the Impressions which such a Mixture of Severity and Goodness will naturally leave upon them.

SECT. IX.

Sedition.

SEdition is a violent Commotion of the People againſt the Prince, or ſome of the Magiſtrates in ſubordination to him. The Cauſes of it are commonly Oppreſſion and Fear. For Thoſe, who have been guilty of ſome high Miſdemeanour, are afraid of being brought to the Punishment they deſerve; Others are jealous of their Privileges and Properties, and imagine, that the Government deſigns to invade and run them down. And both theſe ſorts of Men are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the Apprehenſions of approaching Ruine, that they think the only way to ſave themſelves, is by ſtriking the firſt Blow. It alſo proceeds very often from too great Indulgence, Extravagance and Debauchery, Neceſſity, and extreme Scarcity of Money, or want of other indiſpenſable Supports of Human Life. So that the Perſons who ſeem of all others to be cut out for this Trade, are your Spend-thrifts and Bankrupts, Indigent and Uneaſie, Fickle and Lovers of Novelty; and all thoſe Lewd and Profligate Wretches, who lie under the Laſh of the Law, or at leaſt are obnoxious to, and afraid of Juſtice. Theſe ſeveral ſorts of Men cannot continue quiet long: Peace is by no means for their purpoſe, but every whit as great a Calamity to Them, as War is to the reſt of Mankind: They never ſleep ſweetly but in the midſt of a Riot; and the Liberty they doat upon is Licentiouſneſs and Confuſion. The better to bring their Matters to bear, they contrive private Conferences, and ſend abroad their wicked Inſtruments to poyſon the World; make loud and grievous Complaints, ſcatter ſecret and vile Inſinuations, at firſt in doubtful and ſuſpicious Words, but afterwards in virulent and open Defamations of the Government; ſet up for Patriots, and pretend a mighty Zeal for Liberty and Property; profeſs the Publick Good to be their only Hope and End, and promiſe to redreſs the People's Grievances; Theſe are conſtantly ſome of the Masks, put on to cover their Villany, and thus they draw Numbers after them, who for want of diſcerning better, and ſeeing through their Hypocriſie, ſwallow the bitter Pill thus guilded over.

1. Now the Remedies and Directions proper for ſuch an Exigence of Affairs as this, are firſt of all ſuch as have been already

already inſiſted upon, in the Section of *Popular Inſurrections and Tumults*; that is, To draw them to a Parley, to have Matters truly repreſented, and ſo make them ſenſible of their Errour, and the Unreaſonableneſs of their Complaints and Diſcontents; and all this to be done by the Mediation of Perſons, whoſe unqueſtionable Credit and Character may render ſuch a Negotiation ſucceſsful. But if This do not ſucceed, the ſecond thing muſt be for a Prince to take Arms, 2.
and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt their Violence; yet ſo as not to be raſh and haſty upon them, but to proceed ſlowly and with much Deliberation; that they may have Warning and Time to recollect and qualifie the Fierceneſs and Heat of their Paſſions; and ſo the ill Men among them, by thinking better, may return to their Duty; and thoſe who are harmleſs, and good, may deſert their Seducers, and unite with the right ſide. For Time is a moſt excellent Phyſician, and ſeldom fails to allay and cure the common People, who are much more diſpoſed to quarrel, and be mutinous, than they are to come to Blows in good earneſt. * *The Mobb* (ſays a wiſe Hiſtorian) *are furious and eager to rebel, but tame and poor-ſpirited in a regular Fight; and much better at making a puſh to ſtretch their Liberty, than at the lawful defence of it.* A Third Expedient is, to be tampering with 3.
them all this while, and try to divide and diſſettle their Minds † by Hope and Fear; for theſe are the Two Paſſions that ſpur them on, and therefore theſe muſt be wrought upon to bring them off. And therefore a Wiſe Governour will be ſure to be liberal both of his Promiſes and Threatnings, that ſo theſe Paſſions may not want Matter enough to feed upon; but then Care muſt be taken too, that they be ſo temper'd, as neither to encourage Preſumption, nor drive to Deſpair. A Fourth Remedy is, to ſow Diviſions 4
among them, and break their Correſpondence, by making them Jealous, and Diſſatisfy'd at one another. A Fifth will 5
be, To get ſome of the Party over by ſecret Service, inviting them with Promiſes, and Penſions, and privately rewarding what they privately do for your Advantage. And theſe Perſons thus gain'd, are to be diſpoſed in ſeveral Poſts. Some of them ſhould be drawn quite off, and come over to you, to weaken and intimidate them; Others ſhould be ſtill

* Ferocior Plebs ad rebellandum quàm bellandum: tentare magis quàm tueri Libertatem.

† Spem offer, metum intende.

left behind to do your Buſineſs there, by giving Advice of all their Motions, and communicating their Intentions and Deſigns; by laying them aſleep by falſe Securities, and watching all Opportunities to qualifie their Fury. Then,

6. Sixthly, Thoſe who cannot be got thus far, and are ſtill obſtinate, ſhould be cajoll'd by granting ſome part of what they demand, and giving them expectation of more; all which the expert Politicians will tell you, ſhould be by large Promiſes, worded cunningly, that ſo the Ambiguity of the Expreſſions may leave room for a colourable Evaſion afterwards: For a Prince may eaſily, when he ſees fit, revoke that which hath been extorted from him, and juſtly deny, what Injuſtice hath compell'd him to give hopes of obtaining. This is Caſuiſtical Policy at leaſt; but the only way to make it go down well with the People, is to varniſh all over with Gentleneſs and Clemency, and to make them ſome Amends by Indulgences of another kind, for thoſe Conceſſions, which without manifeſt Prejudice to his Pre-

7. rogative and Government, he cannot but recede from. Laſtly, If they ſhall return to a better Senſe of Things, and act agreeably to Reaſon and their Duty, they ſhould be dealt with tenderly; and a Prince may very well content himſelf with chaſtiſing ſome few of the firſt Authors, and principal Incendiaries, without giving himſelf the Trouble ſo much as to enquire after all the Accomplices; but managing the reſt ſo, that they ſhall have reaſon to think themſelves ſecure in his Pardon and Favour.

SECT. X.

Tyranny and Rebellion.

BY Tyranny we are to underſtand an Arbitrary, Lawleſs Government, a Domineering over the Subjects with Violence and Rigour, without regard had to the Rules or Meaſures of Power, or the Cuſtoms and Privileges of the Country. This is frequently the Cauſe of publick Diſturbances, and general Diſcontents, which by degrees grow up into Rebellion. And Rebellion is a Riſing of the People againſt their Prince, provok'd by his Tyrannical and unjuſt Oppreſſions, with a deſign to dethrone, and drive him from his Royal Poſt. So that Rebellion differs from Sedition in This, that it no longer acknowledges, or ſubmits to the Prince as a Maſter and Governour; whereas Sedition does

not

not go ſo far; but is diſſatisfy'd with the Adminiſtration, and aims not at changing the Perſon, but his Meaſures, and the Reformation of what it conceives amiſs. Now the Perſons, who thus degenerate into Tyranny, are Men of baſe Diſpoſitions, cruel in their Temper, Lovers and Encouragers of wicked and turbulent People, and Miſchievous Pick-Thank Slaves, Paraſites and Sycophants, and doers of ill Offices. But for Perſons of Honour and Virtue, they have an inward Dread and Averſion. * *The Virtue and good Qualities of deſerving Perſons,* (ſays one) *is formidable to them; Noble Blood, and Power and Intereſt, Honours and Offices of Truſt well diſcharg'd, are lookt upon as Criminal; Worth and Honeſty is their certain Ruine; and a great and good Name is dangerous under ſuch Governours, as a ſcandalous and vile Character.*

But theſe Tyrants are generally puniſh'd to purpoſe, and as they deſerve; for they are hated and deteſted, lookt upon as common Enemies; they live in perpetual Terrors and Apprehenſions of the Revenge they have provok'd; every thing is ſuſpected and dreaded, and they never think themſelves ſafe; their own Conſciences turn their Executioners, and all within is Scourges, and Racks, and Tortures; and at laſt they come to infamous and untimely Deaths; for the World hath ſeldom ſeen a Tyrant live to the fulneſs of Age, or die after the manner of common Men.

The Directions and Remedies proper for this Caſe, are largely inſiſted upon in another place. And the Summ of them may be reduc'd to theſe Two Points. Firſt, To hinder a Tyrant from getting the Power abſolutely into his own Hands, and oppoſe his Government at the firſt; but if this be not done, and he be actually poſſeſt of it, then to bear and ſubmit as well as we can. For, generally ſpeaking, there is nothing got by Oppoſition, † *a Civil War being commonly a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe;* and the Miſeries and Diſorders of it are more intolerable than the Tyranny and Oppreſſion it undertakes to redreſs. For the being reſtiff in ſuch Caſes, does but exaſperate the Cruelty of a Prince, and make that Diſpoſition in him, which was

* Quibus ſemper aliena Virtus formidoloſa; Nobilitas, Opes, geſtique Honores pro crimine habentur; ob Virtutes certiſſimum exitium; & non minus ex magnâ famâ quam malâ.

† Pejus deteriuſque Tyrannide ſive injuſto imperio Bellum civile.

bad before, ten times worſe. * *Nothing* (ſays *Plutarch*) *inflames a Sore, ſo much as Impatience under the Pain of it.* Modeſty, and Submiſſion, and Compliance with hard and rigorous Commands, have ſomething of a ſoftening Quality in them, which uſually rebates the fierceſt and moſt furious Diſpoſitions. For, as *Alexander the Great* obſerv'd very truly, The Gentleneſs and good Temper of a Prince depends not altogether upon his own Humour, but in ſome meaſure upon that of his Subjects too; for They ſometimes by their Sawcineſs and ill Language, by Stubbornneſs and perverſe Behaviour, corrupt and ſour their Governours, and make them quite other Men than Nature had made them. † *Men make Government eaſie, and ſecure themſelves good Treatment by Obedience; and on the other hand, Inſolence and Refractorineſs in Subjects takes off from the Mildneſs and good Nature of a Prince: And this is the Misfortune, that the People had rather be peremptory and Diſobedient at the hazard of their own ruine, than obey quietly, and live ſecurely.*

SECT. XI.

Civil Wars.

THE ſeveral publick Diſorders hitherto treated of, are but crude and imperfect; the Beginnings of Evils, and as it were Matter void of Form. But when Riot, or Faction, or Sedition, or Rebellion is come to its full Maturity and Strength, when it hath all the Perfection it is capable of, and continues any time; then it Commences, and is call'd *Civil War.* For this is nothing elſe, but the taking up of Arms by Subjects, either againſt one another, which is the Caſe of the two Former; or elſe againſt the Prince or Magiſtrate, and then it is one of the two latter. Now there is not in the World a more Calamitous, more ſcandalous Circumſtance. It is not indeed a ſingle, but a complicated Evil, an Ocean of Evils. And a wiſe Author ſays very truly, that it cannot with any propriety of Speech be ſtyl'd a War, but is rather the Sickneſs, the Fever and Phrenzy of the State.

* Nihil tam exaſperat fervorem vulneris quàm ferendi impatientia.

† Obſequio mitigantur imperia; & contrà, Contumacia inferiorum lenitatem imperantis diminuit; Contumaciam cum pernicie, quam obſequium cum ſecuritate malunt.

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The wretched Authors of it, whoever they be, ought to be ſwept away from the Land of the Living, and driven immediately, and without Mercy, from among Men. All manner of Wickedneſs is born and cheriſh'd under it; Impiety and Cruelty reign without controul; all Obligations of Humanity and Friendſhip are diſſolv'd; and the neareſt Ties of Blood and Natural Affection, broken and utterly loſt. Murder, and Confuſion, and Rapine ceaſe to be Vices. * *Men have then licence to be barbarous, and kill with Authority in the Face of the Sun; but Pity and Mercy are practis'd only by ſtealth. No Age, no Quality can give any Man protection; but all Diſtinctions of Perſon and Condition are laid aſide.*

The reeking Sword pours out a Crimſon Flood,
And mingles Noble with Plebeian Blood.

Laws and Order are quite out of Doors, and all Diſcipline utterly aboliſh'd. † *Men fly greedily at all, and are mercenary in Villany; they make no difference between Things Sacred and Common, but all are made a Prey alike.* The mean and vulgar are upon the Level with the beſt and greateſt, and the Peaſant *Hail Fellow* with the Prince.

∴ —— *He was our General*
I'th' German *Wars; Here we are Fellows All.*
Whom Treaſon ſoils, it makes of equal State. May.

Perſons in Authority dare not interpoſe, nor take upon them what is due to their Birth and Condition; for He, who is embarqu'd in the ſame Deſign, muſt not reprove his Companion in Wickedneſs. So dreadful is the Confuſion where even the ∴ *Commanders themſelves are liable to the ſame Condemnation; and every Thing, and every Man driven to and fro*

* Occidere palam, Ignoſcere non niſi fallendo licet. Non Ætas, non Dignitas quenquam protegit.
Nobilitas cum plebe perit, latèque vagatur
Enſis.——
† In omne fas nefaſque avidos, aut venales, non ſacro, non profano abſtinentes.
∴ —— Rheni mihi Cæſar in undis
Dux erat; hic ſocius, Facinus quos inquinat, æquat. *Lucan. l. 5.*
* Obnoxiis Ducibus, & prohibere non auſis. —— Metu ac neceſſitate huc illuc mutantur.

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by Fear and Neceſſity. In a Word, This is Miſery in the very Abſtract. And the very Victory it ſelf is full of Miſery; For ſuppoſing the beſt of the Matter, that Succeſs falls on the ſide of Right and Juſtice, yet this renders the Conqueror inſolent and furious; tranſports him to Barbarity and Rage, tho' otherwiſe of a Temper never ſo Human and Gentle; ſo ſcandalous are the very Triumphs of a Civil War; ſo apt to fleſh even a good Man in Cruelty and Blood; ſo certain to poyſon, nay to extinguiſh the Softneſſes of Human Nature. And if we could imagine the Commanders not to have loſt all the Remains of it, yet it will not be in their Power to reſtrain thoſe under their Care, from their execrable Villanies.

Now there are two Cauſes of Civil Wars, which offer themſelves to our Conſideration. The one is Secret and Myſterious, ſuch as we cannot ſee through, nor come to any diſtinct Underſtanding of, and conſequently not in the power of Man to prevent, or to cure; A certain Fatality; I mean, the Will and Decree of Almighty God, by which he ſees fit to take Vengeance, and inflict this heavieſt of Puniſhments upon the Sins of a Nation; or not only to chaſtiſe, but utterly overturn and exterminate a diſobedient and rebellious People.

* *Things to their Acme come, in courſe of Fate grow leſs;*
And States too big for Foes, themſelves oppreſs.

The Other is ſufficiently viſible to Wiſe Men, as a ſure Prognoſtick of Future Evils, and ſuch, as if Men would give their Minds to, it might eaſily be remedy'd; eſpecially if Thoſe who ſit at the Helm would ſhew themſelves diligent and vigorous in the Application. And this is a general Corruption and Looſneſs of Manners, Remiſſneſs in Diſcipline, and want of executing good and wholſome Laws for the containing all ſorts of People in their reſpective Duties. Hence the Vileſt and Refuſe of the People take Advantage; and Men of deſperate Fortunes, who have no other Game to play, hope to find their Account, by putting all into Confuſion. For, either they raiſe themſelves upon other Men's Ruines, and heal their own Extravagances by fiſhing in troubled Waters; or at leaſt they cover their own private in the

* In ſe magna ruunt, lætis hunc Numina rebus
Creſcendi poſuere modum. —— *Lucan. l.* 1.

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Croud of publick Misfortunes. For, where a Man hath nothing left to loſe, it is ſome Mitigation to his Affliction, that it is general, and he does not fall alone. So the wiſe Hiſtorian Obſerves; * *That the Profuſe and the Turbulent, ſhelter themſelves under a Common Calamity; and there is a kind of Malicious Comfort in the Nature of moſt Men, that makes them better contented to be cruſhed in the Common Ruine, than to periſh alone. For though a Man's own Sufferings be equal in either Caſe; yet they are leſs taken notice of, and cannot be diſtinguiſhed, when he ſuffers in a great deal of Company.*

Now, the Advice fit to be given in this Extremity, is, To make the quickeſt End that ſuch a War is capable of; and for this there can be but two Ways; Treaty and Agreement, or Victory. The former is certainly the better, even though attended with ſome Hardſhip and Inconvenience, and ſhort of thoſe Advantagious Terms we deſire: For when once thoſe tumultuous Proceedings are quieted, Time will do the reſt for us. And a Man will do well ſometimes to ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon, when he is ſo largely paid for his Loſs. As it was ſaid of *Antipater*, † *That it was neceſſary to cheat him into a Peace, to gratifie his Inclination when he was eager to put an end to the War.* Victory is a very dangerous Concluſion, though a Succeſsful one. For there is great reaſon to fear the abuſe of it, and that the gaining ſuch an Advantage may inſpire Inclinations to Tyranny, and Oppreſſion, and put mighty opportunities into a Prince's Hands, of ruling thoſe he hath ſubdued Arbitrarily and by Force, that ſo they may be effectually kept under ever after. But, to make ſure Work, it is neceſſary for a Prince to rid his Hands of the Principal Actors and Inſtigators of theſe Confuſions; and ſuch as he perceives to be Turbulent and Bloody-minded Men; without Regard to which Side they were of; for ſuch Diſpoſitions are always unſafe to be truſted. And This may be done conveniently enough under ſome fair Pretence of employing them in remoter Parts, or ſending them abroad into foreign Service; or elſe by dividing them, and breaking their Correſpondence; or keeping them in play againſt a Common Enemy; and then, for the Prevention of

* Miſcere cuncta & privata vulnera Reipublicæ malis operire. Nam ita ſe res habet, ut publicâ ruinâ quiſque malit quam ſuâ proteri; & idem paſſurus minus conſpici.

† Bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi.

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any Diſcontents for the Time to come, to uſe the Common People well; and grant them all reaſonable Indulgence; paſſing over what is already done by an Act of Oblivion, and miniſtring no juſt Occaſion of Jealouſie, but making his Government as eaſie as poſſible, in the preſervation of their Rights and Privileges for the future.

SECT. XII.

Advice for Private Perſons, how they ſhould behave themſelves in any of the forementioned Diviſions.

YOU have now taken a ſhort View of the ſeveral ſorts of Calamities and Confuſions, to which the State is Obnoxious, and heard the Directions proper for each of them, ſo far as the Prince himſelf is concerned; it remains now in the laſt Place, to conſider what Deportment will be proper and prudent for Perſons in a private Capacity, when any of theſe Troubles and Difficulties ſhall happen. Now this cannot be diſpatched under any one general Topick; becauſe there are Two Scruples concerning it to be reſolved; The One, whether it be lawful and fit for an honeſt and good Man, to fall in, and take the Part of ſome ſide or other in theſe Diviſions; or whether he ſhould rather keep himſelf quiet and ſit ſtill. The Other, what ſort of Behaviour is adviſable in either Caſe, that is, whether he do, or do not intereſs himſelf in the Quarrel.

As to the former of theſe Two Queſtions; It is propounded for the Satisfaction of ſuch, as are Looſe and at their own Diſpoſal, without any Engagements upon them, which ſhould determine them to either Party. For if they are already under any Obligations, This firſt Query does not in any Degree concern them; They are got beyond it already, and all the Doubts for Them to entertain, muſt receive Satisfaction from the Second Queſtion. I inſert this Caution by the way, becauſe it frequently falls out, that a Man is ſtaked down, as it were, to one party, almoſt whether he will or no. For, though he may not make it any part of his Choice and Deſign, nay, though, in his own Private Judgment, he cannot but diſapprove it; yet in deſpight of Intention, Inclination, and Good Senſe, he may find himſelf involved and intangled, by ſome Conſiderations ſo Powerful, that he cannot with any Decency break through

through them: And these being such Bands, as Nature hath ty'd him up in, or such as Counterbalance all Motives to the contrary, will at least carry a sufficient Excuse, for his doing as he does. Now, this first Question hath several Arguments *pro* and *con*; and abundance of eminent Instances might be produced, of Persons who have behaved themselves directly contrary to each other with regard to it. So that differing Judgments and Authorities, as well as different Reasons, minister just ground of Scruple in the Case. The Resolutions, which seem to me most convenient to be come to, according to the different Circumstances of the Persons concern'd in this Debate, are such as follow.

On the one Hand, Nothing seems more agreeable to the Character of a Wise and a Good Man, than to have nothing at all to do with the Follies and Factions of the World; and therefore such a one cannot do better than to stand by, and let them try it out by themselves. Especially too, if we consider, what Account hath already been given of these Divisions, how irregular and unlawful they are in their own Nature and first Causes; what Wickedness, Barbarity, and Injustice of all sorts they engage Men in. That these are inseparable Attendants of such practices, and it is not possible to have any hand in them, and continue Innocent; I say, If all these Considerations be fairly laid together, it scarce looks any longer like a Matter of free Choice, what a Man may, or may not do; but seems rather a Point of Duty, than of bare Allowance and Permission, absolutely to decline any Concern in them. And accordingly it appears that several excellent Persons have had so great an abhorrence of these Things, and such a Sense of the Personal Obligations they violate, that no Considerations could prevail with them to come in; particularly *Asinius Pollio*, who, the Historian tells us, excused himself for these very Reasons to *Agustus*, when he entreated his Company and Assistance in the Expedition against *Mark Anthony*. Velleius, *lib.* 3.

But then on the other Hand, What shall we say to those Reasons, which enforce our Obligation, to take part with good Men, to protect and strengthen such, as much as in us lies, and to defend Equity and Right, against all that oppose, and encroach upon it? The Great *Solon* was so strongly possess'd in Favour of these Engagements, that he is for inflicting very severe Punishments, upon Them that affect Ease and Obscurity, and refuse to appear and act openly in such Exigencies of State. And that rigid Professor of Virtue, *Cato* go-

govern'd himſelf by this Rule; for he did not only declare, and come into One Party in the Civil Wars of *Rome*, but took a Command among the Malecontents under *Pompey*.

Now, if we would know, what Meaſures are fit to be taken, where Judgments are ſo divided, and Reaſons probable and plauſible enough for each to alledge in his own Juſtification; my poor Opinion is This: For Perſons of Eminence and Character in the World; ſuch as are in publick Truſt, or great Reputation, or extraordinary Abilities, and are known to be leading and ſignificant Men in the State, Theſe I conceive not only may fall into that Side, which they in their Conſcience think the beſt; but, ſo far as I am able to diſcern, they are bound to do it: For he is a very ill Pilot, that ſteers the Ship in calm and favourable Weather, and runs away from the Helm, when it grows Foul and Stormy: What ſhall become of the Veſſel, if the beſt Hands let her drive, when there is the greateſt Need of Working her, and keeping her tight? Theſe Gentlemen ought, in Extremities eſpecially, to ſtand in the Gap, and act like Men of Honour; the Care of the Government is upon them, and its Safety or Ruine lyes at the Door. But then, for Perſons in a private Capacity, ſuch as make none at all, or but very inconſiderable Figure in the Government, Theſe are more at their own Liberty. For as their Condition ſuppoſes all the Aſſiſtance they can contribute, to be of no mighty conſequence, ſo the with-holding that Aſſiſtance can do no great Damage: And therefore they may be allowed to retire into ſome Place of Security, and ſeek their own Eaſe and Quiet, at a Diſtance, from the Noiſe and Clutter of the contending Parties. But then both theſe kind of Men, thoſe that do, and thoſe that do not declare, lie under an Obligation to demean themſelves, in ſuch manner as I am going to preſcribe. In the mean while I add thus much only upon the preſent Subject, concerning thoſe who are diſpoſed to come in and act: That in the chooſing what Party they ſhould ſide with, ſometimes the Caſe is ſo plain, that it is almoſt impoſſible they can be miſtaken. For where the Injuſtice of the Cauſe, and other Diſadvantages are ſo evident, that they look one full in the Face, and forbid him; no Man of common Senſe will go in thither. But it often happens, that there are Reaſons on both Sides; Each pretends Right and Juſtice; and each hath Advantages to invite us; and then the Difficulty of coming to a Reſolution is very great; becauſe a Man muſt not only weigh the

the Arguments on both Sides, and ſettle the Point of Right and Wrong firſt; but he hath ſeveral other Conſiderations to attend to, ſuch as may and ought to carry ſome Weight with them, though they have not immediately reſpect to the Juſtice of the Cauſe.

And now it may be Seaſonable to proceed to the other Part of this Advice; which relates to the Behaviour of the Perſons under theſe ſeveral Capacities. To all which, I might ſatisfie my ſelf with preſcribing in one Word, Moderation and Temper; that they would particularly take *Atticus* for their Pattern, whoſe Name hath been ſo much celebrated for his Prudence and Modeſty in the midſt of that boiſterous Age, in which he lived; One, who was always believed in his Judgment to favour the right Side, and reſpected by all good Men for doing ſo; but yet one, who behaved himſelf ſo Prudently and Inoffenſively, that he never involved himſelf in the Common Confuſions, nor drew down the Diſpleaſure of ill Men, or any Inconvenience from that Party, who were ſenſible enough, he did not approve their Proceedings.

But, to be a little more particular; and firſt, for Them who openly declare themſelves; It is certain, that Theſe ought by no Means to be violent, or betray indecent Heats and Paſſions in their Converſation; but carry themſelves Modeſtly and Decently, and reſerve their Warmth for times of Action, or 'till ſome very juſt Occaſion happens to call for it. They ſhould not be Pert, nor Forward, nor Officiouſly thruſt themſelves upon Buſineſs, till they are required, and in ſome meaſure importuned; nay, compelled to it: For in ſuch Circumſtances no Man can be active without Odium; and therefore it is ſufficient that we obey our Call, and follow Duty, without being ſo eager, as to run before it, and ſtart of our own accord. But when we are called, and muſt act, then we ſhould take Care to render the Execution of our Duty as little invidious as may be; to do all with ſuch Temper and Tenderneſs, that the Storm may fly over our Heads, and no angry Reſentments, or infamous Reflections remain behind; never inflaming, or in any Degree encouraging, much leſs allowing our ſelves in the Commiſſion of thoſe abominable Outrages and Inſolences, uſual upon ſuch Occaſions; but employing our utmoſt endeavour to mollifie and ſweeten Men; to divert them from Injurious and Diſorderly Methods; and by all imaginable Arts trying to elude and break all Deſigns of this Nature. Thoſe

Thoſe who have not declared themſelves openly by actually engaging in any Party (whoſe Circumſtances with regard to the Eaſineſs and Tranquility of them are without doubt much to be preferred before the former,) Thoſe, I ſay, who have given the World no viſible and authentick Teſtimony of their Affections to one or other Party, (though at the ſame time they may in their Own Breaſts be much more inclined, and wiſh better to the one than the other;) ought not to continue in a State of abſolute Neutrality. My Meaning is, that they ſhould not expreſs a perfect Indifference how Matters go, and have no Solliciſtude beyond their own private Affairs; for This is to ſit like Spectators at a Play-Houſe, and entertain themſelves with the Tragical Misfortunes of other People; which is a Coldneſs highly Criminal, where the Peace and Welfare of our Country lie at Stake. Such regardleſs Men as theſe, are juſtly deteſted by all Sides; and if their own Perſonal Safety be what they aim at, the Imagination is very vain; for no ſort of People run a greater Riſque, nor are worſe treated than They. We ſee what was the Fate of *Thebes* in the War with *Xerxes*, and of the Inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead*, in the time of the *Iſraelitiſh* Judges. *Livy* hath obſerved very juſtly to this Purpoſe, that * *Neutrality never makes one Friend the more, nor one Enemy the leſs.* It is indeed neither juſt nor becoming, and can never look well, or be ſo, except with Allowance of the Parties concerned. We ſee therefore what different Meaſures the Two great *Roman* Generals took in this Reſpect. *Cæſar* declared that he took it for granted, all that ſtood Neuter, were His Friends; *Pompey* declared he looked upon all ſuch as His Enemies. In a Stranger indeed this is very allowable; for he is under no Obligation to meddle in the Concerns of a Country that is none of his own; and ſo it is likewiſe in Perſons, whoſe Eminent Character and Quality may make it beneath them to become Parties, in ſuch Differences, which they ought rather to be adreſſed to us Umpires, and Mediators to determine.

Judg. 21. 8.

Nor may Men; much leſs indeed may they ſhew themſelves fickle and inconſtant; ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; changing their Shape like *Proteus*, and in the worſt Senſe of the Words, becoming *All things to all Men.* Theſe are Mungrels, and as ſuch an odious and

* Neutralitas nec Amicos parit, nec Inimicos tollit.

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deſpicable Breed; worſe than the former, who continue in a State of Neutrality; and more offenſive to All, while they make it their Buſineſs, to pleaſe and be more agreeable to All. For every man ought to act upon Principles, and to ſtick to ſomething.

But, though Men ought to incline to one ſide in their Wiſhes and Affections, becauſe Wiſhes and Affections are entirely our own; yet in their Actions and Deportment the Caſe is otherwiſe; theſe are what others have ſome Right and Intereſt in; and therefore, ſo far as relates to Converſation, theſe ought to be extended to all Parties in Common. There is a Title antecedent to all theſe accidental Differences and Diviſions, which they cannot diſannul; and therefore we are bound to be offenſive, injurious, rude and unconverſable to none; but to do Offices of Kindneſs, and Courteſie, and common Humanity to every Body, notwithſtanding any Contrariety of Intereſts and Opinions. And thus far at leaſt all ſhould agree, to lament, and, as much as in them lies, to heal the publick Breaches and Misfortunes. Such Perſons ſecure themſelves from all the Inconveniences mentioned before; they create no new Enemies, and they loſe none of their old Friends. Theſe are Perſons of a Temper fit to be employed as Mediators, and the moſt likely of any to ſucceed in bringing Matters to a fair and amicable Compoſition; which Thoſe who endeavour, do yet better, and are more ſerviceable, than They who content themſelves with Expreſſions of Courteſie and common Friendſhip, to Men of all Parties indifferently. So then; It appears upon the whole Matter, that there may be Four ſorts of Perſons, who are not actually engag'd in any Party; Two of which are Blameable, and theſe are the Neuters or Indifferent, and the Veering or Unſteady; the other Two are uſeful and commendable; and Theſe are the Converſable or Courteous to All without Diſtinction; and the Mediators in Order to Agreement; But ſtill in each of theſe Kinds, One exceeds the other; the Inconſtant Man exceeds in Blame above the Neuter; and the Mediator in Merit and Commendation above the Common Friend. Of thoſe that declare and act openly, there are likewiſe Two ſorts, with the ſame Differences, the Eager and Violent, and the Moderate and Well-Temper'd.

SECT. XIII.

Of Private Differences and Diſorders.

IT may very reaſonably be expected, that I ſhould not diſmiſs this Head of Prudence, without ſpeaking to one very frequent Difficulty more; which is, How Men ought to behave themſelves in the Quarrels or Miſunderſtandings of private Perſons, and particular Families. And here One is to conſider both what is moſt convenient for his own Affairs, and what can in reaſon be expected from him. If the Perſons thus at Enmity be ſuch as have no indiſpenſable Tie upon him, he may very fairly keep in with them both; and tho' perhaps he cannot love, or approve of both alike, yet he may, and will do well, to be obliging and kind to both, and give juſt Offence to neither. It is great Imprudence in theſe Caſes, to engage ſo far with One Side, that they ſhall expect to have us entirely to themſelves, and think us bound in Honour and Friendſhip, to eſpouſe all their Intereſts, and make all their Reſentments our own: And therefore the better way will be to keep upon the Reſerve; to be content with a moderate Share of their Favour and good Graces. To ſay nothing in their Company tending to the Matter in controverſie; but to talk altogether of indifferent Things; or at leaſt ſuch as we perſonally know to be true, or are otherwiſe very well aſſur'd of: If we touch upon the Diſpute, to ſay what may be for the Service of both, and may tend to their reconciliation, and better Underſtanding. But by no means ſubmitting to that vile practice of reporting idle Stories, or groundleſs Surmiſes; or aggravating things that have ſome Foundation; or currying Favour by diſcommending or railing at the Adverſary of Him with whom we converſe. For Matters here ought to be carry'd with ſuch an even Hand, that nothing ſhould paſs in Company with the one, which we would not ſpeak, if the other were by; nay, that nothing ſhould be ſaid to the one, which we would not ſay to the other in his Turn too; allowing only for ſome little Alterations in the Forms and Manner of our Addreſs; which the different Circumſtances of the Perſons, or the Relation or Authority we pretend to with them, or ſome other accidental Conſideration, foreign to the Subject of the Quarrel it ſelf, may render ſeaſonable, and ſeem to require from us.

CHAP.

Juſtice, *the Second Cardinal Virtue.*

CHAP. V.

Of Juſtice in General.

JUSTICE conſiſts in rendring to every one whatſoever of Right belongs to him; paying firſt to himſelf his Own Duty, and then to others Theirs. And, according to this Definition, it comprehends all manner of Duties and Offices, which each particular Perſon can be any way oblig'd to. Now theſe, as I hinted before, are of Two ſorts, according to the Objects of them, which are Two: The Firſt terminate in a Man's own Perſon; the Second in other People: All which in their utmoſt Latitude fall within the compaſs of that moſt extenſive Command, which hath expreſs'd the Subſtance and Summ of all Juſtice, in thoſe very few, but ſignificant Words, *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf.* For here it is very obſervable, that the Duty to others is put in the Second place; that the Love and Duty we owe to our ſelves is laid as the Ground-work upon which that to our Neighbour is ſuperſtructed, and the Model by which it is to be proportion'd. For, as the old *Hebrews*, and not They only, but all the World uſe to ſay, *Charity begins at home.* 1. *What it is.*

The Beginning then, and Foundation of all Juſtice, is to be ſought for within our ſelves; and the moſt Ancient and Fundamental Right of all others, is that Dominion, which Reaſon hath over the Senſual part of us. A Man muſt be able to command and govern himſelf, before he can be qualify'd to exerciſe this Authority, in demanding Subjection from others. And this Government of one's Self conſiſts in reſerving to Reaſon the Power of bearing Sway, and keeping the Appetites under; reducing and reſtraining them to their juſt Meaſures and Degrees, and bowing their ſtubborn Necks, till they become flexible, and obedient to Diſcipline. The preſerving our Souls in this Order and Poſture, is what we may call, *Primitive*, *Original*, and *Internal Juſtice*, 2. *Primitive and Original Juſtice.*

ſtice, the moſt genuine, the brighteſt, and infinitely moſt beautiful, of any thing that goes by that Name. This Sovereignty and Dominion of the Rational, over that ſenſual and brutiſh part of the Soul, which is the Source of all our Paſſions, and by Them of all our Troubles and Diſorders, hath been by ſome Authors not unfitly reſembl'd to a Rider managing his Horſe; keeping himſelf firm in the Saddle, and the Rein conſtantly in his Hand; by which he rules and turns the Beaſt under him at pleaſure.

3. *Diſtinguiſhed.* To give an exact and nice Account of that Juſtice, which goes abroad, and is exercis'd in our Dealings with other People, it is neceſſary to obſerve firſt of all, that there are two ſorts of it. The One Natural, Univerſal, Generous, and Brave, Rational and Philoſophical; the Other in a great degree Artificial, Particular, Poſitive, and Political; contrived and cramp'd up, according as the Exigencies of particular Countries and Conſtitutions would allow it a larger, or have confin'd it to a narrower Compaſs. The Former of theſe is much the more regular and uniform, more firm and inflexible, clearer and fairer of the Two: But alas! it is antiquated and obſolete, capable of doing very little Service to the World, as it now ſtands. This occaſion'd that Complaint, * *That the Subſtance and expreſs Image of true Right and Juſtice was long ſince fled and gone; and all we live by now, is only ſome faint Shadows, and imperfect Copies of that Original Repreſentation, taken from the Life it ſelf.* Theſe are like the firſt Sketches of a Night-piece; but they are ſuch as Mankind muſt be contented with, ſince, tho' the Darkneſs of their Condition need a ſtronger Light, yet their preſent Infirmities cannot bear any thing ſo exquiſitely bright. This is what they ſay of *Polycletus*'s Rule, Inflexible, Unalterable. The other is more ſlack, and limber, and pliable; it comes to, and accommodates it ſelf to the Neceſſities and the Weakneſſes of Mankind, nay of the generality; and That to be ſure is the worſt and moſt ignorant part. This is a Leaden and a *Lesbian* Rule, a Noſe of Wax, that bends into any Form, and may be wrought into any Figure; and indeed is bow'd and chang'd perpetually, according to the different Exigencies and Circumſtances of Time, and Place, and Perſon; the Poſture of Affairs, and the variety of Accidents. This in caſe of neceſſity and convenience diſpenſes

* Veri Juris germanæque Juſtitiæ ſolidam & expreſſam effigiem nullam tenemus; umbris & imaginibus utimur.

with

with, allows, nay approves of ſeveral things, which the other will not ſo much as connive at, but muſt abſolutely condemn, and cannot admit upon any Conſideration whatſoever. This eſtabliſhes ſome Vices, and gives them not only the Countenance, but ſometimes the Sanction of a Law; and rejects ſeveral Actions in themſelves Innocent and Good, as unlawful and not to be practis'd. Natural Juſtice looks only at the Reaſon, the Equity, the Virtue, the Decency and Fitneſs of the thing: But Poſitive and Political Juſtice proceeds upon other ſort of Conſiderations; it hath a great, I might almoſt ſay, principal Regard, to the Advantage, the Convenience; at leaſt its main Aim and Buſineſs is to reconcile theſe two, and make Profit and Probity go Hand in Hand, and ſo mutually promote and aſſiſt each other. Since therefore This is the only kind, which the World is manag'd by, and the Deſign of the preſent Treatiſe is to reform Men's Manners, and to better them in ſuch Points as are practicable, we will confine our ſelves wholly to this latter ſort. For it muſt needs be to very little purpoſe to inſiſt upon the Former; of which there is nothing now but the *Idea* and bare Speculation left.

4. *Of Juſtice as now in uſe.*

Now this Juſtice at preſent in common uſe, and that which is eſteem'd the Judge and Standard of Human Actions, is firſt of all Twofold, with regard to the Rules and Meaſures of it. The One is what we call Legal Juſtice, becauſe it is bound up by the Terms and Letter of the Law; and this is that Rule which Magiſtrates and Judges are obliged to determine, and proceed by. If any Injury be, as there often is great Injury done or ſuffer'd by ſuch Deciſions, They who paſs the Sentence are in no degree accountable for it; becauſe their Buſineſs is not to make the Law, but to be govern'd by, and act according to the Law; and ſo there is no help, but they muſt take it, as it lies before them. The Other is term'd *Equitable Juſtice*; and this hath a larger Range allow'd it; it is not fetter'd up to Words and Syllables, but hath a Liberty left to conſider the preſent Exigency, the Circumſtances of the Perſon, the Hardſhips of his Caſe; and ſo can adminiſter Relief, and determine the Point in Diſpute, in a Latitude, not only beyond, but ſometimes even above and contrary to the Letter of the Law. Or indeed, to ſpeak more properly, This Equity over-rules and manages the Law to the beſt Advantage, and directs it ſo, as to anſwer its proper End, by making the Execution of the Law agreeable to the Intention, and

the Reasons of Enacting of it. Upon this account it is, that a Wise Man said very truly, That Laws and Justice were not sufficient of themselves, unless they fell into good Hands, and were justly and skilfully manag'd; that is, unless their Sentence proceed upon equitable Considerations. And this larger and freer way of Proceeding is the peculiar Province of the Supreme Judge; the Prince in Person, or those, who in the Construction and Practice of the Law, are commission'd by him for this purpose, and so equivalent in all they do to his own doing it. For his Authority is present, tho' his Person be not; and this is the more effectual, more powerful Presence of the Two.

Again, if we descend to consider this Justice more particularly, there will another Division offer it self to us, with regard to the different Methods of Proceeding. One of which is call'd *Commutative Justice*, because it consists in buying and selling, bargaining, and all manner of Commerce; for the several kinds of This are reduc'd to that one general Practice, of trucking and bartering one thing for another. And this is the Justice in exercise among private Men; the Rule whereof is Arithmetical Proportions; for our Care is to make what we give and what we receive in exchange, of equal value. The other is *Distributive Justice*; and this is administred by the Publick, in Rewards and Punishments: The Rule whereof is Geometrical Proportion; wherein an exact and nice Equivalent is not aim'd at, nor just the Merit and Quality of the Fact, and nothing else attended to; but several other Considerations taken in: And the last Result of the whole Debate is this, What, upon a fair Computation of all Circumstances put together, is reasonable and fitting for the One to give, or to award; and for the Other to receive, or to suffer.

5. *No such thing as strict and true Justice in the World.*

Now this Justice at present in common use, when it comes to be closely and critically examin'd, will be found to be no such thing, as strict and perfect Justice. For the Truth is, as I said before, Human Nature is not capable of such a thing; it is too refin'd for our gross Condition, and we cannot bear this, or any other thing in its abstracted Excellence or Purity. In all practicable Justice there is a Mixture of Injustice, Favour, and Rigour; Too much and too little; these, like the Allay in our Coin, are properly call'd the *Remedy*; for such indeed they are to the corrupt and degenerate State of Mankind. There is no such thing as pure and true Standard current among us; that exact Mediocrity, which

which we can only form, and truly now can scarce form in our Imaginations. Hence proceed those Maxims of the Ancients, That he who designs to do Justice in the Gross, will find himself under an unavoidable Necessity to be unjust in the Retail; for no general Rule can be constantly observ'd, but some particular Persons and Cases will find themselves aggriev'd by it. And He, that will be just in great and important Occasions, must sometimes be unjust in those of less Consequence. These are Difficulties so well known, so generally felt and confest, that in Matters of Commerce and *Commutative Justice*, some Lawgivers heretofore were forc'd, in order to the bringing the Business of Trade under some Rule, and restraining the Exorbitancies of it somewhere, to give leave for Men to cheat to some certain Degree, (as for instance, Not to exceed half of what the Commodity was really worth,) without being liable to the Law. And this they were forc'd to connive at, because they cou'd fix it no better. Again, In the Case of *Distributive Justice*, How many innocent Persons are clapp'd up? How many guilty acquitted and releas'd? And all this without any Corruption or Fault of the Judges? And to how much greater a Summ would this Account swell, if to unjust Condemnations and Acquittals, we should add the Excesses and Defects in Punishments, how much more or less hath been awarded, than the Sufferer really deserved? For This is almost the constant daily Failure, even where Justice is administred with the cleanest Hands, and most unblemish'd Integrity of Heart. Justice indeed perplexes and hinders it self; and the greatest and most acute Understanding cannot penetrate into the bottom of Things. To see, and make Provision against all Inconveniences, requires Abilities and Providence more than Human.

But, that we may not be thought to complain without cause, and shelter our selves in Generals, I will now give an Instance, and that a very considerable one, wherein *Distributive Justice* seems to me to fall exceeding short: And that is, In inflicting Punishments when Men do amiss, but not providing any Rewards to distinguish those that do well; and that too, notwithstanding the dispensing of these two, are the two great Branches, and, as it were, the two Hands of Justice; and yet, as This is commonly exercis'd in Courts of Judicature, Justice is maim'd, and cripled, and inclines altogether to the punishing side. The greatest Favour we can hope to receive from this lame Goddess, is Indemni-

ty, and a Manifeſtation of our own Innocence: And this alaſs! is Short Commons; a poor Allowance for thoſe to ſubſiſt upon, who have ſignaliz'd themſelves by eminent and difficult Virtues. But This, as bad as it is, is not the worſt of the Matter; for I will put you another Caſe that happens every Day. You ſhall be inform'd againſt, impriſon'd, indicted wrongfully, and under theſe Calumnies ſuffer exceedingly, in your Perſon, your Purſe, your Reputation; you are brought to Tryal, and acquitted; This you will ſay makes ſome, tho' but ſome Amends neither, to your Credit: Your Innocence is proclaim'd to all the World: And what now is the Fruit of all this Suffering and Expence? Why you eſcape the Severity of the Law: A goodly Satisfaction indeed! a Man is not puniſh'd that never deſerv'd it. But where is the Reparation for all the Trouble and Charge you have been at? for This will ſtick by you, and can never be wip'd off, tho' the Suſpicion, and Scandal, and all the Dirt that a falſe Accuſer beſpatter'd you with, may. The Plantiff or Informer in the mean while, if he can but bring the leaſt Colour of probability for what he depos'd againſt you, comes off clear; and a very eaſie thing it is, to make any thing look ſo ſuſpicious, as ſhall ſuffice to prevent the recovering of Damages upon him: So very niggardly, ſo ſhamefully miſerable is Juſtice in the Matter of Rewards, and gratifying Men for having deſerv'd well; and ſo entirely addicted to Puniſhment. Inſomuch, that now the Word is brought to ſignifie That by way of Eminence, and doing Juſtice, or being obnoxious to Juſtice, is conſtantly underſtood in the rigorous Senſe, as if Juſtice had nothing elſe to do, but to ſcourge, and take Men off. And any Man, whoſe Diſpoſition is litigious, and his Malice and Conſcience wicked enough to put him upon it, may very eaſily give his Neighbours a great deal of Trouble and Charge; and without any danger to himſelf, run them into ſuch Difficulties, as will not be poſſible to get quit of again, without conſiderable Detriment and Diſquiet.

Now if we would conſider Juſtice, as to the ſeveral parts of our Duty, and the Objects in which they terminate; theſe are principally Three. For every Man is, by virtue of his Nature and Condition, a Debtor to God, to Himſelf, and to his Neighbour: So that One of his Creditors is above him; Another is upon the level with him; and the Third is Creditor and Debtor both in one Perſon. The Duty to God

God is but another Phraſe for Piety and Religion; ſo that this Head of Juſtice hath been largely inſiſted upon already, in the Second Part of this Treatiſe. And therefore, without troubling the Reader any more upon that Subject, I ſhall betake my ſelf to the other Two yet behind; the Duty to our Selves, and That to our Neighbour.

CHAP. VI.

Of Juſtice, as That regards a Man's Duty to Himſelf.

THis indeed is ſcatter'd throughout this whole Work, and every Chapter is full of it. For what elſe is the Deſign of the Firſt Book, which attempts to bring Men throughly acquainted with Themſelves, and the Condition of Human Life? What elſe does the Second drive at in teaching Men Wiſdom, and laying down general Rules for their attaining to it? What, Laſtly, makes up this Third Book, but eſpecially that part of it which treats of Fortitude and Temperance, which are both of them Virtues, that have a more direct tendency, and immediate Relation to this Matter? So that any thing induſtriouſly apply'd to this Topick in particular, might perhaps be well enough ſpar'd. But however, I will here lay down ſome Directions, and give the Matter an expreſs and ſolemn Conſideration, in the moſt compendious Method that conveniently I can.

1. The Firſt Advice I ſhall give upon this Occaſion, and that which in truth is the Foundation of all the reſt, is, That Men would bethink themſelves, and take up a Reſolution not to live *Extempore*, and at Random, from Hand to Mouth, and without any Reflection of what they are, what will become of them, and why they are here; and yet, as extravagant as all this may ſeem at firſt hearing, the greateſt part of Mankind by far are guilty of it. They fool away their Time, and never live in good earneſt; but paſs Day after Day, without one ſerious Thought, or troubling themſelves to look at all before them. They have no Reliſh, no Enjoyment of Life; nor make any other uſe of it, but only to employ it in unneceſſary Trifles, and Things by the by. Their mighty Projects, and buſie Cares are rather a Hindrance and Perplexity, than any Furtherance to the great Ends of Living: Such Men do every thing

thing in earneſt, but live. All their Actions, and the little broken Parcels of Life, are grave and full of Attention; but the Bulk and Subſtance of Life goes off without any Regard or Conſideration at all. This is like a Self-evident Principle, or a Truth taken for granted in Speculation; upon which they never beſtow a Second Thought. That which is Accidental and Inſignificant is made their principal Care; and that which ought to be their main Buſineſs, neglected, as if it were only an Additional and Unneceſſary thing. They are exceeding diligent, and importunately ſollicitous in other Matters; ſome in acquiring a vaſt compaſs of Learning; ſome in aſpiring to Honours and Preferments; ſome in heaping up Riches: Others are intent upon Pleaſures and Diverſions; Hunting, or Play, or vain Contrivances to paſs away their Time, as if This were a Burden, and hung upon their Hands: Others are taken up in uſeleſs Speculations, fanciful Notions, pretty Inventions: Others ſet up for Men of Buſineſs, and ſpend all their Days in Hurry and Noiſe: Others purſue Deſigns different from all theſe: But amidſt this vaſt Variety of Follies, few or none apply themſelves to the true Wiſdom, by ſtudying how to live indeed. They are Thoughtful and Anxious, entirely given up to, and eager of many Matters; but Life ſlips through their Fingers inſenſibly, and is turn'd to no Account. This is only in the Nature of a Term; a ſet Period of Time appointed to follow other Buſineſs in. Now all this is extremely injurious and unreaſonable; the Source of our greateſt Miſery; the falſeſt and baſeſt way of betraying our ſelves, and abandoning our true Intereſt: It is perfectly loſing and throwing away our Life, and the moſt perfidious, as well as the moſt fatal Breach of Duty we can poſſibly be guilty of. For certainly every Man owes thus much to Himſelf, Not to trifle, and be wanting in his greateſt Concern; To make Life as eaſie, as cheerful, as deſirable, as good to himſelf as he can; which is to be done no other way, but by making the moſt of it in point of Uſefulneſs, and good Management. For Living well and adviſedly is the only Expedient in order to dying ſo; and This is the great Task incumbent upon all Mortals. We ought to look upon Life as a Matter of the laſt Conſequence; a precious Talent; an important Truſt, of which we muſt render a ſtrict and very particular Account; and therefore are bound to husband it thriftily, and improve it to the utmoſt of our Power; that we may be found faithful in our Stewardſhip,

and

and gain by the Increase. This is our Great Concern; All the rest are Toys and Geugaws in comparison; inconsiderable, and very superficial Advantages. I cannot deny indeed, but some there are, who bestow some Thought of this kind, and pretend to set about it with marvellous Application: But then this Thoughtfulness comes too late, and they begin to live when they are just going to die. Like foolish Chapmen, who put off their Bargains till the Shops are shut, and then complain of an ill Market. What, say they, shall I never get an Opportunity of retreating from the World, and living to some Purpose? Alas! * *How unseasonable is it to begin to live, when we can live no longer! What strange Infatuation makes us thus forget, that we are Mortal! While we put off to a farther Day, and intend to take up hereafter; that very Life which should have been employ'd, is lost and gone.* So good reason had all the Wise Men of Old to call upon us so often and so loudly, to make the best of our Time, and lose no Opportunities; so just is That Warning, That of all the Necessaries of Life, Time is the greatest, the most indispensable; what they who want, and are prodigal of, undo themselves to all Intents and Purposes. The shortness of Life, and the length of Art, is not more properly apply'd to the Study of Physick, and the Art of Healing, than it is to the Art of Living. For this is an Art too, and such as cannot be master'd without long Study, and great Application of Mind. This is the true, the only Wisdom; and therefore this present Direction is the first and most concerning; those that follow are but so many Deductions from, and Helps to it.

2. The Next is, That we would learn to dwell alone; to be easie when by our selves; and, if Occasion so require, well content to be deprived of the Company, and Comfort of all the World. It is an extraordinary Attainment, to know how to enjoy one's self; and a Virtue as well as Advantage to take Satisfaction and perfect Content in that Enjoyment. Let us therefore set about it in good Earnest, and never rest 'till we have gain'd this Point upon our selves; The conquering all our Fondnesses, and uneasie Hankerings after the Conversation of others, and the taking Delight in conversing with our own Souls; That so our Contentment may depend upon our selves alone, and not upon

* Quam serum est incipere vivere, cum desinendum est! quam stulta mortalitatis oblivio! Dum differtur vita transcurrit.

other

other People, nor upon any thing without us. But, though we should not seek Conversation as our Happiness, and what we cannot want; yet must not this Self-satisfaction degenerate into a cynical Moroseness, or a proud affected Solicitude. It is a Fault to refuse, or to disdain the Company of our Friends; This is what we ought not only to accept, but to be glad of, and good Humoured in; allowing and practising all those Diversions, which pleasant Discourse, and innocent Mirth are able to give us. My Meaning is only to keep Men from being Slaves to those Diversions, and unable to relish any Pleasure without them; and such are a great part of the World, almost quite lost, and sadly to seek, what to do with themselves, when they are alone. Now every Man ought to be sufficiently provided at Home for his own Entertainment; and he is very poorly supplied, who cannot subsist upon his private Stock for one Day at least. But the Man, who hath brought himself to do so every Day, and needs be beholding to no body for his Sustenance and Satisfaction of this kind, is sure to be always Happy, always pleas'd. 'Tis true; In the midst of all this, he ought to be Civil and Complaisant; to put on an Air of Gaiety, or Business, comply with the Company, and do as they do; submit to the Necessity of Affairs, and follow when that calls; in a Word, it will be his Prudence to accommodate his Temper and Behaviour to any Thing that may happen; but howsoever those Considerations may alter his outward Appearance, and oblige him to make different Figures in the Eye of the World; to put on all Humours, and shift his Manner, as oft as the Scene changes; yet still at Home, and within himself he must be always the same. This is the Effect of Meditation, and serious Thought, which is indeed the Food, the Life, the Essence of the Soul. And it is a remarkable Instance, how kind Nature hath been to us, that what we thus live upon, is the most frequent, the most lasting, the most easie and natural Employment of our Souls; for Thought is always with us, and most truly our own.

But, though all Men's Minds are employed, yet is not the Employment easie to all alike; nor the Matter they are employed upon, the same. In some, this Entertainment of themselves is mere Impotence and Childishness; the Dosings of Idleness and Sloth, the want of Business, and merely the Effect of having nothing else to do: But Great Souls make it their Choice, they court and covet the Opportunities

ties for it, look upon it as their main Buſineſs, and moſt improving Study. And therefore they ply it cloſe with their utmoſt Application, and Intenſeneſs of Thought; their Faculties are all at Work, and, as was ſaid of *Scipio*, they are never leſs alone, than when they are by themſelves; never more full of Buſineſs than when retreated from the World, and ſequeſtred from all that Men commonly call ſuch. This, ſo far as Humane Nature can aſpire to the Reſemblance of ſo bright an Excellence, is to imitate Almighty God; for He lives, and feeds upon the Eternal Reflections of his own Mind; And *Ariſtotle* gueſſed right, when he laid down this conſtant Employment, as the Foundation of the Happineſs, both of the Divine and Humane Nature. For Self-ſufficiency, and Self-ſatisfaction, are but other Words for Happineſs; and Theſe are never to be had, never to be taſted, but by learning to employ, and to entertain our ſelves well with our own Thoughts.

3. But then in order hereunto great regard muſt be had to the Choice of fit Subjects for the Mind to dwell upon. For ſome People make ſo very ill Uſe of this ſolitary Retreat into themſelves, that they are their own worſt Tempters, and Company is their beſt Preſervation. To the Intent therefore, that this Meditation may be an Employment indeed, and this Entertainment delightful; like His whoſe Image our Souls are, we muſt take Care not to trifle away our Time in vain Thoughts, and much more ſtill, not to miſpend it in Vice. The Firſt is ſure to do us no manner of Good, the Second a great deal of Harm. Some grave ſevere Study, ſome uſeful profound Knowledge, ſome Contrivance how to improve and exalt our Minds, and make our ſelves better Men, ſhould be our great Employment and Concern. God hath given us Reaſon and Comprehenſion; and a large Poſſeſſion, a Rich Soil it is; but the manuring, and cultivating, and making it fruitful is our Duty; the principal Task incumbent upon every Man; what the Laws of Nature and Religion have covenanted for; and what each of us muſt expect to give an Account of. It highly concerns us therefore to be ſerious and vigilant, to look narrowly into our ſelves; and ſee how Matters ſtand with us; to call in our Cares and Endeavours unprofitably ſpent abroad, and try to turn theſe to better Account, by laying them out upon Buſineſs more Important at Home. And when, upon Examination, we find, (as find we ſhall) that many things are out of Courſe, and go much amiſs;

Some

Some through the Corruption of Vice; Others from some defect in Nature; a Third by Reason of the Infection we have taken from Ill Company; a Fourth upon the Account of some Accident that disorders and confounds us; when, I say, we shall thus perceive our several Failings, and the true Causes of them distinctly; our next Endeavour must be, to go considerately to work; correcting what was out of Order, providing against the like Inconveniences, and cutting off the Occasions that drew us into Danger, for the time to come. A Man is by all means bound to bring himself to Reason, and though the Opposition made by unruly Appetites, and vicious Habits may be very great, and the Difficulties very discouraging, yet Reformation is a Work that must be done. And therefore a Man ought to set about it with Resolution; to bow the stubborn Neck of his Passions, whatever it cost him; and not let all run to ruine, and lose himself by Cowardice, or Sloth, or a disdainful, unthinking Carelessness.

4. And indeed above all things a Man should beware of a sluggish, fantring Way of Life; for To do Nothing, is to do All; the Soul gathers Rust by lying Idle and out of Use; and the Way to preserve our Minds as well as our Bodies in Health and Strength, is to keep them in Breath by constant Exercise, and Employment. And here too, the Prescription holds, that the Exercise should not be too violent, and laborious. There is no Occasion for a constant Intenseness of Thought; but it ought to be wholesome and fit for them; that our Thoughts should be Serious and Grave, Virtuous and Becoming. And if there be not enough of this kind laid ready to our Hands, we ought rather to cut out Work for our selves, than not be doing at all. And thus we may consult our own Genius; and form such Designs as may give us Pleasure and Entertainment, as well as find us Business; we may read good Books; confer with good Men; and easily contrive to lay out our Time so regularly, and in Method; as never to be in a Hurry, never at a Loss what to do next, or how to dispose of our selves to very good Advantage.

5. Another good Direction will be, To manage all Occurrences so prudently, that all that offers, all that is done, or said may turn to Account; To learn somewhat from every Company we come into, from every Action and Accident to take some warning, lay down some Rule, make some Application, and bring the Matter home to our selves,

and

and all this in a way so silent, that no body shall perceive it. For all the Attempts of this kind grow nauseous and offensive, if we suffer them once to be corrupted with Noise, and Vanity, and Affectation.

6. But to be a little more particular. We cannot but be sensible, that as a Man hath Three things to take care of, as either Essential Parts of, or necessary Appendages to his Person; so the Duty, which every one is obliged to himself in, is the regulating and wise Management of his Mind, his Body, and his Goods. As for the Mind, (which is the First and Principal, and for the Use and Benefit whereof those general Rules already laid down, are after a more peculiar manner calculated) All it's Operations, we know, may be reduced to these Two, Cogitation, and Volition; consequently the Two great Faculties to be cultivated are the Understanding and the Will; and the Fruits to be reaped from our Care and Pains, the Ornaments and Excellencies of the Soul are, Knowledge and Virtue. As to the former of these, the Understanding; there are Two Vicious Extremes, and in some Sense indeed Contraries to each other, from which we should use all possible Care to preserve it untainted. The First of these is Folly; by which I understand all sorts of Vanity, empty and insignificant Imaginations, Fopperies and Trifles, such as are excusable only in Children, but unworthy the Character, and far beneath the Dignity of a Man; For This Noble Creature was not made to play the Fool; * Jest and Sport may be his Recreation, but he is qualify'd and design'd for Greater Things. Seriousness and severe Thought are his Business, and Matters of Weight and Importance expected from him. In the other part of my Division, I likewise include all fantastical, absurd, and extravagant Opinions; vulgar Errours, and unreasonable Prejudices. For as Vanity debases the Soul, damps it's Vigour, adulterates and bastardises its genuine Greatness; so Prepossession and rash Mistakes, pollute and dishonour, and leave an Eternal Blemish upon it. We must therefore feed and cherish this Noble Creature, with Entertainment suitable to its generous Appetite and Nature; that is, with serious, substantial Studies, such as may be serviceable, and turn to some Account; we must tincture and soak it well (if I may so say) in Sound, agreeable Notions, such as are conformable to the Dictates of pure

* Non ad jocum & lusum genitus, sed ad severitatem potiùs.

pure Nature, and right Reason; and our Care should be not so much to exalt, and refine, and fly it high, to render it Vigorous and Strong, Acute and Nice; as to regulate and methodize it, that all its Reasonings may be stanch; its Conclusions true, its Motions orderly, and its Dispositions virtuous: For the doing Things Pertinently and Properly, in due Method, and Time, and Measure, is the Effect of Wisdom, and that which makes the Soul and it's Attainments truly valuable. And here again great Care must be taken to keep our selves from Pertnels and Self-conceit, Positiveness and Presumption; all which are Vices exceeding common among Men of acute Parts, and a lively strong Mind. It would be much wiser to put a Check upon our Forwardness; to proceed slowly and deliberately; to be content to live in Doubt, and suspend our Judgment, and confess our Ignorance, in such Matters especially, as are controverted, and commonly opposed; where Reason is confronted with Reason, and Authority with Authority; and these two so plausible, so strong on both Sides, that they ask Time and Skill to consider and digest them thoroughly. Nor is This a mean Accomplishment, or below the Character of the Person I pretend to instruct. For, let my Reader be well assured, it is a great Thing and a very valuable Quality, to know how to be Ignorant with Modesty and Decency; and keeping ones self in Doubt and suspense is the surest and safest Way to true Knowledge. This is what the most celebrated Philosophers always pretended to do; and indeed it is one of the fairest and most generous Fruits of Learning and a well disciplined Mind.

7. As for the Will; This must be brought under Government, and made to submit it self in every Thing to the Directions of Right Reason. And the reducing it thus to Subjection is the Office of Virtue, which tames and subdues it, and inclines its Ear to this wise Guide, by drawing off its Attention and Inclination from the Seducements of vain, fickle, and commonly false Opinions, and by delivering it from the Tyranny of Passion. For These are the Three Principles, some of which always push on our Souls to Action, and preside over them in it; but They, who are under either of the latter, are lost and miserable to the last Degree. For, do but observe the mighty Difference betwixt them. The wise Man maintains his Post; and hearkens to the true Word of Command; the Dictates of his Mind, which are agreeable to Nature and Reason; he

he keeps his Eye constantly upon his Duty, and regards not what he is dispos'd to by his Frailties and Corruptions, but what by the Law he is oblig'd to do. Whatever common Opinion would persuade him to, he always suspects for spurious; whatever Passion would prompt him to, he certainly rejects and condemns. And the Effect of This is, that he lives at Ease and Quiet, finds Peace always within, goes on smoothly, and without disturbance; is never driven to any necessity of altering his Measures, or acting in contradiction to himself, or repenting of what he had done; for, let the Event be what it will, yet his Methods were right and proper; he chose the best, and made the most of his present Circumstances. And then, another Advantage he gains too, which is, to do nothing with Heat and Violence; for Reason is a Cool and Calm Principle. Whereas, on the other hand, the foolish Man, who gives himself up to the other Two, is exorbitant and uncertain; all his Motions are excentrick and wild; he is in perpetual Confusion, at War with himself, and hath no Ease, no Satisfaction. He is doing and undoing, taking new Measures, beginning again, repenting and condemning what is past, unsteady in all his Resolutions, and dissatisfy'd with his own Choice. For indeed none but the Wise Man can ever be fix'd and contented; and all other Principles but Reason and Virtue are too feeble, too fickle to settle or to satisfie us. * *When This composes us to Rest, we may expect it shall be sweet and refreshing.* A good Man will always have regard to, and stand in awe of his own Conscience; which is in reality what the Heathens use to call his good Genius or Angel; and the Reverence he bears to This, will make him careful not to step awry, and asham'd of misbehaving himself in its Presence. And the true Reason why the World is no better, is, that † *so very few People pay that Respect which is due to themselves.*

8. The Body comes next to be consider'd; and to This we owe our Assistance and good Management. 'Tis a vain and ridiculous Attempt, to separate these two principal parts of our Persons, and pretend to lay out all our Care and Tenderness upon the one, to the Prejudice and Defrauding of its Fellow: On the contrary, a good Understanding, and mutual Kindness ought to be maintain'd between them;

* Nulla placidior Quies nisi quam Ratio composuit.

† Rarum est, ut satis se quisque vereatur.

that by reciprocal Offices they may be ſtill more cloſely ally'd, more intimately joyn'd. Nature hath beſtow'd a Body upon us, as our neceſſary Receptacle and Inſtrument of Life; and therefore the Soul, which is the Principal, ought to take the Guardianſhip and Protection of it. It muſt not enſlave it ſelf to the Body, 'tis true, for This were to draw the baſeſt, moſt unjuſt, moſt diſhonourable and reproachful of all Servitudes upon its own Head; but it is bound to ſuccour, to direct, to adviſe, and to perform the part of an affectionate Husband, to this Fleſh which Providence hath married it to. Care and Love is its due, tho' Submiſſion be not; and the Soul ſhould give it the Treatment of a Maſter, not the imperious and arbitrary uſage of a Tyrant; it muſt cheriſh, but not cram it; and ſhew, that if it does not live for the Body, yet it cannot live here without the Body. One great part of the Artificers Excellence, is to be expert and dextrous in uſing the Tools that belong to his Trade: And it is no leſs Advantage, that a Wiſe Man finds in knowing how his Body ought to be uſed, and employing it as an Inſtrument excellently fitted for the Exerciſe and Promotion of Virtue. Now the way to preſerve the Body in a good Condition, and of keeping it fit for Service, is by moderate Diet, and regular Exerciſe. What Share the Mind ought to have in the Pleaſures and Gratifications of Senſe, and how far it is allow'd to bear the Body Company in them; hath been already ſhew'd in part, and will be explain'd more largely and particularly hereafter, when we come to treat of the Virtue of Temperance.

9. The laſt Branch of this Conſideration concerns the Goods or Eſtate; and for the adjuſting exactly what are the Duties of each particular Perſon in this reſpect, we ſhall do well to obſerve, that there are ſeveral Offices and Arts relating to this Matter. There is the Gathering or Increaſing part, the Keeping or Saving, the Managing, the Expending, the Trafficking, and Turning the Penny. For theſe are in a manner ſo many diſtinct Sciences; A Man may be very knowing, and a perfect Maſter in one, and yet altogether ignorant and unexperienc'd in the reſt of them. The Getting part ſeems to be more difficult and intricate, and to conſiſt of more ſeveral parts than any of the others. The Expending part is that which brings moſt Honour and Reputation. The Saving and Managing part is the proper Province of the Miſtreſs of a Family; and This is but a dull Buſineſs, obſcure and mean in common Eſteem, by reaſon

ſon the Methods and the Fruits of it are not ſo viſible as the reſt; but yet ſo neceſſary, that This is the Defence and Security of all, and, ordinarily ſpeaking, our other Cares are to very little purpoſe without it.

There are Two Extremes in this Caſe, both equally vicious and blameable; The one is the Fondneſs and inordinate Love of Riches; the other Hating and Refuſing them. By Riches at preſent I underſtand all that Wealth, which is the Overplus of what Neceſſity and a Competency according to our Quality require to be ſupply'd with. Now a Wiſe Man will run into neither of theſe; but proportions his Deſires according to that Prayer of *Solomon*, *Give me neither Poverty nor Riches; feed me with Food convenient for me.* He will do them Juſtice, and allow them their proper place in his Eſteem, looking upon them as they really are, a Thing indifferent in its own Nature; the Occaſion and Ground of either Good or Evil, according as they fall into Good or Ill Hands; but capable of being made uſe of to many excellent Purpoſes: And this is all the Value they can fairly challenge from us. Prov. xxx.

The Miſeries and Miſchiefs which attend the immoderate Love of Riches, and the peeviſh and humourſom Hatred of them, have been ſpoken to in the former parts of this Treatiſe. And therefore all I have now left me to do is, to lay down that Golden Rule, which conſiſts in the Mean between theſe two Extremes; and that I think will be done in theſe Five Particulars. Book I. Chap. 23.

Firſt, It conſiſts in preferring and being pleas'd with them, but not ſetting our Affections upon them. Thus the Philoſopher deſcribes his Wiſe Man, * *One that is not fond of Riches, but yet had rather have them than not.* A Man may be ſenſible of the Convenience of a Thing, and know how to value it as it deſerves, without placing his Heart, and his Happineſs in it. Thus, for Inſtance, a Perſon of low Stature, and weak Limbs, would be glad and well pleas'd to be taller and better built; and yet it never breaks his Reſt, nor makes him reflect upon himſelf as miſerable, for not being ſo. He that ſeeks what Nature deſires, without Paſſion and Uneaſineſs, puts himſelf out of the Power of Fortune; and he that is content with what Fortune cannot take away from him, is the Man agreeable to this firſt part of the Character.

* Sapiens non amat divitias, ſed mavult.

But *Secondly*, If Paſſion and Anxiety be a Fault even in thoſe who ſeek to enrich themſelves by fair and honeſt Means only, much leſs can we be allow'd to endeavour our own Profit by the Loſs and Detriment of others. For this is to feed and grow fat at their Expence. No nor yet may we purſue Riches by baſe, and pitiful and ſordid Arts; but ſhould take care that all our Increaſe be ſo honourable and becoming, that no Man ſhall have any Temptation but his own Wickedneſs and Ill-nature, to complain of our Proceedings, or grudge us our good Fortune, or once to ſay, That it is pity ſuch Bleſſings ſhould be beſtowed upon us.

Thirdly, When the good Providence of God puts theſe Opportunities and Advantages into our Hands, and Wealth comes in upon us in an honeſt and creditable Way, we are not to reject and diſdain it; but receive it with Thankfulneſs and Satisfaction, and let it in, but not let it in too far. Riches ſhould be admitted into our Houſes, but not into our Hearts; we may take them into our Poſſeſſion, but not into our Affections. For this is going too deep, and doing them an Honour much greater than they can ever deſerve.

Fourthly, When we have them, we ſhould employ them honourably, virtuouſly, diſcreetly; and convert them into Inſtruments of doing good Offices, and being obliging to others. That the manner of their Going out may be at leaſt as innocent, and as creditable, as that of their Coming in.

Laſtly, Whenever they take their Flight, and forſake us, we are not to be dejected, nor melancholy at the Loſs; but ſhould conſider, that tho' they took themſelves away, they did not deprive us of any thing which was properly and truly our own. And therefore, * *if they give us the ſlip, there is no Robbery or Wrong in the Caſe*; for we had no indefeaſible Right in them before. In one Word, That Man ill deſerves the Love and Favour of God, and ought to quit all his Pretenſions to Virtue, and Philoſophy, and Religion, who cannot ſupport himſelf with theſe Comforts, but allows the Enjoyments of this World, the principal Place in his Eſteem.

† *Dare to be Poor, accept of homely Food,*
Be more than Man, and emulate a God. Mr. *Dryden.*

* Si Divitiæ effluxerint, non auferent niſi ſemetipſas.

† Aude Hoſpes contemnere opes, & Te quoque dignum.---- Finge Deo.

Of

Of Justice between Man and Man: Or, The Duty towards our Neighbour.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THis Duty is very comprehensive, and shoots out into a great many Branches; For the convenience of treating it more methodically, we will make our first Division into two general Parts. The First of these shall contain all such Duties as are Common and Universal, requir'd from All and every Man, to All and every Man: And that, whether they regard Thought, Word, or Deed: And these are Love, Fidelity, Truth, Freedom in Advising and Admonishing, Beneficence, Humanity, Liberality, and Gratitude. The Second extends it self to all special Duties; such I mean, as depend upon particular Reasons, and express Obligations; which concern some certain Persons and Relations, and not others: As Those between Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Princes and Subjects, Magistrates and Private Persons, the Great and the Mean Man.

CHAP. VII.

The First Part of Justice; or Those Universal Duties, due from All to All in Common. And first of Love.

LOVE is a Pure, a Holy, and a Generous Fire, kindled in our Breasts by Nature; Its Primitive and Original Warmths were first discern'd in the mutual Affection of Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Brothers and Sisters: But then, cooling by degrees as it dilated it self, Art and Human Invention found means to blow it up again, and supply fresh Fewel, by the Institution of Alliances, Societies, Fraternities, Colleges, and other Incorporations by which the parts of Mankind are cemented and united. Now in regard 1. *What it is.*

gard that Theſe Artificial Flames underwent the ſame Fate with thoſe Natural; and burnt more feeble and dim, as they were expanded and ſubdivided; as alſo, that their Heat is much allay'd, by the Mixture of Profit, Convenience, Delight, and ſuch other Selfiſh Conſiderations; therefore to cheriſh and recruit this Fire again, Choice hath contriv'd to unite its ſcatter'd Forces, and contract them into the narroweſt compaſs that can be, by the ſerventeſt and tendereſt of all Affections, that between true Friends. And This indeed is Love in Perfection; as much more ardent, and endearing, and refin'd than any other, as the Vital Heat in the Heart is more intenſe than than of the Liver, or the Blood in the Veins.

2. Love is the very Life and Soul of the World; more neceſſary to its Subſiſtence and Well-being (ſay the Philoſophers) than thoſe two Servants which we cannot want, Fire and Water. The *Latins* therefore have given a good Intimation of This, in terming Friendſhip *Neceſſitudo*, and Friends *Neceſſarii*: This is the Sun, the Staff, the Salt of Life; all is dark and comfortleſs without the Light of this cheering Fire; all feeble and tottering without this firm Support; all flat and inſipid, till this Seaſons and gives it a grateful Reliſh. To this purpoſe that Wiſe Man, * *A Faithful Friend is a ſtrong Defence, the Medicine of Life; and He that findeth him, findeth a great Treaſure.*

Eccluſ. vi. 14, 16.

3. *Its Uſefulneſs.* Nor may we ſuppoſe this Virtue ſerviceable and neceſſary to private Perſons only; or that the Pleaſures and Charms of it are confin'd to ſmall Numbers, and ſecret Retirements; Its Joys and its Beauties are equally, nay more raviſhing and delightful, more uſeful and ſeaſonable to larger Bodies, and publick Communities of Men. For This is the true Mother, the Bearer and Breeder up of Human Society; and all States and Politick Conſtitutions are maintain'd and preſerv'd by virtue of her Influence. None but Tyrants and Monſters are jealous of, or have a diſlike to it; not but that even They adore this Virtue in their Hearts, and have a ſecret Eſteem for it; but becauſe they themſelves cannot come within the Verge and Benefit of it, therefore they bid it open Defiance. Love is powerful enough of it ſelf to keep the World in order, without the Addition of any other Helps: And were it ſuffer'd to have free Courſe, and operate every where with its utmoſt Vigour, the neceſſity of all Laws would be quite ſuperſeded. For Laws were only a Refuge taken in to help at a dead Lift, and as

as the beſt Remedy that cou'd then be found, to ſupply the Defect and Decays of Love; and the very End and Aim of theſe is to bring Men by Authority and Compulſion, to do That almoſt whether they will or no, which they ought to have done freely and out of Inclination, upon a Principle of Kindneſs. But ſtill Laws fall far ſhort of This in Point of Efficacy and Extent: For Theſe can only take cognizance of Overt-Acts, and pretend not to reſtrain or make Proviſion againſt any other: Whereas Love goes to the Bottom, regulates the Heart as well as the Tongue and the Hands; purifies the Will and directs its Operations; thus ſweetning the very Spring, whence all our Actions flow. Upon this Account *Ariſtotle* ſeems to have ſaid, That Wiſe and Good Lawgivers have a greater regard to Love, than to Juſtice. And becauſe in this wretched Degeneracy of Mankind, both the One and the Other of theſe are but too often ſlighted and defeated, therefore a Third Remedy hath been thought of, but That ſtill leſs effectual in its Operations, and leſs valuable in it ſelf, than either of the Former; which is Force of Arms; than which nothing can be more directly contrary to that firſt Principle of Love. And thus you have a ſhort Scheme laid before you of Politick Inſtitutions and Government; and by what Steps they grew, or rather indeed fell and ſunk down into that Condition we now ſee them in. But ſtill the firſt and ſingle Principle of Amity is worth All, incomparably above all the reſt; as indeed it uſually happens in other Caſes, that the Second and Subſidiary Remedies never come up to the Firſt and Principal; for Theſe are the Effects of Choice, and taken for their own Sakes; but Thoſe the laſt Shifts of neceſſitated Men, who in their Extremity lay hold on any thing that comes next, and muſt be content to take what they can get.

4. *Diſtinguiſh'd as to Caſus*

There is, it muſt be confeſt, great Ambiguity in this Term of Love, and many Diſtinctions have accordingly been made, which were but needful to give Us a true Idea of the Variety of Paſſions proceeding from it. The Ancients were wont to divide it into Four ſorts, Natural, Social, Hoſpitable, and Venereal. But this Diviſion ſo far as I can apprehend, does not do the Buſineſs; and therefore we will try another Method, and diſtinguiſh it theſe Three following ways.

Firſt with regard to the Cauſes that create it; and They are Four. Nature, Virtue, Profit, and Pleaſure; and theſe ſometimes advance all together in a Body; ſometimes Two or Three of them; and very often One of them appears ſingle. But of all theſe, Virtue is the nobleſt Cauſe, and the moſt powerful; for This is pure and refin'd, and hath it's Reſidence in the Heart, the Seat of Love it ſelf. Nature runs in the Blood, Profit lies in the Purſe, and Pleaſure is confin'd to ſome particular Part, and works but upon the Senſes of the Body, except at a diſtance, and by Reflection only. Accordingly Virtue is more free, and open, and pure, and firm in its Affection; for all the other Cauſes, when deſtitute of this, are ſordid and mean, fickle, and of ſhort Continuance. He that loves upon the Account of Virtue, can never be weary, becauſe there are always freſh Charms to attract and entertain him; and if ſuch a Friendſhip happen to break off, he hath no reaſon to complain, becauſe the Breach could not have been, if all that was worth his Love had not fail'd. He that Loves for Profit, if a Breach happen there, is full of immoderate Complaints; but expoſed to very juſt Reproach, for having ſpared no Pains, and yet gaining nothing by all his Trouble. He that Loves for Pleaſure, when the Satisfaction ceaſes, the Paſſion ceaſes too; and he takes leave of the Object, without murmuring or complaint.

5. *The Perſons.* The Second Diſtinction relates to the Parties concern'd in this Affection; and of Theſe there are Three ſorts remarkable. One proceeds in a direct Line between Superiours and Inferiours; and this deſcending Line is either Natural, as between Parents and Children, Uncles and Nephews; or Legal and Political, as between a Prince and his Subjects, a Lord and his Vaſſals, a Maſter and his Servants, a Tutor and his Pupil; a Prelate, or Preacher, or Magiſtrate, and the People under his Care. Now, if one would ſpeak properly, and go to the Nicety of the thing, This is not true Love; by reaſon of the Diſtance and great Diſparity between the Circumſtances of the Parties, which hinders that Eaſineſs and Privacy, that Familiarity and entire Communication, which is the Principal Fruit and Conſequence of Love; as alſo, upon the Account of that Obligation there lies upon them, which leaves ſuch Perſons very little at their own Diſpoſal in this Matter, and ſo takes off from that Freedom ſuppoſed in this Virtue, making the Affection rather an Effect of Duty and Neceſſity, than of Choice. And in con-

conſideration of This it is, that we call it by other Names more ſuitable to thoſe Engagements. Thus Inferiours, we ſay, owe Honour, and Reſpect, and Obedience to thoſe above them; and Superiours owe Care, and Protection, and Vigilance, and kind Condeſcenſion to thoſe beneath them.

The Second ſort of Love, with regard to the Parties, proceeds in a Collateral Line; and This is between ſuch as are either almoſt or altogether Equals. This again is Twofold, either Natural, or Voluntary. The Natural firſt, as between Brothers, Siſters, Couſins, and the like; which is more properly call'd Love than the Former, becauſe there is leſs Diſparity in their Condition, and ſo more room for Familiarity and free Converſe; But then here is an Obligation from Nature too, and that ſuch a one as looſens or ſlackens that Knot in one reſpect, which it ties and binds us by in another. For many Quarrels and Miſunderſtandings commonly ariſe between theſe Relations, upon the Account of Portion, Inheritance, and that variety of Buſineſs and Intereſts, wherein they are mutually concern'd. Beſides, that very frequently there wants that Similitude and exact Agreement of Humours and Inclinations, which is the very Life and Eſſence of true and entire Affection. *I muſt confeſs, he is an ill Man, or a Fool, but he is my Brother, or my Relation*, are Complaints exceeding common in the Mouths of ſuch Perſons: But then there is likewiſe a free and voluntary Love between Equals, ſuch as that of intimate Acquaintance, and Friends; which hath no other Band of Union but Affection only; and This is what in the ſtrict and proper Signification of the Word, we call *Amity* or *Love*.

The Third ſort, with reſpect to the Perſons concern'd, is a Mixture and Compound of the two Former; from whence it follows, that each Ingredient having its due Force, this Compoſition ought to be much ſtronger than either of the other can poſſibly be alone. And ſuch is the Conjugal Affection between Husband and Wife. This hath ſomewhat of the direct and deſcending Line, by reaſon of the Superiority of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife; and it hath a great deal of the Collateral Line too, upon the account that This is a Society inſtituted for Familiarity and mutual Comfort. An Intimation whereof Almighty God himſelf ſeems to have given us, in the firſt Creation of Woman, by taking her out of the Subſtance of Man, yet not

not out of his Head, nor his Feet, but his Side. And thus married Persons do, and are oblig'd to exercise these two sorts of Affection in their Behaviour to each other; but each of them so, as may be most seasonable and becoming. In Publick, the Duties of the direct Line take place; for a Wise Woman will always be sure to treat her Husband before Company with Submission and Respect; but in private and alone, the Familiarities of the Collateral Line, and all imaginable Freedoms are to be practis'd. This Conjugal Affection is likewise twofold; and of a compounded Nature in another Respect. For it is both Spiritual and Corporeal; an Union of Bodies as well as Souls; which is a Qualification peculiar to This alone, and such as no other kind of Love can pretend to, except That which is abusively and most injuriously styl'd so, and such as not only all wholsom Laws, but even Reason and Nature it self have always disallow'd and condemn'd. Upon these several Accounts then this Affection of a marry'd State is fitted to be exceeding great and strong, powerful and endearing. But yet there are two or three Rubs in the way, that check and cool it, and very seldom suffer it to rise up to all the Perfections of a just Friendship. One is, That no part here is left to their own Liberty, but the first Entrance upon it. When once they are in, they must even make their best on't, for there is no getting out again. The persisting and continuance in this Society is irreversibly bound upon them; and this Constraint is the universal Condition of all the best and most Religious, that is of all Christian Marriages; For in other Persuasions Men are left more to their Liberty, by the allowing Divorces, final Separations, and Nullities of this Obligation. Another (if the Ladies will give us leave to say so) is the Weakness of the Sex; whose Strength of Mind is not sufficient to keep up, and hold pace in a perfect Conference, and unreserv'd Communication of all a Man's Thoughts; and the Contemplations of a penetrating and judicious Mind. So that here is quite another Turn of Soul; it wants Substance and Solidity to keep the Knot tight; and this Conjunction is like the fastening of one thing which is stubborn and inflexible, to another that is slender, and limber, and yielding; which for want of Strength to bear up against it, buckles under, and slips away from it. A Third Impediment to that entire Affection in a Conjugal State, may be imputed to the great Intricacy of Business that attends it; the Children, the Relations on both sides; and

and a great many other Uneaſineſſes and Perplexities, which, tho' but an Accidental Inconvenience, and not conſtant and unavoidable, as the two former are, yet is frequent and conſiderable enough to deſerve a Remark here, and too often diſturbs the Happineſs and Quiet, and cools the vigour of that Affection, which is the Bleſſing and Ornament of that State.

The Third Diſtinction of Love concerns the Strength and Intenſeneſs, or the Weakneſs and Remiſſneſs of it. With regard to This Conſideration it is again Twofold. One Common and Imperfect, which indeed ought rather to be term'd Benevolence or Well-wiſhing, Familiarity, Particular Acquaintance: And this varies exceedingly, and may differ almoſt infinitely in the degrees of it, each of which may be more or leſs cloſe, and intimate, and ſtrong than other: The Other is Perfect; and this is a ſort of *Phœnix*, few, if any one Inſtance of it to be ſeen in the World; ſo far from being practiſed by Mankind, that they can ſcarce form a tolerable Idea of it to themſelves; or reach up to the Force and Excellencies of the thing, by all the Strength of mere Imagination. 6. *Degrees.*

For the clearer and more diſtinct Underſtanding of this Difference, it may be of ſome Service to us to give a Deſcription of each, and to confront them with one another; as for Example:

1. The Common may be conciliated, and come to its utmoſt Pitch in a very little while; but long Time, and great Deliberation muſt go to the Finiſhing a perfect Amity. Such Perſons, according to the Proverb, muſt eat at leaſt a Buſhel of Salt together, before they can be qualify'd to contract an entire Friendſhip.

2. That which is Common may be contracted and carry'd on by an infinite variety of Accidents, which contribute to our Profit and Delight; whereupon a Wiſe Man preſcribed theſe two Rules for the attaining to it; That a Man ſhould be entertaining in his Diſcourſe, and obliging and ſerviceable in his Actions; for if the One of theſe do but furniſh out Pleaſure, and the other promote the Intereſt of the Perſons with whom we converſe, all that a Common Friendſhip pretends to, is done effectually: But now, That which I call a Perfect Friendſhip is never built upon ſuch mean Conſiderations. Nothing leſs than the Contemplation and mutual Experience of an unfeign'd and vigorous Virtue can be Foundation ſtrong enough for ſo noble a Superſtructure.

3. The

3. The Common Friendſhips may extend themſelves to a great Number of Perſons: But the true entire Friendſhip admits but of One Partner; and this is to all Intents and Purpoſes a Second Self: ſo that altho' the Perſons are Two, yet their Hearts and Affections are One and the Same. And the neceſſity of confining ſuch Friendſhips to Two only, is very evident from the Nature of the thing. For to ſuppoſe more, deſtroys the Notion, and obſtructs all the Offices and Operations of it. For inſtance, To ſuccour and aſſiſt a Friend in his Diſtreſs, is an indiſpenſable Obligation; but if we put the Caſe of Two ſuch ſtanding in need of our Help at the ſame time; and not only ſo, but deſiring Kindneſſes which are inconſiſtent and contrary to one another, Which way ſhall I turn my ſelf; or how can I diſcharge my Obligations, when one of theſe is favour'd and relieved to the Prejudice and Neglect of the other? Again, My Friend imparts a Secret to me, What Diſtraction is here? If I reveal it, This is a Breach of Truſt and Friendſhip, which obliges me to be Faithful in keeping what is thus depoſited with me: But then, if I do not communicate it to my other Friend, this is Unfaithfulneſs too; for it is another Law of true and entire Friendſhip, to unboſom themſelves freely, and to have no Reſerves from each other. Thus you ſee the Confuſion and Perplexity, the Impracticableneſs and utter Impoſſibility indeed of more Friends than One, in the higheſt and moſt genuine Acceptation of the Word. And, no doubt, Multiplication of Parts, and Diviſion, is, generally ſpeaking, an Enemy to Perfection, as Union is a natural and inſeparable Property of it.

4. The Common Friendſhip admits of Diminution, and Increaſe; it is ſubject to Exceptions, Limitations, different Modifications and Forms; it grows warmer and colder; and comes and goes by Fits, like an intermitting Fever; according as the Perſon is Abſent or Preſent; as his Merits are more or leſs; and the Kindneſſes he does more or leſs frequent and engaging; and many other Conſiderations there are, capable of making an Alteration in our Affections of this kind. But now, That Friendſhip, which is perfect and entire, is much otherwiſe; firm and conſtant to it ſelf, even and ſteady: Its Warmths are healthful, its Temper regular, and all its Motions vigorous and uniform.

5. The Common Friendſhip admits and ſtands in need of ſeveral Rules for its Direction; ſeveral Wiſe Cautions contriv'd by conſiderate Perſons for the regulating and reſtraining

ing it, and preventing any future Inconveniences, which may happen to arise from Unwariness, and an unguarded Conversation. One of these is, To love our Friend so far as may be consistent with the Preservation of our Piety, and Truth, and Virtue. For even that old Expression of *Amicus usque ad Aras*, implies this Restriction. Another is to love him so, as if you were sure one Day to hate him; and to hate a Man so, as if you were hereafter to love him; that is, To be prudent and reserv'd in your Passions and Affections, and not abandon one's self so entirely, or be so violent in either Extreme, that a Man should have just occasion to repent, and condemn his former Behaviour, if, at any time hereafter there should happen to be a Breach, or any Coldness grow betwixt them. A Third is, To come into our Friend's Assistance of our own accord, and without being call'd. For it puts a Friend out of Countenance to demand his Right; and he buys a Kindness dear, when forc'd to ask what he looks upon as his just Due, and that which he conceives he ought to be prevented in. Therefore these Obligations are never fully satisfy'd, except we be always ready and early in our Courtesies, and, if that be possible, beforehand with his very Wishes. A Fourth is not to be troublesome to our Friends, by entertaining them with dismal Stories of our own Misfortunes, and being always in the complaining Strain. Like Women, that make it their whole Business to move Pity, and are constantly magnifying their own Hardships and Sufferings. Now all these are very useful and seasonable Directions, fit to be observ'd in common Friendships: But in That more sublime and perfect one, there is no occasion at all for these; This disdains all Forms, and is above the Pedantick Niceties of Ceremony and Reserve.

8. *Perfect Friendship, what.*

This is what we shall attain to a more just and distinct Notion of, by giving the Reader a Draught and Description of Friendship in Perfection: Which is no other, in short, than a free, full, and entire Mingling of Souls throughout, and in every part and point. To explain this now in Three Particulars. I say First, It must be a Mingling and (if I may so express it) an Incorporating, and not a Conjunction of Souls only. For this gives us a Resemblance of Solid Bodies, which, how strongly and artificially soever they may be tack'd together in one part, yet do not touch in all; And not only so, but that very Ligament which joins them together, may be dissolv'd, or cut asunder, and each of these Bodies may subsist, and remain, and feel it self entire, after Sepa-

Separation. But now in theſe perfect Friendſhips, the Souls of Men are entirely abſorpt in each other; ſo confounded, as never to be diſtinguiſh'd, never to be parted again; like Liquors well mix'd, which can never be drawn off from each other. And That is the perfect, the univerſal Communion of Minds, that entire Agreement of Judgments and Inclinations, which I rather choſe to expreſs by mingling of Souls, as a Phraſe that gives us a ſtronger Idea of this Union, than any Reſemblance taken from Solids could poſſibly do. Secondly, It is free, and purely the Work of Choice, a generous and ſpontaneous Act of the Will, without any Obligation, or diſtant Inducement, foreign to the Worth and Agreeableneſs of the Parties. For nothing is more voluntary than Love; and ſo much of Conſtraint as you put upon it, ſo much you weaken the Affection, and take off from the true Nature and Commendation of the Virtue. Thirdly, It is univerſal, and without Exception; no Reſervation of any thing, nothing that can be call'd ours in bar to our Friend's Title and Pretenſions. Eſtate, Honours, Preferments, Judgments, Thoughts, Wills, all laid open and in common; nay, even Life it ſelf is what both have equal Right in. From This ſo univerſal and entire Communication it is, that that thoſe Maxims have taken place, of *Friendſhip finding or making all equal*; of *Friends having no Property*; and the like; ſuch can no longer lend or borrow; they cannot give or receive; there is no ſuch thing as Beneficence and Obligation, Acknowledgments or Returns, or any ſuch Offices of Kindneſs or Gratitude practicable or in force for Their Condition. Theſe indeed are the Arts and Methods by which ordinary Friendſhips are cheriſh'd and maintain'd; but at the ſame time that they are Teſtimonies of Affection, they are Marks of Diſtinction too. Whereas, in this Caſe, it is as with one's own Self; and as a Man cannot be oblig'd to himſelf for any Service done to his own Perſon, nor owe any Gratitude upon the Account of that Kindneſs and Readineſs to relieve his own Wants, which he feels in his Breaſt, no more can one true Friend be indebted to another upon any the like Occaſions. Nay, even Marriage, tho' it give us the beſt, yet is even That but a diſtant and feeble Reſemblance of the Divine Union we are now treating of. The Laws allow no ſuch thing as Diſtinct Properties, and Donations betwixt Man and Wife. And therefore in Friendſhip could there be any ſuch thing as giving and receiving, the Benefactor would be

That

That Perſon who made uſe of his Friend's Kindneſs, and ſo put it in his Power to do what became him. For the principal Deſign, and eagereſt Wiſh of each Party, being to ſnatch every occaſion of mutual Aſſiſtance and Benefit; He who furniſhes the Opportunity, and gratifies this Deſire, is properly the Donor. Since it is to his Bounty that the other ows his greateſt Happineſs; for ſuch is the Satisfaction of compaſſing his Deſires, and effecting that which is incomparably more pleaſant and dear to him, than all the Advantages and Enjoyments in the World beſides.

9. *Examples of Friendſhip.*

Some few Inſtances there are of this entire Friendſhip, and unreſerv'd Communication of Souls in ancient Story. When *Bloſius* was apprehended, upon the Account of a mighty Friendſhip known to be between Him and *Tiberius Gracchus*, who was already under Sentence of Condemnation for Seditious Practices; upon Examination what he would have done for his ſake, he reply'd, That he would have ſtuck at nothing to do him Service. The Judges proceeded further, and asked, Whether if *Gracchus* had deſir'd him to ſet the Temples on Fire, he would have comply'd with ſo Sacrilegious a Requeſt: He anſwer'd again, That *Gracchus* was not capable of deſiring ſo wicked a Proof of his Friendſhip; but upon ſuppoſition that he could, he ſhould not have refuſed it. Now This was a very bold and a dangerous Anſwer. The firſt part of it indeed, that *Gracchus* could not entertain a Thought ſo impious, was no more than he might well enough venture to ſay; becauſe, according to the Account we have already given of this Matter, every Friend in perfection is not only fully acquainted with the Diſpoſition, and all the Thoughts of his Friend, which ſufficiently qualifies him to be reſponſible for them all; but he is abſolute Maſter of them, and ſo can diſpoſe of them, as much as of his own. But that laſt Clauſe of doing ſo if *Gracchus* had requir'd it, was idle and impertinent; for it does not in any Degree take off from what he had affirm'd before, concerning his Aſſurance of *Gracchus* not entertaining any ſuch Deſire, nor make the thing one Whit better or worſe. Now this Inſtance ſhews us the perfect Harmony of Souls, with regard to the concurring Judgments and Inclinations of ſuch Friends.

The Second Inſtance relates to their Fortunes. To which purpoſe we read of Three Friends, (This Number of Three I confeſs is a Contradiction to the Rules here propoſed, and tempts us to think that this Friendſhip, tho' very extraordinary

traordinary, had not yet attained to all the Degrees of juſt a Perfection) But Three however there were: Two of them in very plentiful, the other in as low Circumſtances, who had a poor old Mother, and a young unmarry'd Daughter, both lying upon his Hands. This Perſon upon his Death-bed makes a Will, and bequeaths to One of his Friends his poor feeble Mother to maintain; to the Other his Daughter, with a Charge to ſee her as well match'd as poſſibly he could; and in caſe either of theſe happen'd to fail, the whole Care of both was to devolve upon the Other. A notable Legacy you'll ſay; and ſo the World then thought it; for every Body made themſelves extremely merry with ſo odd a Bequeſt. But, while the World ridicul'd this unuſual piece of Executorſhip, the Heirs themſelves took the Adminiſtration upon them with wonderful Satisfaction; and each was greedy to get his Legacy into his poſſeſſion. Within a very few Days after, the Legatee to whoſe ſhare the Mother fell, happen'd to die too; and then the ſurviving Coheir, ſucceeding into the whole Concern, took particular good Care of the Mother; and, aſſoon as conveniently he could, enquired out convenient Matches for both, marry'd his own only Daughter, and that of his deceas'd Friend, upon one and the ſame Day, and divided his whole Eſtate equally between them. Now, according to this Caſe thus ſtated, as you ſee, it hath been the conſtant Opinion of the Wiſeſt Men, that He who dy'd firſt, gave greater Demonſtrations of his Friendſhip, and was a more bountiful Benefactor, than either of the Survivors; that he really bequeath'd them the moſt valuable Inheritance, by putting into their Hands ſuch occaſions of doing good; and allowing them the Satisfaction of laying themſelves out in his Service, as became their Character, and the Neceſſities of his own Family requir'd.

The Third Example goes higher ſtill, and reaches to Life it ſelf. And here we may reflect upon that well-known Story of two Friends. That a Tyrant had condemn'd one of them to die, and had appointed the Day and Hour of his Execution; but he with great Importunity obtain'd Leave to go and take Care of his Affairs and Family, upon this Condition, that he ſhould give Security, and find one to be bound Body for Body, for his ſurrendring himſelf again at the Time prefix'd; and in caſe he fail'd, then his Bail to undergo the ſame Capital Puniſhment, which had been awarded to his Principal.

Principal. The Condition was readily accepted, and the Priſoner produces his Friend to be bound for him, who accordingly was impriſon'd in the other's ſtead. The Day of Execution came, and this Bondſman prepar'd himſelf to die with all imaginable Cheerfulneſs. But, as he was going about it, the Condemn'd Perſon came in, releas'd his Security, and offer'd himſelf to the fatal Stroke. This ſtrange Generoſity made ſuch Impreſſion upon the Tyrant, that, much out of Countenance, and full of Aſtoniſhment, he was conquer'd into Mercy; ſet them both at Liberty, and made it his Requeſt, that theſe brave Men would accept of the Proffers he made of his Kindneſs and Affection, and do him the Honour to admit him into their Number, and reckon that they had now a Third ſincere and generous Friend.

CHAP. VIII.

Mutual Faith, Fidelity; Perfidiouſneſs, Secrecy.

ALL Mankind are highly ſenſible, and unanimouſly agreed, that Mutual Faith is the common Band and Cement, by which Human Society is held together, the very Bottom and Groundwork of all Juſtice; and even thoſe perfidious Wretches, who are the moſt infamous in practice, and delight moſt in Falſhood and Wrong, cannot but acknowledge the Excellence of this Virtue, and that it is of infinite conſequence to have it ſtrictly and religiouſly obſerv'd. * *Nothing*, ſays *Tully*, *is more noble, nothing more venerable than Fidelity; for This is the Foundation of Juſtice; it knits Men to one another, and contributes as much as any one thing whatſoever, both to the Security of the Publick, and that of Private Perſons. Faithfulneſs and Truth are the moſt Sacred, moſt reverend Excellencies and Endowments of a Human Mind.* I. *The Excellence of Fidelity.*

* Nihil auguſtius Fide, quæ Juſtitiæ Fundamentum eſt; nec ulla res vehementius Rempublicam continet & vitam. Sanctiſſimum humani pectoris Bonum.

* *Eternal Truth, Siſter and Twin to Jove,*
Glory of Men below, and Gods above;
The vaſt expanded Globe's diffuſive Soul,
By thy fixt Laws, Sun, Stars, and Seas do roul.
Firm on thy Baſe, and knit in Sacred Band,
Peace, mutual Truſt, and equal Juſtice ſtand.
In Man thy Native Light is ſhed abroad,
And every Breaſt is fill'd with a Domeſtick God.

2. *The Rarity of it.* And yet, notwithſtanding this general Conſent in the Speculative part, Men differ extremely, and in practice contradict themſelves. For the World is full of Treachery and Falſhood; and very few ſhall we be able to find who are truly and entirely True and Juſt in their Dealings. Nay, even thoſe who make a Conſcience of being ſo, yet are frequently guilty of Breach of Faith, ſuch as not only the World does not eaſily diſcover, but ſuch as they themſelves who commit it, are not ſenſible of. For if they can but fix upon any colourable Pretence to varniſh over ſuch an Action, and give it a tolerable good Face; they preſently perſuade themſelves, that all is well, and they have done nothing amiſs. Others there are eternally upon the Hunt for Niceties and ſubtle Evaſions, by which to juſtifie their Proceedings; and here they retreat and ſhelter themſelves. If the World take upon them to cenſure their Doings, or their own Conſcience be either Scrupulous before, or Clamorous afterward, they caſt up an Intrenchment of Diſtinctions round about them; and under this Covert go on, without boggling, or being aſham'd of any thing. Now, in order to the clearing all the Difficulties that may ariſe upon this Occaſion, I ſhall endeavour to ſet this whole Matter in its true Light, and direct Men how to behave themſelves. And the whole, I think, of what needs to be ſaid, may conveniently enough be reduc'd to Four Conſiderations. The Perſon that engages his Faith; the Party to whom that Engagement is made; the Subject-Matter, or the Thing covenanted for; and the Manner or Form of entring into that Engagement.

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* Ante Jovem generata, Decus Divûmque Hominûmque;
Quâ ſine non Tellus pacem, non æquora nôrunt;
Juſtitiæ conſors, tacitumque in pectore Numen.

Firſt,

Firſt, As as to the Perſon engaging his Faith, it is one neceſſary Qualification to the rendring that Promiſe valid and legal, that he have Power to promiſe, and to make it Good; If he be under the Direction, and at the Diſpoſal of an other, he is in no Condition to engage at all; nor is there any Force in ſuch a Covenant, till it be ratified and confirmed by the Perſon, under whoſe Authority the Promiſer is. Thus God himſelf hath determined and ſtated the Matter at large, under the Levitical Law; where the Vows of Wives, and Children, and others in a State of Pupillage and Subjection, are declared of none Effect, till known and approved by their Husbands, or Parents, or Guardians. And the Reaſon of this is plain, becauſe Nature and Duty have veſted theſe Perſons with an Original and Antecedent Right in thoſe under their Care, which no After-act of ſuch, without Their Conſent, can convey away, or diſannul: They have nothing to give, and therefore they promiſe what is none of their own. Thus in the *Roman* Story, the Tribune *Saturninus*, and his Accomplices are eſteemed to have been juſtly put to Death, notwithſtanding they quitted the Capitol, (which they had rebelliouſly invaded, and poſſeſt themſelves of,) upon the Conſuls Word of Honour. For theſe very Conſuls were Subjects to the Common-wealth and Miniſters of Publick Juſtice only; and therefore they had no Right to promiſe Indemnity, for Crimes againſt the State and People of *Rome* in general But, when a Man is entirely at his own Diſpoſal, and covenants for ſuch Things as he hath an indiſputable Right to make Good, he is obliged to keep his Word punctually, let him be otherwiſe never ſo Great, never ſo Abſolute. The rather indeed upon theſe Conſiderations; becauſe the more Abſolute he is, the more Free he is to Promiſe, and the better Able to Perform. And therefore that common Maxim is a very Juſt and True One, *That the bare Word of a Prince, ought to be as Sacred and Obligatory, as the ſolemneſt Oath of a Private Man.* 3. Num. ch. xxx.

As to the Perſon, to whom the Engagement is made, This is a Conſideration, which makes but little Difference in the Caſe; for let him be Who or What he will, it ought to be diſcharged. There are but Two Exceptions which are ſufficient to diſſolve this Obligation, according to the Judgment of Thoſe who have diſcuſs'd this Point. The One is, if he did not accept of this Engagement, ſo as to reſt ſatisfied in, or place his Dependence upon it, but required ſome other Security, and reſted his Faith upon That: For, as the Giving of Faith ought to be look'd upon as Sa- 4.

cred, ſo ſhould the Receiving it be too; and Diſtruſt in the one Party is no leſs a Diſparagement to it, than Fallacy and Trick in the other. If it be not relied upon for the Sake of its own binding Force, the Confidence is loſt and broke; and it ceaſes to be mutual Faith any longer. The demanding of Hoſtages, and keeping Men under Guard, and ſo entring into Caution, and requiring Pledges of any ſort, is not truſting to Men's Truth, but to their Security; and it is Ridiculous and Senſeleſs, to call This truſting to Men's Honeſty. He that is confined, either by a Keeper, or a Priſon, hath been falſe to no Engagement, if he make his Eſcape; nor can he be ſaid to have deceived thoſe, who never repos'd any Confidence in him. Had ſuch an one been left at large upon his Parole, or had he prevail'd with others to ſtand bound for his Appearance; Honour and Conſcience would have obliged him to ſuffer any Inconvenience rather than falſify his Word, or give up his Bail, or any manner of way diſappoint the Expectations, and betray the Truſt of thoſe who depended upon him. And therefore the Reaſon of that *Roman* ſeems to carry a great deal of Force, * *Every Man is deſirous to find Credit; and a Promiſe is then binding indeed, when an entire Dependence is repos'd in it; For Faith is mutual, it implies and requires Truſt and Belief in the Perſon to whom it is given; Theſe two are Relatives, and, as ſuch, ſtand and fall together.*

The other Exception is, If the Promiſe were conditional, and mutual, and the Perſon to whom it was made, broke Articles firſt. For in this Caſe (ſay ſome old Authors) Men are to be paid in their own Coin, and † *He that breaks his Word, gives thoſe he deals with a Priviledge of doing ſo too; according to that Declaration of the* Roman *Senator; When you ceaſe to treat me as a Member of the Senate, I ſhall think my ſelf diſpenſed with from paying you the Reſpect due to a Conſul.* The falſe and perfidious Man hath forfeited all his Natural Right to Truth and Fair-dealing; For the Obligations of this kind, ſo far as they are founded in Nature, are Reciprocal and Univerſal; and therefore, whatever ſuch an one can challenge, muſt be from ſome Supervening Title. But whatever is indented for by Po-

* Vult ſibi quiſq; credi, & habita Fides ipſam ſibi obligat Fidem. Fides requirit Fiduciam, & relativa ſunt.

† Fragenti fidem fides frangatur eidem---Quando Tu me non habes pro Senatore, nec ego Te pro Conſule.

ſitive

ſitive Agreement afterwards, cancels all the Advantage, that might otherwiſe have been taken of his former Unfaithfulneſs, and makes it Unreaſonable to revenge and retaliate it. Theſe Two Caſes are generally look'd upon, as Reſervations from the general Rule of being punctual to one's Word; and we ſhall do well to give even theſe a Careful Conſideration, for perhaps there are ſome Junctures and Occaſions, in which They may not be able to bear us out; or at beſt, if it be our Priviledge to regulate our ſelves by them, it is not our Duty to do ſo; and a Man may ſometimes ſee good Cauſe, rather to ſubmit to an Inconvenience, and forego the Uſe of his Liberty, than to ſtretch it to the utmoſt Point, and do All, that in Point of Rigour he might well enough juſtifie himſelf in. But however; allowing the moſt that can be made of the Matter, where the Promiſe does not fall within the Compaſs of theſe Two Caſes, no Conſideration relating to the Party for whoſe Aſſurance it was made, can excuſe us from looking upon it as Sacred and Indiſpenſable.

1. For Firſt, a Man is obliged to keep his Word with his Subjects, as will be proved and enforc'd more at large in the following part of this Treatiſe; and no Authority, though never ſo Arbitrary and Full, can ſet him above the Obligations of Conſcience in this particular. Ch. 16.

2. So is he likewiſe towards his Enemy; witneſs That ſo much Celebrated Act of *Regulus*, the Edict of the *Roman* Senate, againſt all thoſe to whom *Pyrrhus* had given leave to go to *Rome* upon their Promiſe of returning; Witneſs again *Camillus*, who would not ſo much as reap the Advantage of another's Treachery, though he was to have had no part in the Fact it ſelf, but ſent the Children and their villanous Schoolmaſter bach to the *Faliſci*.

3. Nor have conſidering Perſons thought themſelves at Liberty to be unfaithful even to Robbers, and notorious Malefactors; for *Pompey* was punctual with the Pirates and *Banditi*, and *Auguſtus* was ſo to *Crocotas*.

4. As little Privilege to be falſe does any Difference in Religion give one, as is ſufficiently evident from the Inſtance of *Joſhua* and the *Gibeonites*. The ſafer and more honourable Way therefore, is never to treat, or enter into any manner of Terms with thoſe whom we think unworthy of common Honeſty from us; to diſdain any Capitulation, and contracting any ſort of Alliance with Wretches we pretend ſuch Deteſtation to, is much more agreable to

the Pretenſions Men make to Zeal and Religion. And to Perſons poſſeſt with ſo great an Abhorrence to Hereticks and Apoſtates, much may be ſaid for this. Perhaps indeed, no other Reaſon but extreme Neceſſity, and the hopes of reducing them; or the Proſpect of ſome very great and Publick Good, by amicable Accommodations, ſhould be ſufficient to induce them to plight their Faith to them; but if they condeſcend thus far, no queſtion they are bound to ſtand by their own Act and Deed; for ſure They that are good enough to be treated with, are fit to have the Terms of the Treaty made good to them.

5. *Matter of the Promiſe.* As to our Third Conſideration, which reſpects the Matter of the Promiſe, if That be unlawful or impoſſible to be performed by us, we are abſolutely diſcharged from the Obligation; And in all Caſes of Injuſtice, the beſt thing we can do, is to diſclaim and get quit of it; for the Performance would but aggravate our Crime, and make our Guilt double, by the obſtinate perſiſting in it. All other Excuſes, ſuch as Loſs, or Diſpleaſure, Difficulty, Inconvenience, the Trouble, or the Expence of the Undertaking, are too Weak to paſs Muſter. And of this the old *Romans* have left us many brave Examples, who very frequently * uſed to forego very conſiderable Advantages, rather than be guilty of any thing, that might bring Truth and Fidelity into Queſtion.

6. *The Manner of promiſing.* The laſt Particular relates to the Manner or Formalities made uſe of in the Act of engaging; for, as all the Ways of binding our Conſciences are not equally Solemn, ſo neither are all equally Obligatory; and therefore ſeveral Doubts and Controverſies have been ſtarted upon this Point. Several Perſons are of Opinion, that a Promiſe extorted by Force, and Fear, or obtained Fraudulently and by Surpriſe, does leave no Tye upon the Conſcience: Becauſe, in both theſe Caſes, the Will hath not it's free Courſe; nor can the Judgment act with that impartiality and clearneſs, which is neceſſary to the making a juſt Determination: Others again tell you quite otherwiſe; that the Will is not capable of being conſtrain'd; and though the Choice be not abſolutely voluntary and free, yet there is Choice enough left to induce an Obligation. Accordingly we find, that *Joſhua* was far from thinking himſelf at Liberty; nay, that he was commanded to fulfil the Covenant made with the

* Quibus tantâ utilitate Fides antiquior fuit.

Gibeonites

Gibeonites; though perfectly tricked into it by Surpriſe, and a falſe Repreſentation of their Caſe. The moſt I think that can be ſaid, (if thus much may be ſaid) in Favour of the Former Opinion is, That a bare Promiſe may be diſpenſed with in ſuch Circumſtances; but if that Engagement were confirm'd by the Solemnity of an Oath, a Man muſt look upon himſelf to be bound by it: Bound, though not in Reſpect of ſtrict Equity, and the Merits of the Cauſe; yet in Reſpect to the Name of the Juſt and Holy God, who was invoked as a Witneſs and a Judge upon that Occaſion. But that a Man in ſuch Caſes may be very well allowed to ſeek any Redreſs or Reparation, which the Laws will give him, and which he hath not poſitively ty'd up his own Hands from requiring, for ſuch Violence or Deceit. And this Reſolution too ſeems to have ſome Countenance given to it, by the Method *Joſhua* took, who, when the Fraud was diſcovered, did not treat thoſe *Gibeonites* as common Friends and Allies, but made them *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*; and though he ſpared their Lives, revenged their Falſhood, and crafty Diſſimulation, by keeping them under, and employing them in ſervile and laborious Offices. That the Formality of an Oath, and intereſſing Almighty God in our Promiſes adds to the Engagement, and makes it more forcible and binding, no Doubt can be made; for Breach of Faith is then a double Offence, and Aggravates that Unfaithfulneſs which is bad in its ſelf, with the Addition of wilful Perjury, which is much Worſe. But to think to tye Men up by new and fantaſtical Oaths, as ſome do, is altogether uſeleſs and unneceſſary; and ſo is the multiplying of common Oaths without ſome urgent and very important Occaſion. For it is certain, that honeſt Men need not be thus dealt with; and thoſe that are not ſo, will be bound by nothing we can deviſe. The beſt and moſt commendable Courſe is to Swear by the Name of the One True Everlaſting God; and to do this with a becoming Reverence, and ſerious Deliberation; as conſidering, that he is a ſevere Avenger of thoſe who take his Name in vain; that they muſt give Account for all breach of Faith, and Truſt; but eſpecially, that he will be very rigorous with thoſe, who by a moſt monſtrous Hardineſs, and deteſtable Impiety, take Advantage of the Solemnity of an Oath; and turn the Uſe of his Name into an Opportunity of deceiving the more effectually.

7. For in Truth, if we conſider the Matter nicely, it will appear that Perfidiouſneſs and Perjury are more execrable Villanies, and higher Affronts to Almighty God, than even bold and avowed Atheiſm it ſelf. The Atheiſt, who diſbelieves a God, acts more conſiſtently with his own Principles, and diſhonours him leſs, in thinking there is no ſuch Being at all; than he who is perſuaded, and acknowledges that there is a God, and yet in deſpight of his own Senſe, and in defiance of the Divine Juſtice, mocks him, by calling upon him to atteſt a Lye, and will not ſtand by what he hath appealed to that All-ſeeing Judge for the Confirmation of. Now he that ſwears with an Intention to deceive, does plainly mock God; and ſhews that he is afraid of Man only, but under no Concern for what God can do in vindication of his injured Honour. And ſure to be miſtaken in one's Notions concerning God, is much more pardonable, than to be rightly informed, and fully convinced, and yet to trample all thoſe Convictions under Foot, and put a ſtudied Affront upon the Deity we confeſs, and pretend to adore. The Horrour and Abſurdity of Falſhood and Perjury, cannot be more fully and ſignificantly expreſt, than by that Character given of it, by One of the Antients, who calls this, The giving a publick Teſtimony of our Deſpiſing God, and ſtanding in Awe of Men. And what can be more Monſtrous, than to ſhew one's ſelf a Coward with regard to poor Mortals, of the ſame Frailties and Infirmities with our ſelves, and Hectors with regard to the Irreſiſtible Vengeance and Power of an Omnipotent God? But, beſides the horrible Impiety and Irreligion of ſuch Proceedings, the Falſe and Treacherous Man is a Traitor and Mortal declared Enemy to all Laws, and the very Being of Human Society: For mutual Confidence is the very Link, that holds all this together; and if once that Knot be untwiſted or broken aſunder, the whole Chain falls to pieces immediately. Words are then but Air and empty Noiſe; and yet by theſe it is, that all Commerce can only be maintained; ſo that when Credit can no longer be given with Safety to what People ſay, all Buſineſs is at an end, and no new Method can be found to hold them in.

8. *Keeping of Secrets.* One Branch of this Fidelity remains yet unmention'd; which is that of Keeping the Secrets imparted to, and intruſted with us. And This is more troubleſome than People commonly imagine; eſpecially, when they are ſuch as Great Men have either committed to us, or are concerned in.

in. Were the Difficulties that attend this Duty rightly conſidered, it would give a mighty Check to curious and inquiſitive Tempers. For ſure, that Man acts moſt prudently, who declines this Truſt as much, and knows as little of this kind, as poſſibly he can: For he that thruſts himſelf under theſe Obligations, entangles himſelf in more Snares, and Uneaſineſſes, than he is aware of. For, beſides the conſtant Guard he muſt keep upon his Tongue, that none of theſe Things make their Eſcape, he falls under a Neceſſity many times of lying or diſowning what he knows, in a manner irreconcilable with Sincerity and a Good Conſcience; or at leaſt of evading it by ſuch mean and little Shifts, as are very grating to a Man of Generoſity and a Great Soul. This therefore of avoiding ſuch Troubleſome and Dangerous Knowledge, is the firſt and beſt Advice. But if there be no Remedy, and Men will unlock their Breaſts to us, notwithſtanding all the modeſt Pains we are at to be excuſed, the Next Rule is, To be Faithful and Exact in the ſafe Cuſtody of all committed to us under the Seal of Secrecy; and to this Purpoſe to practiſe a prudent Reſerve in all our Converſation; Which is an Art, that every Man cannot be Maſter of; for it requires ſomething of a Diſpoſition in Nature, as well as Art and Induſtry afterwards, and the Senſe of that Obligation we are under in theſe Caſes; Attendency to Silence, as well as a Cuſtom of it: For the open and gay Tempers are always in Danger; and They who affect to Talk much in all Companies, will be ſure very often to ſay a great many Things, which ought to have been ſuppreſt.

CHAP. IX.

Truth, and Freedom in Adviſing and Reproving.

BY Truth here, I mean the venturing to ſay bold and unaccceptable things; for free and cordial Advice, and Reproof is a moſt wholeſome and admirable Medicine: It is one of the moſt noble and uſeful Offices of Friendſhip; the beſt Argument, that a Man's Affection is Sincere, when he is content to run the Hazard of giving ſome little Uneaſineſs, in Proſpect of doing a great deal of Good: For it

1. *Its Excellence.*

it is Profiting, and not Pleaſing, that every Friend ſhould aim at; and one of the moſt important, as well as moſt expreſs Commands, which the Goſpel hath left upon us with regard to Converſation, is This; *If thy Brother offend againſt thee, admoniſh him.*

2. *The Uſefulneſs.* There is no Man ſo perfect, ſo circumſpect in all his Behaviour, as not ſometimes to ſtand in need of having this Phyſick apply'd to him. But Thoſe, who are proſperous and great in the World, ſeem to require it more than others; For there is ſomewhat in that Condition, which by naturally diſpoſing Men to a looſe Gayety, and unthinking Heedleſſneſs, makes it exceeding difficult and rare, to be very fortunate and very wiſe at the ſame time. But eſpecially Princes, who are always in view, and curiouſly watch'd; who ſuſtain a publick Character, and have an infinite deal of Buſineſs conſtantly upon their Hands; who are fain to take things upon Truſt, from the Obſervation and Report of other People; and who are uſed to have by much the greateſt part of what is true, and highly concerns them to know, conceal'd from them; Theſe Perſons above all others have very great need to be freely dealt with, and ſet right in their Proceedings: And they who are not ſo by the Perſons about them, either run a deſperate Hazard for want of it, or elſe are wiſe and penetrating, much above the rate of common Men, if they do well without it.

3. *The rarity and difficulty of it.* And yet this Office, as neceſſary and uſeful as it is, is diſcharg'd faithfully by very few. For indeed, few are capable of diſcharging it; There being Three Qualifications requiſite to capacitate Men for it. Theſe are, Judgment or Diſcretion; Freedom or Courage to ſpeak what one thinks; and Affection or Fidelity. All Theſe make the Compoſition perfect; and all muſt concur, to give a Reliſh and due Temper to each other. But if Men had all theſe Accompliſhments, yet it is to be queſtion'd, whether they would put them in practice. So that the Difficulty is double: For very few undertake this ungrateful Office for fear of diſpleaſing; and of thoſe who have Sincerity enough to attempt, few have Skill enough to perform it as it ſhould be. Now This is an extremely nice Undertaking; and if ill done, like a Medicine improperly given, tho' never ſo Sovereign in its own Nature, it puts the Patient to a World of Uneaſineſs, and is ſure to do more hurt than good. The Effect of it is only to harden him the more; and thus Reproof

proof hath the ſame Operation that Flattery would have; only with this Difference, that the One gives Pain and Reſentment, and the Other Pleaſure and Self-Satisfaction. For, as excellent and noble as Truth is, yet hath it not the Privilege of being always ſeaſonable and becoming; but requires a great many favourable Circumſtances to ſoften and recommend it. For, let a Man's Intention and Meaning be never ſo Holy, and the Subſtance of his Advice never ſo excellent, yet there may be Faults in the applying it; and ſuch as, that it were as well, and perhaps much better let alone.

Now, That we may know how to govern our ſelves in ſo very tickliſh a Point, I ſhall take the Liberty to offer theſe following Directions. Which yet are to be lookt upon, as calculated for ſuch Perſons and Circumſtances, where ſomething of Diſtance, and Ceremony, and a Fear of being offenſive, may be expected. For, in caſe there be any intimate Familiarity, or particular Confidence; any Power or Authority in the Perſon reproving, that may ſet them above ſuch Formalities, then all the neceſſity of obſerving theſe following Rules, is quite ſuperſeded. But They, who cannot pretend to the Privilege of an open and unreſtrain'd Freedom, will do well, 4. *Rules for it*

1. To have a due regard to Time and Place; for a great deal depends upon the Nicking of theſe Two. For Inſtance, It ſhould not be done at a Publick Entertainment, nor amongſt Perſons met together for Mirth and Diverſion; for This is to be very impertinent, and to ſpoil good Company. Nor is it ſeaſonable, when we ſee the Party in ſome more than ordinary Trouble, Melancholy, and out of Humour, or under ſome very ſore Affliction. This looks like an Act of Hoſtility, and barbarous Inſulting; as if we took the Advantage of his Misfortunes, or Dejection of Mind, and only waited for an Opportunity to grieve, and teaze, and quite oppreſs him; when his Condition calls rather for our Comfort, and Encouragement, and Aſſiſtance. It is an Act of great Cruelty to chide Men in Diſtreſs; and *Perſeus* King of *Macedon* was ſo incens'd at this ill Treatment, that he killed two of his particular Friends, for preſuming to make this Addition to his Calamity.

2. It muſt not be done for all Faults indifferently; Not for ſuch as are inconſiderable, and of no very ill Conſequence; for This favours of Peeviſhneſs and Ill-nature, and betrays

betrays too much of Eagerneſs and Delight in this, at beſt ungrateful, Office. A Man will be apt to tell himſelf, that ſuch a Man is fond and glad of ſuch Opportunities, and makes uſe of them, more to gratifie his own Spleen, than with any Deſign of profiting his Friend. Nor yet ſhould it be done for very groſs, notorious, and dangerous Actions; ſuch as cannot but leave a Sting behind them, and the Enormity whereof he muſt needs be affected with, without our awakening his Conſcience, or taking the trouble of working him up to a Senſe of them. For he will be ſure, upon ſuch Occaſions, to dread the Reproach and the Uneaſineſs of an Admonition; and will fancy that we lie upon the Catch for his Fall, and labour to put him quite out of Conceit with himſelf.

3. This Admonition and Reproof ought to be private, that there may be no Witneſſes of his Diſgrace; for it is very grievous to be publickly expos'd. We are told of a Young Man, who was ſo overwhelm'd with Shame and Confuſion at a Rebuke given him by *Pythagoras*, that he could not bear to out-live it, but immediately went and hang'd himſelf. And *Plutarch* delivers it as his Opinion, that the Provocation which enrag'd *Alexander*, and tranſported him to the killing his old Friend *Clytus*, was not ſo much any Offence he took at what he ſaid, as the Rudeneſs of ſaying what he did before Company. More particularly yet, We muſt be ſure to forbear all Liberties of this kind, before thoſe Perſons, whoſe Approbation and Eſteem, either the Perſon is ambitious and tender of, or the Character he bears renders neceſſary to him. And therefore it is not to be done to either Husband or Wife before each other; nor to a Parent before Children; nor to a Maſter before his Servants; nor to a Miniſter or Teacher before his Pariſhioners or Scholars.

4. It ſhould be deliver'd with a plain, eaſie, unaffected Freedom; ſomewhat that looks unſtudy'd, and as it were by the bye: And, to be ſure, without any regard to private Intereſt, or the leaſt Appearance of Paſſion and Diſorder.

5. This is capable of being ſoften'd a little, by including our own ſelves, and not ſeeming to confine the Blame to Him alone, as if it were a ſtrange or particular thing; expreſſing our Senſe likewiſe in general Terms; as thus: *We are all apt to forget our ſelves upon theſe Occaſions; One would wonder*

wonder what Men think of, when they do ſuch things; or the like.

6. A Man ſhould always begin with the Commendations of ſomething that is good or well-done in his Friend, and cloſe all with Tenders of Service and Aſſiſtance; (This ſweetens and takes off very much from the Smart and Severity of the Correction; and makes the neceſſary bitter Pill go down more glibly) And then by comparing theſe things together, we may ſhew the Miſcarriage more evidently; as thus: *Such a Thing becomes you, and you do mighty well in it; I wiſh I could ſay as much of this:* Or, *Good lack! what a difference there is between ſuch an Action of Yours, and ſuch an one! Who could ever imagine that Pieces ſo unlike could ever be done by the ſame Hand?*

7. It is likewiſe adviſable, to expreſs the Fault in Phraſes as ſoft and gentle as we can, and ſuch as fall very much ſhort of the Enormity and real Proportion of the thing. For inſtance; inſtead of *You have done very ill*; to ſay, *Sure you did not conſider what you did; you were miſtaken, or not well aware*; or the like. Inſtead of *Have nothing to do with this Woman, why ſhould you ruine your ſelf upon her Account? Pray never think of entertaing a Woman, who will certainly be the Ruin of you:* Inſtead of deſiring him not to bear *ſuch an one a Grudge*; to beg, *that he would engage in no diſpute, nor concern himſelf with him.*

8. *Laſtly*, When the Buſineſs is over, a Man muſt not immediately leave the Party with uneaſie Impreſſions upon his Mind; for theſe will but ferment there, and gall him; and therefore it is neceſſary he ſhould ſtay with him till all that Uneaſineſs be got over: In order whereunto, he muſt contrive to turn his Diſcourſe upon ſome common entertaining Subject, which may divert the preſent remembrance of the Reprehenſion, and bring them to part very good Friends, and in perfect Humour.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Flattery, Lying, and Diſſimulation.

1. *Flattery.* FLattery is a moſt dangerous Poyſon to all private Perſons, that drink and ſuck it in. But as for Princes, it is almoſt the Only, the Univerſal Cauſe of their Ruin, and infinitely fruitful in Miſchiefs to their Subjects and Government in general, by betraying them to, and ſupporting them in their Tyranny and Male-Adminiſtration. It is a Thouſand times worſe than Falſe-witneſs: That deceives and miſ-leads the Judge, it draws a Sentence from him, wicked and unreaſonable in it ſelf; but not ſo with regard to Him; for his Will and Judgment are blameleſs: They proceed according as Matters appear in Evidence; and ſo the Man preſerves his Integrity ſtill: But here the very Mind and Judgment is debauch'd; the Soul is charm'd and bewitch'd, made incapable of improving in the Knowledge of the Truth, and utterly averſe from the Love of it. It is a Rank and ſpreading Evil; for if once a Prince be corrupted by Flattery, and fond of it, there is a neceſſity that all about him, who deſire to be well in his Opinion, and hope to make their Fortunes by his Favour, ſhould turn Flatterers. For Intereſt and Ambition will not fail to make Converts enough; and the Rule theſe govern themſelves by, is to ſtudy and practiſe what they ſee agreeable, and likely to recommend them moſt to the good Graces of their Patron. Whatever can be ſaid to ſhew the Excellence of Truth, all That proves the Baſeneſs and Deformity of Flattery: They who eſteem and adore the one, muſt in proportion deſpiſe and deteſt the other; which indeed is nothing elſe but the Corruption and Perverting of the Truth. It is a pitiful mean Vice, the Submiſſion of a poor degenerate Spirit; an Effeminacy and Weakneſs, as unbecoming a Man, as Gariſhneſs, and Affected Confidence is to a Woman.

* *Not Friends and faithleſs Flatterers differ more,*
Than a chaſt Woman, and a common Whore.

* Ut Matrona Meritrici diſpar erit, atque
Diſcolor, infido Scurræ diſtabit Amicus. *Horat. Lib.* XVIII.

Upon

Upon this Account Flatterers are compar'd to Strumpets, to Sorcerers, Poyſoners, Publick Cheats, Debauchers of Mankind; nay, to Wolves, and Foxes; and a wiſe Author declares it better to fall among Birds of Prey, and be Crow's Meat, than come into the Hands of Flatterers.

2 There are two Sorts of Perſons, who lie open to Flattery; and as they never want fawning People, who are always ready to offer them this Traſh; ſo they for the moſt part as greedily receive and ſwallow it. Theſe are Princes, with whom theſe Huckſters get into Credit, and grow acceptable by this means; and the Ladies, who are ſo marvelouſly delighted with hearing well of themſelves, that the moſt uſual and ſucceſsful Stratagem for corrupting their Virtue, is generally thought to be the entertaining them with their own Commendations.

3. It is really very hard to avoid the Danger of Flattery, and ſo to arm and ſtrengthen our Minds, that they ſhall be proof againſt all its Inſinuations. 'Tis particularly ſo to Women, by reaſon of their natural Diſpoſition, which by a Weakneſs almoſt univerſal to the Sex, inclines them to be fond of Vanity, and greedy of Praiſe. And it muſt needs be ſo to Princes; by reaſon their Relations, and Friends, and prime Miniſters, ſuch as they muſt of neceſſity hold conſtant converſation with, are all bred up to this Trade, and value themſelves upon being expert and dextrous in it. *Alexander*, who was ſo great a Monarch, with all the Philoſophy of his Tutor *Ariſtotle* to Arm him, could not ſtand againſt it. And, tho' we commonly pretend to leſſen and condemn Kings for ſuffering themſelves to be thus impoſed upon, yet there is never an one of us all, but, if we were in Their Circumſtances, and perpetually laid at by Paraſites and Sycophants, as They are, we ſhould be a Thouſand Times worſe than They. No Man of ordinary Condition can be a competent Judge in this caſe, becauſe he cannot have any Thing like the Tryals and Temptations of an elevated Poſt. But, tho' Flattery, like Diſeaſes, do not ſeize all Perſons and Conſtitutions alike, yet contagious it is, and no Man lives utterly out of the reach of its venomous Infection. There is ſomewhat ſo agreeable, that even They who hate and ſeem moſt to reject it, conceive a ſecret Pleaſure, and ſhut the Door againſt it ſo faintly, that after many pretended Denyals, it is let in, and kindly entertain'd in private. That which adds to the danger is, that Men are tainted by it inſenſibly; for it is ſo cunningly varniſh'd over, ſo

diſ-

diſguis'd with a Mask of Friendſhip, which it affects always to wear, that one cannot very eaſily diſtinguiſh between them. It uſurps and invades all her good Offices, puts on her Air and Countenance, calls it ſelf by her Name, counterfeits her Voice; in ſhort, obſerves the Tone, the Meen, the Readineſs, the Zeal; ſo that you would ſwear it could be none but ſhe. The Buſineſs of Flattery is to pleaſe, and be taking: It pays marvellous Reſpect and Deference, is very liberal in Praiſes, exceeding officious and eager to ſerve the Perſon apply'd to, and careful to be always in good Humour; or indeed in any Humour that prevails, and will be moſt agreeable at that time. Nay, to ſhew how exquiſite the Hypocriſie of this Vice is, it goes a great deal farther, and ventures upon the laſt and higheſt, the ſevereſt and moſt dangerous Act of Friendſhip, and is free and full in its Expoſtulations and Reproofs. In own Word, the Flatterer's Care is always to profeſs and make himſelf believ'd much more ſincere and paſſionate in his Affection and Concern for the Perſon whom he addreſſes to, than he is or can be to Him in return. But all theſe boaſting and pompous Pretenſions notwithſtanding, there is not in the World any thing more deſtructive of true Friendſhip: Ill Language, Affronts, open and avowed Enmity, are not in reality greater Contradictions, how different ſoever they are in Figure and outward Shew. It is the very Bane of all Sincerity and true Love; they are irreconcilable, and cannot dwell together. * When once I am your Friend, I ceaſe to Flatter; and when I begin to Flatter, from that very inſtant you may conclude me none of your Friend. And therefore that Obſervation is moſt true, † That the Wounds and Strokes of a Friend are better and more deſirable, than the Kiſſes of a Flatterer. Thoſe, tho' we feel ſome Pain in them, are yet well intended, and may contribute to our Benefit and Amendment. Theſe are ſoft and ſmooth, but full of Treachery and Miſchief; and the End of all thoſe kind Careſſes, is to keep us unacquainted with our ſelves, and ſo to lead us hoodwink'd into Ruin.

4. Since therefore it ſo highly concerns us not to be miſtaken upon this Occaſion, and ſince the knowing theſe two ſo very contrary Qualities aſunder, is no ſuch obvious and

* Non potes me ſimul Amico & Adulatore uti.

† Meliora vulnera diligentis, quàm oſcula blandientis.

eaſie

eaſie Matter; I ſhall endeavour to draw off the Vizor; and draw, if not the whole Face, yet ſo many of the Features and principal Lines of it, as that by theſe Strokes my Reader may be able to diſtinguiſh Flattery and Friendſhip from each other.

1. *Firſt*, Flattery is always follow'd cloſe at the Heels by private Intereſt and Advantage: This is the Scent it follows, and you may know it by the manner of Hunting, and the Game it purſues: But a Friend is generous, and undeſigning; hath no By-Ends, nor is Self at the bottom of what he does continually.

2. A Flatterer is perpetually veering and changeable in his Judgment and Opinion of Things; like a Looking-Glaſs, that readily reflects all Faces, or Wax prepar'd to receive any manner of Impreſſions. He is a Camelion, a Polypus, never of one Colour and Complexion, longer than you determine and encourage him to it. If you appear to commend and love a Man, he admires and exalts him to the Skies; pretend Diſlike, or Reſentment, or Averſion, He tacks about ſtreight, and is in with you There too; he cenſures, condemns, aggravates, as he finds You ſtand affected: For You are the Principal, the Subſtance, the Original; and He your Image, your Repreſentation, the Shadow, the Copy, the conſtant Attendant and Mimick of all you are, and ſay, and do; affecting every Motion, and putting on every Shape, as he ſees his Pattern alter. Whereas a Friend is firm, and uniform, and conſiſtent with himſelf; For Truth and Reaſon are the Compaſs he ſteers by, and theſe are fix'd and unchangeable.

3. Another Mark to diſtinguiſh him by, is his Carriage; which is always eager, and officious to a great exceſs; and eſpecially in ſuch things as he is ſenſible will be obſerv'd, or otherwiſe like to come to the Knowledge of the Perſon he addreſſes to; and, as in all other reſpects, ſo is he particularly forward in his Commendations, in proffering his Service and doing every little thing that may look like Deference and Zeal. In all his Behaviour there is nothing of Steadineſs or Moderation; and yet, as fair a Shew as all this makes outwardly to the World, there is not any ſolid Bottom, not one Grain of cordial Affection within. Now a Friend is the very Reverſe of all This; an Enemy to Oſtentation and large Pretences; and content, that the Sincerity of his Kindneſs ſhould prove it ſelf by ſolid and ſubſtantial Teſtimonies: Not at all the leſs diſpoſed to act as becomes

his Character, tho' he were sure that he should never be taken notice of, or thank'd for it: And therefore the Integrity of his Heart and Intentions, often puts him upon studying secret ways of obliging; and, provided his own Duty be done, and his Conscience satisfy'd, he can very well abate the publishing his Endeavours to serve his Friend.

4. The Flatterer constantly yields the Prize to his Patron, declares him in the Right in all he says, applauds his Prudence in all he does, and this without any other Design, but only to please, and render himself agreeable. Hence it is, that he over-shoots the Mark so much, commending All without Distinction, and All extravagantly and in excess. Nay sometimes he will not grudge to do it at his own expence, and to lessen his own Desert, that he may magnifie his Patron's. Like Wrestlers, that stoop and bend, only to shew the Cunning of their Play, and mend their Hold; that so they may gain the Advantage of throwing the Adversary a fairer Fall. Now a Friend goes to work plainly and bluntly; Preference and Esteem are of small Consideration with Him; nor is his Design so much to please and minister Delight, as to bring substantial Profit, and to do much Good; and what way this is done is of little concern to him; he is not nice and scrupulous in the Choice of Methods; but, like a good Physician, considers the Case and the Necessities of his Patient; and prepares his sharp and painful, or his gentler Remedies, not according as they sute the Palate, but the Exigencies of his Friend. Recovery and Amendment is his End and Business, and all things else are indifferent to him, except so far as they may prove subservient to this Great Design.

5. Sometimes he will needs take upon him to rebuke his Friend, but he does it so very aukwardly, that a Man may easily discern This to be only a Copy of his Countenance; and that at the same time he puts on the Hardiness of a Friend, his chief Care is not to incur Displeasure by handling Matters too roughly. To this purpose he will be sure to fix upon light and trivial Faults only, or some very excusable Defect, pretending himself blind all the while to those that are grosser, and much more obnoxious to Censure and Reproach. He will express himself with great Severity and Bitterness against Relations, or Acquaintance, or Servants, as if They were wanting in the Diligence and Respects due from them. Or else he will introduce the Liberty

berty he takes with a Pretence of ſome idle Stories he hath heard, and profeſs great Sollicitude to be inform'd of the Truth from his own Mouth, that ſo he may be capable of doing him Service in a juſt Vindication of his Innocence. And, when his Patron either denies the Fact, or excuſes himſelf, he will not fail to catch at this Opportunity of exſpatiating in his Praiſe, "I confeſs, *Sir*, "*ſays he*, this was a wonderful Surpriſe to me, and what "I could not prevail with my ſelf to give Credit to. I "was ſatisfied I knew you better; for how is it poſſible "you ſhould be guilty of any ſuch Thing? I told your "Enemies who taxed you with Injuſtice, that they, muſt "pardon me, if I was peremptory to the Contrary. For "who could imagine that you ſhould invade another's "Right, who are ſo far from inſiſting Rigorouſly upon "your own? One, who to my Knowledge is ſo Gene-"rous, ſo Bountiful, ſo Charitable, could never, you may "be ſure, paſs upon me for a griping or covetous Man. "Such Jealouſies, I ſaid, might find Entertainment with "Strangers, but with me, who have the Honour to be ſo "well acquainted with your Virtues, they would all go for nothing. Or elſe he takes Occaſion to chide him kindly, for having no more Care of himſelf, and expoſing that Perſon ſo much, which is of ſuch infinite Importance to the Publick; as one of the Senators particularly is ſaid to have curried Favour with *Tiberius*, in a full Senate, after a very nauſeous and fulſome manner of Complementing.

6. In a Word; I ſhall need to add but this One Mark of Diſtinction more. A true Friend always regards, and adviſes, and promotes that which is agreable to Reaſon, and Duty; he conſults the Character and Circumſtances of the Perſon; and obſerves what is fitteſt and moſt becoming; but the Flatterer ſpies out a blind Side, and ſtrikes in with Pleaſure, and Intereſt, and Inclination. So that no Man is ſo proper an Inſtrument for corrupting Mens Principles, and ſoothing them in all manner of Extravagance and Vice: None ſo improper for the putting forward any thing of Virtue, or Difficulty; or Danger. Indeed he is like an Ape, that ſerves to none of thoſe neceſſary Uſes which other Creatures are aſſiſting to us in; but ſeems cut out merely for the Jeſt and Diverſion of Mankind.

5. *Lying.* To this Vice of Flattery, That of Lying is very near of Kin, and usually goes along with it: And This is likewise of the same infamous Quality; a mean, and dishonourable, and rascally Vice. For what can be more Despicable and Base, than for a Man to speak contrary to his own Knowledge and Sense of Things? The first and boldest Step toward the Corruption of Manners, is the banishing Truth out of our Discourse; as on the Contrary, the Courage and Resolution to be true, is, according to *Pindar*'s Account of it, the Beginning and Foundation of a Brave and Eminent Virtue. But, besides the Despicableness of this Vice in it self, it is likewise highly Destructive to Humane Society. For we cease to be Men, and are loose from all the mutual Tyes, and Securities possible to be had upon one another, when mutual Confidence, and Truth, the only ground of it, is lost. Speech indeed is rightly said to capacitate Mankind for Society; but if once That be abused to Falshood and Deceit, Silence is a Thousand times the more sociable Quality of the Two. If a Lye indeed were constant to it self, and wore but one Face, as Truth does, then there would be some Hopes at least, and the Mischief were more tolerable; for we might depend upon it, that the direct Contrary of what the Lyar says is True. But alas! it is our Misfortune, that the Reverse of Truth hath a Hundred Thousand several Shapes, and the Space it ranges in is Infinite. Good, (that is, Virtue and Truth) is certain and circumscribed, staked down to One single Spot, and fixed beyond the Power of Variation, as there can be but One Way to hit the Mark. But Evil, (that is, Vice and Errour) is Infinite and Uncertain, and there are a Thousand Ways to shoot beside the Mark: For short or beyond, too high or too low, on this or on that Side, all are wide of the Matter. Without all Doubt could Mankind be made duly sensible of the Horror, and mischievous Consequences of Lying, they would be so far from practising or giving the least Countenance to such Wickedness, that they would set themselves to drive it out of the World with Fire and Sword; and think no Punishments too severe, no Methods too cruel for the utter Extermination of it. And This is a good Hint to those, who make the Education of Youth their Care, with what Vigilance the very first Tendencies to this Evil ought to be observed, and the Growth of it prevented and opposed. This should be their first Business, and the

the Checking of a positive and obstinate Humor their next; and both these should be taken down betimes; for otherwise the Corruption of Nature will be beforehand with us; and it is scarce to be conceived indeed, how very early such rank Weeds spring, and how prodigiously they shoot, if not nipt in the Bud.

6. *Hypocrisie.* But Men may be guilty of Lying in their Actions, as well as in their Discourse; for what else is all that Hypocrisie and Dissimulation, so generally practised in the World? This, I confess, is represented as an Accomplishment, and hath obtain'd the Character and Reputation of Complaisance and good Breeding. But yet, let the Men of refined Manners say what they will, it is in reality a Blemish and Dishonour, a mean Submission, and base Degeneracy of Soul, for a Man to appear abroad always in Disguise. To walk with a Mask, and not dare to shew his Face to the World. Let Men talk of Honour as long as they will, Honour can never be consistent with Dissimulation; and He that is an Hypocrite is certainly the greatest Coward, the most abject Slave.

7. Now, whoever he be, that sets up this Trade, he will find enough to do to maintain his Credit, or his Ease by it. For a Hypocrite is under perpetual Constraint. And what a Torment must it needs be, for a Man always to appear Different from what he is really, and in his own Nature? What a constant Eye must he have upon every Word, and Action, what Jealousies of all he converses with, what anxious Fears of being discover'd and exposed? The Difficulty and Disquiet of concealing one's Temper, is a perfect Hell upon Earth; and the being found out is an intolerable Confusion and Reproach. If there be such a Thing as perfect Ease and Pleasure attainable here below, it is certainly to be found only in a Freedom and Openness, and Security of Mind and Conversation. And a Man had better let the World see the Worst of him, though he Happen to be something less in their Esteem for his plain downright Behaviour; than be always straining to counterfeit some good Qualities which he hath not, or to keep some ill one's out of Sight. So Amiable, so Noble is this Frankness of Temper, that even Reputation it self, as valuable as it is, cannot make sufficient Reparation for the parting with it.

But, besides that this is a difficult and laborious Trade, it is a poor and paltry One; for most Men Break of it in

a very little while. Diſſimulation cannot go very far; It will be diſcovered at one time or other, and leave thoſe that depend upon it, in the Lurch. It is a common Obſervation, and daily Experince proves it to be as true as it is common, that Nothing which is either Violent or Counterfeit continues long. Herein, Art and Force differ from Nature, that They decay by Time, and This improves by it. And, when once ſuch Men are detected, all they get by it is, never to be truſted afterwards; to have no Streſs laid upon what they Do, nor any Credit given to what they Say. Nay, Truth it ſelf ſuffers by this means, and can gain no reception, when it comes out of their Mouths. And how Deſpicable a Wretch is That, whoſe Authority is loſt, and whoſe Example goes for nothing; whoſe whole Life is look'd upon as one continued Banter; and his moſt ſerious Actions are thought to ſmell ſo rank of Trick and Deſign, that they only ſerve to awaken Mens Suſpicion, and warn them to be more upon their Guard?

9. Now, this is a Caſe capable of being miſunderſtood, and miſapply'd; and therefore, as there is ſome room left for, ſo indeed there is great need of Prudence and Moderation, to prevent an Errour in the other Extreme. For if a Man's Diſpoſition be crooked and deform'd; if there be any thing vicious and offenſive to the World; this ought certainly to be kept in; or, to ſpeak more properly, be brought into Shape: For there is a vaſt Difference between living eaſie and unconſtrained; and being rude, and ſlovenly, and careleſs in our Behaviour. We ſhould not take Pains to impoſe upon thoſe we converſe with; but we are not therefore bound to turn their Stomachs. A Man ſhould not tell a Lye; but he is not oblig'd to tell all the Truth neither. That then, which we are to take Care of in this Point, is, to ſpeak as much as is convenient, and to be ſure that all we do ſpeak be True; To diſtinguiſh between Twatling and Openneſs in Converſation; and in Behaviour between a Freedom conſiſtent with Sincerity and Good Manners; and a Moroſe Indifference, which breaks through all Reſerves, and declares War with all Decency and Reſpect.

10. There are indeed Two ſorts of People, in whom Hypocriſie is in ſome Degree excuſable; I might ſay indeed, Neceſſary and Becoming; but the Reaſons which vindicate and uphold them in it, are very different from each other.

other. The First are Princes, who, as I have observed before, may sometimes be obliged to dissemble upon very important Considerations: The Publick Good, the Safety of their Persons, the Peace of the Government may require it; all these might be ruined and lost, if the Counsels and Methods that support them, were carried so openly, that every Stander by could see through, and penetrate into the bottom of the Governour's Designs. And therefore, taking the Condition of the World as it now stands, so full of Treachery and Villany; it is no Derogation to Justice or Religion to say, that Princes may be allowed some Measures in their Publick Character, which neither They, nor any other Man, is privileged to take in his private one. Would all their Subjects be Faithful and do their Duty, then indeed the Rules of Political, and Private Virtue would be the same; but now Men must be governed, not according to what they should be, but to what they actually are. And, as Laws, when made for the Reformation of Vice, suppose the worst of Men; so the Administrators of those Laws, must by their Wariness and Wisdom provide against the Worst.

The Second sort of Dissimulation in some Degree allowable, is in Women; and the Reason that enforces it, is Decency, and the Gracefulness of Modesty and Reserve, in Their Sex more especially: For what would be interpreted Freedom and Assuredness in a Man, would in one of them be condemned for Impudence. And therefore the little Disguises in their Carriage and Looks, the making up their Mouth, and affected Ignorances, look pretty enough; and have a becoming Air of Bashfulness and Innocence: And besides, These do no manner of hurt; for they pass for Things of Course, and no body but Fools and Men utterly unacquainted with the World, can ever be imposed upon by them. But This is a Trouble I might have spared my self; for the Sex are so naturally addicted to Hypocrisie, that it is very needless to recommend, or to instruct them in it. They are indeed a fair Outside all over; their Faces, their Cloths, their Talk, their Looks, their Smiles, their Tears, have all but too much of Art in them; and are contrived to make a Shew: Nay, which is still Worse, they do not only dissemble with the Living, but with the Dead too; The Long Veil, and the Dark Room; the Bed so many Days, and the Chamber so many Weeks; what are these but the Pomp and Pretence of Sorrow

Appearances which all indifferently are obliged to make, whether for good or bad Husbands, in point of Decency, forsooth, and conformity to Custom; when yet there is so little at the Bottom of this composed Formality, and the Farce is so very Gross, that many of these disconsolate Widows have much ado to hold their Countenances. It was observ'd long since, that * Counterfeit Grief is always most Ambitious to shew it self; and a Man would almost be tempted to suspect, that all those Solemn Fopperies, above the Reasonable and comely Expressions of Grief, were invented to make out in Ostenation, what was wanting in the Reality of their Concern.

* Jactantiùs mœrent quæ minus dolent.

CHAP. XI.

Of Beneficence and Gratitude.

THE Art of doing and receiving Good Offices, as That Respects the Beneficence of the Donor, and the Obligation and Gratitude in the Person to whom they are done, is a Subject of great Compass, and Extent; of great Use, but withal of much Intricacy, and Difficulty. There is not any one Instance, in which Men are more Deficient. Very few know, either how to oblige, or how to be obliged, as becomes them. It looks as if Goodness, and Desert, and Gratitude were in the Declension; and Revenge and Ingratitude in the Ascendent; as if Those were a Loss and Diminution, and These a Gain and Privilege; so eager and zealous we are generally in the former, so so very cold and indifferent, so averse indeed to the latter. Thus *Tacitus* observes, that † *Thanks are reputed Trouble, but Revenge an Advantage*; and *Seneca*, That *Injuries and Affronts make much deeper Impression than Favours and Kindness.* We will therefore endeavour at present to correct and redress this so common Defect; (or Corruption rather,) of Mankind; by treating at present, First of Beneficence, under which I comprehend Humanity, Liberali-

† Gratia oneri est, Ultio in quæstu habetur. Altiùs Injuriæ quàm merita descendunt.

ty,

ty, Charity or Relief of the Poor and Diſtreſſed; and of their Contraries, Inhumanity, Niggardlineſs, Want of Compaſſion: And then Secondly, of the Obligation, the Gratitude of the Receiver, or the Neglect, and Ingratitude after ſuch Kindneſſes received.

I. *Motive to Beneficence.*

Which Way ſoever we turn our Eyes, they are every where preſented with Arguments and Inſtances, for the Exercise of Kindneſs, and Beneficence. God, and Nature, and Univerſal Reaſon, and Equity, All joyn in their Invitations to it. In God, whether we conſider his Eſſence, or his Providence, what he is, and what he does, we ſee nothing but Goodneſs; for He is the very Perfection of it, Goodneſs it ſelf; and That not a ſpeculative and unprofitable Excellence, but the moſt diffuſive and communicative Goodneſs; and * *of all the Reſemblances and Imitations of the Divinity that Human Nature is capable of, the neareſt Approach we can make toward him is in this Particular*; as *Tully* very juſtly obſerved. And *Pliny*; *when one Man ſuccors another, he does an Act more than Human, and becomes as it were a God to his Brother.* The Inducements, which Nature furniſhes us with, are many. Such as, The ſenſible Satisfaction a Man feels in ſeeing the Perſon whom he hath obliged; the Conſideration, that he is a Perſon of the ſame Condition with himſelf, caſt in the ſame Mould, wrought up of the ſame Materials, a Tranſcript of the ſame Original; For † *nothing is ſo agreable to the Dictates of Nature, as to aſſiſt one who is a Partaker of the ſame Nature*; It is a Generous and Noble Act; worthy a Perſon of Honour and Virtue, to be uſeful and beneficial to others, to embrace and improve, nay, to ſeek Opportunities of being ſo. For the ∴ *Liberal Man does not contens himſelf with taking them when they come in his Way; but he goes out to meet, and takes Paines to find them.* And it is an old Adage, that Truly Noble Blood will neither let a Man tell a Lye, nor be wanting good Offices, where they are Seaſonable. There is ſomewhat of Greatneſs and commendable Pride in doing Kindneſſes, as there is of Meanneſs in having them done

* Nullâ re propiùs ad Dei naturam accedimus, quam Beneficentiâ. Dei eſt mortalem ſuccurrere mortali.

† Nihil tam ſecundum Naturam, quam juvare conſortem Naturæ.

∴ Liberalis etiam dandi cauſas quærit.

to

to us; and this may be one convenient Sense of that Saying, which St. *Paul* ascribes to our Saviour; *It is more Blessed to give than to receive.* He that gives, gets himself Honour, and gains an Advantage; he becomes Master of the Receiver, and acquires a Right in him: as on the other hand, the Receiver sells his Freedom, and is no longer at his own disposal. The First Inventer of Good Offices, (says one with Ingenuity enough) contrived the strongest Fetters that ever were, to bind and captivate Mankind. Upon this Account several People have refused to accept of Kindnesses, because they would not suffer their Liberty to be entrenched upon; and particularly, if the Person conferring the Favour were one, whom they had no Kindness for, and did not care to be obliged to. For which Reason it is, that the old Philosophers forbid us to receive any Kindnesses from ill Men, because in so doing we let them get a Hank upon us. *Cæsar* used to say, that no Musick was so charming in his Ears, as the Requests of his Friends, and the Supplications of those in want. The Motto of Greatness is, *Ask me.* And that Command and Promise gives us a Noble Idea of the Majesty of God, *Call upon me in the time of Trouble; so will I hear thee, and thou shalt glorifie me.* This is likewise the most Honourable way of employing our Power and Plenty; which, while we keep by us, and in our own private Possession, are called by the mean Names, of Houses, and Lands, and Money; but when drawn out into Use, and expended to the Benefit of our Brethren, they are dignified with new and August Titles; and from thenceforth commence Good Actions, Liberality, Magnificence, Alms, and Treasures in Heaven. Nay it is not only the most Honourable, but the most prudent and profitable Method of trafficking with them; * *the gainfullest of all Arts, the best and least hazardous Way of Merchandise*; for here the Principal is secured, and the Interest arising upon it rises exceeding high. And, to say the very truth, no part of what we have is so properly our Own, none turns to such a prodigious Increase, so comfortable Account, as that which we expend upon good Uses. What lies by us is lock'd up, and hid privately; it lies and wasts; or at least it never grows upon our Hands; and it is sure to give us the Slip at last, either by some of those infinite Accidents, by which all such Things

Psal. l. 15.

* Ars quæstuosissima, optima Negotiatio.

are

are liable to be ſnatch'd from Us; or by that certain and inevitable Separation, by which Death will ſhortly ſnatch Us away from Them. But ſo much of theſe as is thus put out, can never fail, never be wreſted from us; never ruſt, or decay, or lie buried in Unprofitableneſs. Hence it was, that *Mark Anthony*, when depreſt, and at an Ebb of Fortune ſo low, that he had nothing but Death left at his own Diſpoſal, cryed out, that **he had loſt All, except what he had given away.* And thus you ſee, what a brave, and noble, and becoming Temper, this Compaſſionate, and good Natured Frame of Soul is; how worthily a ready Inclination to do Good to all the World, attracts the Love and Admiration of all that conſider it; How Amiable and Engaging, how Powerful and Irreſiſtible the Charms of Generoſity are. As indeed, on the other Hand, nothing is ſo Mean and Sneaking, ſo Deteſtable and Deſpicable, ſo Deformed and Unnatural, as Hard-heartedneſs, and Inſenſibility of other Peoples Misfortunes; It is therefore deſervedly ſtyled Inhumanity; to intimate by that Name, that ſuch People are Monſters, and not Men. And, as the Vices themſelves, ſo the Source and Cauſes of them ſtand in direct Oppoſition to each other. For, as Beneficence ſprings from Greatneſs and Gallantry of Spirit, ſo unreaſonable Parſimony and Hard-heartedneſs is the Spawn of Cowardice, and Bruriſh Degeneracy of Soul.

2. *Several ſorts of it.*

Now, there are two ways of becoming Beneficial to our Neighbours; either as we miniſter to their Profit, or to their Pleaſure. The Firſt procures us Admiration and Eſteem; the Second Love, and good Will. The Firſt is much more valuable, becauſe it regards Mens Neceſſities and Diſtreſſes; it is acting the Part of a Tender Father, and a True Friend. There is likewiſe a Difference in theſe Acts of Kindneſs themſelves; Some are due from us, ſuch as the Laws of Nature, or poſitive Inſtitution require at our Hands; Others are free, and what we are under no expreſs Obligation for, but the Effect of pure Choice, and Love. The Latter of theſe Two ſorts, ſeem to be more Brave and Generous; But yet the Former too, when diſcharged with Application, and Prudence, and ſincere Affection, are very Excellent and Commendable, though they have the Nature of a Debt, and are ſuch as we cannot be faithful to our Duty, and diſpenſe with our ſelves in.

* Hoc habeo quodcunq; dedi.

Now

3. *Internal and External.*

Now the true Beneficence or Kindness is not properly in the Gift it self, that which a Man sees, and feels, and tastes; this is too gross a Notion; and all we that can allow, is that These are the Matter, the Signs, and the Demonstrations of our Kindness; but the Thing it self is the Disposition and good Heart. The Outward and visible part may be very small and inconsiderable; and yet that within may at the same time be wondrous great. For This may have proceeded from an exceeding Eagerness and Affection; a hunger and thirst of doing good; watching, and contriving, and seeking Occasions for it; and esteeming such Actions as our Saviour's Terms, *One's Meat and Drink*; snatching them as greedily, and receiving as sensible a Satisfaction and Delight from them, as from the most necessary Refreshments, by which this Life of ours is sustain'd. A Man may have given to the very utmost of his Ability, and by this means exhaust that little Store, which is scarce sufficient for his own Occasions; or he may part with that which is particularly valuable and dear to him. These are the Considerations, that enhanced the value of the Widow's Mite; and render'd one small piece of Money, not equal only, but far superiour to all the large Donations of the Rich Contributors. And thus Heathen Authors have likewise concurr'd in their Estimate of good Works. * *In every Benefit*, say they, *we are to have a more than ordinary respect to that, which a Man by relieving his Neighbour, streightens himself in; and for the sake of another's Convenience and Advantage, postpones and forgoes his own.* On the other Hand, where the Gift it self is large, the Obligation may be very small; and indeed, in great Gifts there are some Circumstances, which most commonly make it so. For such are bestow'd frequently with Unwillingness and Reluctancy: They expect to be much intreated, and long attended for them, and take time to consider, whether they shall bestow them or not: Now This hath too much of Pomp and Formality in it; such a Man is desirous to magnifie his own Bounty; and after all, he gives more to gratifie his own Vanity and Ambition, than to supply the Necessities of them that want; and so Himself is the Giver and Receiver both. But that which gives another very just Preference in the Case before us, is, That the External Benefit may

* In Beneficio Hoc suspiciendum, quod alteri dedit, ablaturus sibi, utilitatis suæ oblitus.

be

be presently wrested from us again; or if not by Fraud and Force, yet it may be spent, or lost; it may decay upon our Hands, and in process of time vanish quite; but the inward Disposition, with which it was conferred, is permanent and firm. The Liberty, or the Health, the Wealth, or Honour, or Preferment bestow'd upon us, may by some fresh Accident be lost in an instant; but still the Kindness and the Obligation remains entire.

Now the Directions, by which a Man may do well to govern himself in the exercise of this excellent Virtue, are such as follow. 4. *Rules for Beneficence.*

First, With regard to the Persons; who are the proper Objects of our Liberality, and whether it be fit to extend it to All, as their Wants, and our own Abilities furnish Opportunities for it. This is a very reasonable Enquiry, and highly necessary to be resolv'd; because, by doing good to wicked Men, and such as do not deserve our Kindness, a Man may seem to be guilty of a great many Faults at once. This derives Censure and an ill Name upon the Donor, and exposes his Bounty to very vile Interpretations; It hardens and supports such People in their Wickedness and Extravagance; breeds Envy and malicious Thoughts; takes away all Distinctions between the Good and the Bad, by allowing the same Countenance and Encouragement to Vice, which is due to Virtue and Desert. For certainly those Assistances, which depend upon our own free Choice, and are the Effect of Grace, and not any Debt by virtue of Obligation and Duty, Worth and Goodness have the best Title to; but yet extreme Necessity, and the general Good of Mankind lay all in common. In these two Cases none are excluded, but even the Wicked and the Ingrateful have Right to come in for a Share, if their Necessities are urgent; and if they be so mingl'd and interspers'd with the Good, that One cannot enjoy the Benefit, without the Other partaking of it too. And undoubtedly it is much better to do good to those who do not deserve it for the sake of them that do; than to with-hold our Assistance from those that do deserve, in revenge, and for the discouragement of Them who do not. Accordingly we see, that God sets us a daily example of Universal Beneficence, *He causeth his Sun to rise on the Evil and on the Good; and giveth Rain to the Just and to the Unjust.* These are the Effects of a general Providence: But then he bestows, over and above these, some special Blessings, which are the Effects

fects of a distinguishing Providence; There he makes choice of his own Faithful and Beloved ones; and that Rule mention'd by our Blessed Lord takes place; *It is not meet to take the Children's Bread, and to cast it unto Dogs.* * *There is a vast deal of difference* (says the Philosopher) *between not exhibding a Man, and making him your Choice.* In Cases of Extremity, when Affliction and Necessity cry aloud for present Redress and Assistance, we should extend our Charity without Distinction of Merit; and it will not serve us to say, that Men are unworthy. † *Nature calls upon us to be serviceable to all without exception*; and the Consideration of his being a Man is sufficient to excite our Compassion, when Opportunities of doing Good offer themselves to us. Humanity bids us bear a tender regard, and lend our Endeavours to those that seek, and stretch out their Hands to implore our help; not to pursue them, who turn their Backs upon us: And our Kindness is much more due, much better bestow'd, where we are able to do good, than where They who receive it are capable of doing good to Us. It is an Act of Generosity to take the weaker Side, to support those that are sinking, to heal a broken Fortune, and support a drooping Spirit, and to rob the Conqueror of his Pride and Triumph, by snatching the Spoils, and rescuing the vanquish'd Prey out of his Hand. Thus *Chelonis* is said to have done. She was both the Wife and Daughter of a King. These two Princes had a Dispute with one another; in which, while her Husband had the Advantage, she shewed her self a dutiful Daughter, and follow'd her Father's Fortunes, never forsaking him in his greatest Distress; but when the Chance of War turn'd, and cast the Scale on the other side, then She turn'd too, and left her Father to enjoy his Prosperity; and thought This a proper Season to exert the Affection and Fidelity of a Wife, by sticking close to her Husband in his Calamitous Condition.

5. A Second Rule for the Exercise of this Virtue is to do it frankly and cheerfully; *Not grudgingly, or of necessity*, says St. *Paul*; *for God loveth a cheerful giver.* And ∴ *The Kindness you do is doubly welcome, when what is seasonable and*

* Multum refert, utrum aliquem non excludas, an eligas.

† Hominibus prodesse Natura jubet ubicunque Homini beneficio locus.

∴ Bis est gratum, quod opus est, si ultro offeras.

necessary

necessary comes of its own accord, without staying to be ask'd, or press'd to it. For so much of Entreaty and Attendance as it costs, so much of the Value and Satisfaction is abated. And * *No Man takes any great Joy in being beholding to a Man for that which he did not so properly receive, as extort.* That which is gotten by Importunity is dear bought: He that obtains by dint of asking, ought not to esteem his Supply a Gift; for Attendance, and Address, and earnest Supplications are a very high Price, and pay well for the Purchase. He that asks, humbles and debases himself; he acknowledges himself inferiour; is ashamed and out of Countenance; pays mighty Deference and Respect to the Party apply'd to; and the true *English* of all his Behaviour is that beggerly Form, *Your Petitioner, as in Duty bound*, &c. This is the very Ground of what I observ'd of *Cæsar*; it was the Pride of his Heart that made him say, after the Defeat of *Pompey*, That He never took so much Delight in any thing, as in being supplicated and sought to; and, to gratifie his own Vanity in this particular, he gave All, even his Enemies, some Hopes of obtaining their Requests in time, that so he might drill them on to repeat and continue their Applications to him. And what can we make of This? It was not out of any good Intentions to others, but meerly to please himself, that he shew'd himself exorable, and easie of Access. For Kindness comes easie; and therefore as an Emblem of its doing so, the Graces of old were described and painted, with loose, transparent Garments; not girt close about their Bodies, but flowing and free; to shew, that Favours should have nothing of Trick or Design, nothing strait-lac'd, or of Constraint in them.

6. A Third Qualification necessary to recommend any Favour, is the conferring it readily, and out of Hand; This indeed seems to have some Connexion and Dependence upon the former. For all Kindnesses are to be rated by the Good-Will and Disposition of the Donor; And † He who delays his Relief, was so long in a State of Unwillingness to give it. And as that Loathness is a very great Rebate, so the speedy Complyance and Alacrity of the

* Nemo lubenter debet, quod non accepit, sed expressit. Non tulit gratis, qui accepit rogans; imò nihil charius emitur, quàm quod Precibus.

† Qui tardè fecit, diu noluit.

Mind

Mind is a great Enhancement, and doubles the Gift. That cold Indifferency, and those trifling Put-off's, commonly practised upon such Occasions, are approv'd by no Body but Men of Insolence, who make it their Diversion to banter and abuse People: For Diligence and Dispatch are commendable in all Cases, and in none more requisite than in This now before us. There are Five different Methods of proceeding in it; Three of which are liable to Censure, and the other Two as worthy of Commendation. A Man may deny, but he may keep one in suspense and Expectation a great while first; This is a double Injury. He may refuse immediately, or he may grant at last; and both these amount much to one, when the Matter comes to be fairly computed; at least, ∴ *He that is soon said Nay, is less deceiv'd.* The Fourth is to grant speedily; and This is very well: But the Best of all is, To prevent a Request; to foresee Men's Wants and Wishes, and never put them to the Expence of asking at all.

A Fourth Commendation is the Giving without any prospect of a Requital; and indeed This is the very thing, wherein the Virtue of Beneficence chiefly consists; for when once you make it mercenary, it ceases to be a Virtue. * There is a great deal less Kindness where there are Expectations cherish'd of the Benefit reflecting back again upon the first Mover. But when there is no Opportunity, no Possibility of a Return; nay, when Matters are carry'd so privately, that the Party oblig'd does not so much as know his Benefactor, then the Benefit shines in its full Lustre. If a Man study the Point of Retaliation, he will give but slowly, and by Peace-meals; because this is the thrifty way of being as little out of Pocket as he can. Now it were much better to renounce all Thoughts of being paid again, than to be slack in doing good; because by coveting this Return, which is accidental only, and foreign to the purpose, he loses that which is the true and natural Recompence, the inward Complacency of Mind, and the ravishing Satisfactions which result from a Sense of doing good. A Man should not need to be twice intreated for the same thing. For, as the being guilty of Injustice is of it self abominable and base, and there needs no other Consideration, than the Dishonour and Obliquity of the Thing to defer us from it; so

∴ Minus decipitur, cui negatur celeriter.

* Tunc est Virtus dare Beneficia non reditura.

the

the doing Good is a generous and becoming Act, and it is a Fault to want any other Motive, more than its Native Beauty and Excellence; the ſtaying till we are argu'd and importun'd into Matters of this Nature, betrays either much Ignorance, or great Indifference. In a Word, † To keep one's Eye upon the Return, and the Account our Kindneſs is like to turn to, is not properly doing good with our Subſtance, but turning the Penny, and putting it out to Intereſt; Theſe are Methods too diſtant to be reconcil'd, and confounded together; and we ſhould always diſtinguiſh between Giving, and driving ſuch a Trade. Such Men are right enough ſerv'd, when their Expectations are diſappointed. As That Woman muſt not pretend to Honour and Virtue, who denies her Lover, only to inflame his Paſſion the more, and in hopes that he will renew his Courtſhip; ſo That Man muſt not think to paſs for Liberal and Generous, who ſends away his Petitioner to Day, that he may ſee him again to morrow, or expends that which he hopes will ſhortly come home to him. For this Reaſon *Heſiod*, and the old Poets, deſcrib'd the Graces in a State of Virginity; that no Man when he does good Offices, ſhould have regard to multiplying and increaſe. And eſpecially this falls infinitely ſhort of a Chriſtian's Virtue, whoſe Maſter hath poſitively commanded him, upon theſe Occaſions, to hope for nothing again, to look at no other Recompence than that diſtant and future one, reſerv'd for him by his Paymaſter in Heaven; and hath deſcrib'd the very Heathens and Publicans, the moſt ignorant and moſt ſcandalous ſort of Men by this Character, that even They will give and lend to thoſe, from whom they have any hopes of receiving as much again.

Another Rule is, To oblige Men in their own way, ſo as may be moſt to the ſatisfaction of the Receiver; for this convinces him, that what we do of this kind, is entirely for his Sake and Service. And here we ſhall do well to take notice, that there are two ſorts of good Offices. Some are ſuch, as derive Credit and Honour upon the Receiver, and theſe ſhould be contriv'd in as publick a manner as poſſible; Others tend to his Profit only; they ſupply his Wants, or ſupport his Weakneſs, or cover his Shame, or aſſiſt him in 8.

† Non eſt Beneficium quod in quæſtum mittitur.
Demus Beneficium, non fœneremus. Dignus eſt decipi, qui de recipiendo cogitavit, cum daret.

ſome other Neceſſity or Diſtreſs. And theſe ſhould be carry'd with all the Privacy imaginable; ſo much that, if it be poſſible, none but the Perſon himſelf ſhould know it: Nay, if that can any way ſerve his Intereſt, or be more acceptable to him, it will be very fit and prudent to keep Him in Ignorance too; to let the Kindneſs drop into his Mouth, and convey it to him under-hand. For many times a Man's Circumſtances require a Relief, which he is out of Countenance to accept; and there is a Tenderneſs due to the Modeſty of Perſons reduc'd by Afflictions and Caſualties, who cannot change their Souls with their Fortunes. Beſides, that all divulging of Kindneſs is perfectly uſeleſs to one that does it upon a true Principle; for a Man's own Conſcience cannot poſſibly be ignorant of his Merit, and this ſingle Witneſs is as good as Ten thouſand others.

9. It muſt likewiſe be done without the Detriment or juſt Offence of any other Perſon whatſoever; but eſpecially without the leaſt Violation of Equity and Juſtice. For a Man cannot with any tolerable Senſe be ſaid to do good, when he does ill at the ſame time; Thoſe that want our Relief ought to have it; but we muſt not relieve Them at other People's Expence. What the Wiſe Man ſays of the Hypocrite's Piety is every whit as true of his Liberality and Charity, *He that ſacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his Offering is ridiculous, and He is as one that killeth the Son before his Father's Eyes.*

Eccluſ. xxxiv. 18, 20.

10. A Seventh Qualification is, To do it prudently and conſiderately. A Man is ſometimes very hard put to it to anſwer People's Requeſts, and at a loſs, either how to grant, or how to refuſe them. This is a Difficulty owing to a very ill Diſpoſition common to moſt Men, but moſt predominant in thoſe that make the Requeſts; which inclines them to reſent a Denial, tho' never ſo reaſonable in its ſelf, and never ſo tenderly expreſt. Some by this means are driven to a very poor, and indeed a very diſhoneſt Refuge; which is, To promiſe every thing to every Body, tho' they are ſenſible oftentimes, that it is not in their power; and, which is ſtill worſe, conſcious to themſelves, that it never was in their Intention to make it good; but, all this notwithſtanding, they ſhift off the Difficulty, till it comes to the very Point of Performance; and truſt to ſome Accident or other, to bring them off, by making ſuch an Alteration in their Affairs, that the Obligation ſhall ceaſe: Or elſe, if it be ſtill expected, that they ſhould ſtand by their Engagements,

ſome

ſome paltry Evaſions are laid hold of in their Excuſe: But ſtill the Evil Day is put far from them; and the Suitor's Mouth is ſtopp'd for the preſent. Now All this is quite wrong, and a miſerable Inſtance of Human Frailty; for no Man ought to promiſe, or encourage the Expectation of any thing which he either is not able, or may not lawfully, or does not really and ſincerely deſign, to make good to the uttermoſt. And when he finds himſelf at a Bay, enclos'd between theſe two Difficulties, of making a Promiſe, which is either unjuſt, or inexpedient, or diſhonourable and unbecoming his Character to fulfil; or elſe of giving a Denial, which is ſure to be ill taken, and breed Miſchief and Diſcontent; the beſt Courſe to extricate himſelf, is to break, to evade the Blow; either by declining a poſitive Anſwer, or elſe by wording his Promiſe ſo cautiouſly, and in general Expreſſions of Civility and good Inclination, that the Perſon may have nothing of a punctual Engagement to faſten upon. There is, I confeſs, ſomewhat of Management and Cunning in doing ſo, which may make this Advice ſeem ſtrange and inconſiſtent, with that Frankeſs of Temper, and Sincerity in Converſation, which I have been lately recommending; but we are to conſider this as a Caſe of Neceſſity, that when Men will be unreaſonable, we muſt deal with them as we can; and that they deſerve at leaſt to be thus treated.

11. An Eighth neceſſary Ingredient is, That all Things of this Kind be done with a true Spirit of Humanity, and ſincere Affection; for ſuch a Temper will be very ſenſibly concern'd for the Benefit of all Mankind; but more particularly it will bear a very tender regard to the Miſeries of the Indigent and Afflicted; which is a Virtue more particularly diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of Mercy and Pity. Thoſe who want theſe Bowels, are Irregularities and Deviations from Nature, and ſo diſtant from Grace and Goodneſs, that the Apoſtle reckons This, as one of the Characters of the laſt and worſt Times. But then the Compaſſion I mean here, is a Brave, and Maſculine, and Generous Quality; not a Softneſs and Effeminacy of Soul, which melts into Tears, and creates Perplexity and Diſorder of Thought. For This is a faulty Paſſion, ſuch as weak and wicked People are capable of falling under; concerning which I have already made ſome Remarks in its proper Place; and demonſtrated, that there is a criminal and fooliſh Pity, as well as a wiſe, well-govern'd, and commendable one. We ought in-

deed to succour the Afflicted; but we must not afflict our selves for them, nor make their Miseries our own. This were unprofitable to Them, and greatly prejudicial to Us; nor may we strain a Point of Decency or Duty upon their Account; for Charity cannot dispense with Justice, nor set aside our other Obligations. God himself hath positively forbidden us to favour a Poor Man in his Cause. And God Himself and the Saints are said to be Pitiful and Compassionate; but yet not so, as to give any Disturbance to the Perfection of their own Happiness; any more than to impair the Perfection of their Holiness; in the Methods made use of for the succour of those they do pity.

12. A Ninth Rule is, to avoid Boasting of our Kindness, and all manner of unnecessary Publication of it. This is a sort of Upbraiding and Reproach; it cancels the Obligation quite, and is the most invidious way of making Men our Enemies; by turning our Favours into Provocations; and therefore it is very well observ'd to this purpose, That he who receives a good Turn, should never forget it; but he who does one, should never remember it.

13. A Tenth is, To proceed, and not be weary of well-doing, but keep our old Favours always fresh, by the Addition of new one's. This will be a powerful Charm to attract the Affection of all the World, and make Men ambitious of our Friendship. Nor should a Man ever repent of his past Obligations, tho' sensible, that he hath had the Misfortune to scatter his Seed in a barren and ungrateful Soil. * *Let even the Miscarriage of your Kindness give you Satisfaction,* (says the Philosopher) *and let not any such Expression escape you, as, I wish I had never done so*; For indeed there can be no just Foundation for grudging our Kindness. The Unthankful Wretch injures no Body but himself; and the Favour, that was misplaced, is not utterly lost or thrown away, it is devoted to a Holy and Excellent use, and cannot be destroy'd or profan'd by the Receiver's Fault. If another will needs be wicked, and act otherwise than becomes him, this can never justifie my ceasing to be good. But further, The generous and noble Spirit distinguishes it self by Perseverance; and triumphs in the Conquest of Ingratitude and Ill-nature, when invincible Beneficence hath heaped Coals

* Beneficii tui etiam infelicitas placeat: nusquam hæc vox: Vellem non feciſſe.

of

of Fire upon their Heads, melted them down, and ſoftned them into good Temper, and a better Senſe of Things. So ſays the Moraliſt, * *A Great Soul bears the ingrateful Man ſo long, till at laſt he makes him grateful; for obſtinate and reſolute Goodneſs will conquer the worſt of Men.*

The Laſt Direction I ſhall lay down upon this Occaſion is, That when a thing is given, we ſhould let a Man uſe and enjoy it quietly, and not be troubleſome and unſeaſonable with him; like ſome, who when they have put one into any Office or Preferment, will needs be thruſting in their Oar, and execute it for him: Or elſe procure a Man ſome conſiderable Advantage, and then make over what proportion of the Profits they ſee fit, to themſelves. Receivers in ſuch Caſes ought not to endure the being thus impoſed upon; and any Reſentments or Refuſals made upon this Account, are by no means the Marks of Ingratitude, but a preſervation of their own Rights. And whatever the Benefactor may have contributed to our Preferment, he wipes out the whole Score, and acquits us of all our Obligations, by theſe imperious and buſie Interpoſitions. The Story is not amiſs concerning one of the Popes, who being preſs'd hard by one of the Cardinals to do ſomewhat inconvenient, or perhaps unjuſt, in his Favour; and (as a Motive, which was thought irreſiſtible, or at leaſt a Reſentment which he look'd upon as reaſonable in caſe of refuſal) the Cardinal re-minding him that His Intereſt had been formerly at his Service, and his Popedom was owing to it; His Holineſs very pertinently reply'd, *If You made me Pope, pray let me be ſo, and do not take back again the Authority you gave me.* 14.

After theſe ſeveral Rules for the directing Men in the Exerciſe of Beneficence, it may be ſeaſonable to obſerve, that there are Benefits of ſeveral ſorts; ſome of them much more acceptable than others, and thus ſome more, and others leſs engaging. Thoſe are moſt welcome that come from the Hand of a Friend, and one whom we are ſtrongly diſpos'd to love, without any ſuch Inducement: As, on the contrary, it is very grievous and grating to be oblig'd by one, of whom we have no Opinion, and deſire of all things not to be indebted to. Thoſe are likewiſe ſo, which proceed from a Perſon whom we have formerly oblig'd our ſelves; 15. *Several ſorts of Kindneſſes.*

* Optimi & ingentis animi eſt tamdiu ferre ingratum, donec feceris gratum; vincit malos pertinax Bonitas.

becauſe This is not ſo much Gratuity, as Juſtice and Payment of Arrears, and ſo draws very little or no new Debt upon us. Such again are thoſe done in a time of Neceſſity, and when our Occaſions were very urgent: Theſe have a mighty Influence; they utterly deface all paſt Injuries and Miſunderſtandings, if any ſuch there were; and leave a ſtrong Tie upon a Man's Honour; as, on the other Hand, the denying our Aſſiſtance in Caſes of Extremity, is extremely unkind, and wipes out all Remembrances of any former Benefits. Such, once more, are Thoſe, that can be eaſily acknowledged, and admit of a ſuitable Return; as, on the contrary, ſuch as the Receiver is out of all Capacity to requite, commonly breed Hatred, and a ſecret Diſlike: For there is a Pride in moſt Men, that makes them uneaſie to be always behind-hand; and hence he who is ſenſible, that he can never make amends for all he hath receiv'd, every time that he ſees his Benefactor, fancies himſelf dogg'd by a Creditor, upbraided by a living Witneſs of his Inſufficiency or Ingratitude; and theſe ſecret Reproaches of his own Mind, give great Uneaſineſs and Diſcontent; for no Bankrupt can bear being twitted with his Poverty. Some again there are, which the more free and honourable, and reſpectful they are, the more burdenſom and weighty they are; provided the Receiver be a Perſon of Honour and Principle: Such, I mean, as bind the Conſciences and the Wills of Men; for they tie a Man up faſter, keep him more tight, and render him more cautious and fearful of failing, or forgetfulneſs. A Man is Ten times more a Priſoner, when confin'd by his own Word, than if he were under Lock and Key. It is eaſier to be bound by Legal and publick Reſtraints, and Forms of Engagements, than by the Laws of Honour and Conſcience; and Two Notaries in this Caſe are better than One. When a Man ſays, *I deſire nothing but your Word, I depend upon your Honeſty*; ſuch a one indeed ſhews greater reſpect: But if he be ſure of his Man, he puts him upon a ſtricter Obligation, and himſelf upon better Security than Bonds and Judgments. A Man who engages nothing but his Word, is always in Fear and Conſtraint, and upon his Guard, leſt he ſhould forfeit or forget it. Your Mortgagee, and he that is under the power of Legal Forms, is deliver'd from that Anxiety, and depends upon his Creditor's Inſtruments, which will not fail to refreſh his Memory, when the Bonds become due. Where there is any external

external Force, the Will is always less intent; and where the Constraint is less, there in proportion the Application of the Will is greater. * *What the Law compels me to, is very hardly my own Choice; for I do not properly choose, but submit to it.*

16. *Of the Obligation.*

Benefits produce Obligations, and from Obligations again fresh Benefits spring up: So that Beneficence is reciprocally the Child and the Parent, the Effect and the Cause; and there is a twofold Obligation, which we may distinguish by an Active and a Passive Obligation. Parents, and Princes, and all Superiours are bound in Duty, and by virtue of their Station, to procure the Benefit and Advantage of Those, whom either the Laws and Order of Nature, or the political Constitutions of Government, or any other Law relating to their Post, have committed to their Inspection and Care. And not only so, but All in general, whether their Character be Publick or not, if they have Wealth and Power, are by the Law of Nature oblig'd to extend their Help and Bounty towards the Necessitous and Distress'd. And this is the first sort of Obligation. But then from good Offices thus done, whether they be in some regard owing to us, as flowing from the Duty incumbent upon the Benefactor, by virtue of this former Engagement: Or whether they be the effect of pure Choice, entirely Grace, and nothing of Debt, there arises the Second sort of Obligation, whereby the Receivers are bound to acknowledge the Kindness, and to be thankful for it. All this mutual Exchange, and propagation of Engagements and good Turns, *Hesiod* hath intimated to us by his Description of the *Graces*, when he paints them Three in Number, and all joyning Hands.

17. *The first Original Obligation.*

The First, or Original Obligation is satisfy'd by the due Performance of those particular Offices, which each Person's respective Station requires from him. And what these are, we shall very shortly take occasion to explain at large, when the Special Duties, which make up the other Branch of Justice to our Neighbour, come to be consider'd. In the mean while, I desire my Reader to observe, that the Primitive Engagement we are treating of at present, tho' it cannot be utterly dissolv'd, yet it may be tied faster and closer, or slacken and sit more loose upon us, by several accidental Circumstances; and particularly, it may

* Quod me Jus cogit, vix à Voluntate impetrem.

be mightily ſtrengthened, or diminiſhed, by the Conditions and Behaviour of thoſe we have to deal with. If the very Relation of a Subject or a Child bind us to them, the Affectionate and Dutiful Carriage of good Subjects, and good Children, enforce the Obligations of Kindneſs yet more. And ſo again; Their Miſdemeanours, their Ingratitude, their Inſolence and Unworthy Behaviour, do in a great Meaſure diſcharge us of that Tenderneſs and Care, which they have otherwiſe a Right to expect from us. And I cannot tell, whether this Obſervation may not hold in ſome Degree, with Regard to Natural Defects alſo. A Man may; perhaps indeed he cannot but, have leſs Affection for a Child, or a Kinſman, or a Servant, not only if he be Ill-tempered and Perverſe; but if he be deformed, or crooked, or unfortunate in his Perſon. For God, who made Beauty an attractive Excellence, ſeems himſelf to have lowered the Natural Value ſuch Perſons are to be rated at. But then, whatever Influence this Conſideration may have upon our Minds and Inclinations, it muſt have none at all upon the outward Adminiſtration of our Office. Theſe unhappy Perſons have the ſame Title to our Juſtice and Charity; their Neceſſities put in the ſame common Claim to our Aſſiſtance and Relief; and all the Good we are engaged to upon any publick and general Account, is ſtill to be Punctually performed towards them; and indeed the leſs to be neglected, becauſe, thoſe Natural Defects are their Misfortunes only, not their Faults; and as ſuch ſhould excite our Pity to ſupply the Place of Inclination.

18. *The Second Obligation.* But that Obligation, which lies before us at preſent, is the Second Sort; ſuch as ariſes from Benefits received: And for our better Direction in this Matter, we ſhall do well to obſerve.

Firſt of all; That the Laws of Acknowledgment and grateful Returns are Natural and Univerſal; They are not confined to Humanity alone, but even Brutes themſelves have a Senſe of, and ſhare in them. Nay, and thoſe too, not only tame, and manageable, and Domeſtick Animals, which might tempt us to think this Diſpoſition the Effect of Art or Cuſtom; but even the Wildeſt and moſt Savage Creatures: For in them we meet with ſeveral notable Inſtances of Gratitude; One Example whereof I have formerly mention'd, in the Behaviour of a Lyon, to that

Roman

Roman Slave, who was expoſed in the Theatre to be devoured by him. Book I. Chap. 8. Sect. 12.

Secondly. It is a Virtuous Act, and a certain Indication of a good Mind; for which Reaſon it is really more valuable, than Beneficence it ſelf: For Liberality often proceeds from Plenty, or Power; Regard to one's own Intereſt or Reputation, and not very often from pure Virtue; But Gratitude cannot ſpring from any other Cauſe than an ingenuous Diſpoſition. And therefore, though the doing of good Offices may be the more deſirable, yet the grateful Acknowledgment, and ſtudying to requite them, when they are done, is the more Commendable of the Two.

Thirdly, Gratitude is likewiſe an eaſie and a pleaſant Duty; and yet ſuch as no body can be excuſed from, upon the Pretence of Diſability, or Want of Opportunity; becauſe it is always in our own Diſpoſal, always preſent with us. Now, nothing is ſo eaſie, as to obey and follow the Dictates of Nature; and nothing ſo Pleaſant and Satisfactory, as for a Man to acquit himſelf of Obligations, to come out of Debt, and ſet himſelf Free, and upon the Level with his Neighbours.

From all that hath been ſaid upon this Subject, we cannot but diſcern, how much of Baſeneſs, and Meanneſs of Spirit, the Vices of Ingratitude and Neglect carry with them; how deſervedly Odious they are to all the World. 19.

* *To call a Man Ingrateful, is the worſt and blackeſt Accuſation you can lay to his Charge.* It is an Offence againſt Nature, and a certain Indication of an ill Temper; a ſcandalous and reproachful Vice; ſuch as is not to be endured, becauſe it breaks all Society and good Correſpondence. The Revenge, which follows upon an Injury, and the Ingratitude which follows a Kindneſs, are both Bad and Blameable, but not equally ſo. Revenge is indeed the ſtronger and more violent Paſſion; but it hath leſs of Deformity and Degeneracy of Soul, than Ingratitude. The Evils and Diſeaſes of our Minds are like thoſe incident to our Bodies; where thoſe that are moſt Dangerous and Mortal are not always the moſt Painful and Acute. And therefore Revenge may diſorder a Man more, but Ingratitude corrupts his Virtue more. In the Former there is ſome

* Dixeris Maledicta cuncta, cum ingratum hominem dixeris. Ingratitudo grave vitium, intolerabile quod diſſociat homines.

Ap-

Appearance of Justice, Men are not ashamed to pursue and own that publickly; but the latter is all over Infamy and Baseness, and no Man was ever yet so abandoned or hardy, to confess or glory in it.

20. Now, Gratitude, to render it compleat, and in all Points what it ought to be, must have these following Qualifications.

First, A Man must receive the Kindnesses done to him, cheerfully and friendly; he must look, and express himself well pleased with them. † *He that gives a Favour kind Entertainment, hath made the first Payment already.* Secondly. He must never forget, or be unmindful of it. ∴ *He that forgets his Benefactor, is of all others the fartheſt from Gratitude; for how is it possible a Man should discharge this Duty, who hath suffered the Foundation of it to slip quite from under him? Thirdly.* He must not be sparing to own and publish it, * *It is an argument of Ingenuity and becoming Modesty, frankly to confess who we have been the better for; and this is a Reward due to the Maker of our Fortunes.* As we have found by comfortable Experience, the Hearts and Hands of our Friends open to our Advantage, so it is fit they should find our Mouths open too, and our Tongues liberal in the Declarations of their Readiness to assist us. And that our Memory upon this occasion may never want Refreshing, it will be Decent to mention the Advantage we have receiv'd, by the Title of his Gifts, who conferred it upon us. The *Fourth* and *Last* is, to make a Return, and Restitution, wherein we may govern our selves according to these Four Rules.

First, That This be not done too hastily; We should not be extremely Eager and Anxious in the Thing; for this hath a very ill Savour: It looks like Pride, as if we were loath, and scorned to be obliged; and for that Reason were impatient to get out of their Debt. This ministers a very just cause of Jealousie to our Benefactor, that his Kindness was not well taken, when we shew our selves

† Qui gratè Beneficium accepit, primam ejus Pensionem solvit.

∴ Ingratissimus omnium, qui oblitus; nusquam enim gratus fieri potest, cui totum Beneficium elapsum est.

* Ingenui pudoris est fateri per quos profecerimus, & hæc quasi merces Authoris.

so

ſo very uneaſie under the Engagements it lays upon us. A convenient time therefore is neceſſary to be taken, and a favourable Opportunity waited for. Though this ought not to be very diſtant neither, nor be put off to too long a Day. For the *Graces* are painted Young, to hint, that Favours ſhould not grow old upon our Hands. I add farther, that this Opportunity ſhould be one that offers it ſelf of its own Accord; or if of Our ſeeking, yet ſo contrived, that it may be void of all Suſpicion of Vanity and Oſtentation.

Secondly, We ſhould pay back with Intereſt, and exceed the Proportion of what we receive; like a good Soil, which cannot maintain the Character, if it only produce the Seed again; So a grateful Man * will forfeit that Title, if he reſtore no more than the Principal. But the leaſt we muſt do, is to return as much as we received; and that with all poſſible Demonſtrations, that we thought our ſelves under an Obligation, and wiſhed it in our Power, to do more. That what we have done in the mean while, is not look'd upon as full Satisfaction, but only as an Acknowledgment of the Debt, and a Teſtimony of our Sincerity, and Reſpect.

Thirdly, That theſe Returns be made willingly and chearfully; for † *he is not Grateful, whom Fear, or Force, make deſirous to appear ſo.* Eſpecially too, if the Kindneſs was done Frankly and generouſly; For we ſhould pay back in the ſame Coin, and with all the commendable Qualities the Favour brought along to recommend it; *And that Man is much to blame who is more ready and cheerful when he is to receive a Kindneſs, than when it is expected he ſhould requite one.*

Fourthly. If a Man's Circumſtances be ſuch, as render him Incapable of actual Reſtitution, at leaſt he ought to take Care, that he be not wanting in Will, and this Grateful Diſpoſition is the Firſt and Principal Part of the Thing; the very Life and Soul both of the Benefit, and of the Acknowledgment in return for it. This indeed, can have no Witneſs but it ſelf to teſtifie for it. But, as the

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* Ingratus eſt, qui Beneficium reddit ſine uſurâ.

† Ingratus eſt, qui metu gratus eſt——Eodem animo beneficium debetur quo datur—Errat ſiquis Beneficium libentiùs accipit quàm reddit.

Thanks

Thanks of the Heart, ought to be well accepted, where People are in no Condition to pay more; so the Desires and Offers of obliging us, either when our Friends could not compass their Desires, or when we had no need, or did not think fit to accept their Services, must be acknowledged, as if we had actually received them. For here was the Will, though not the Deed; and this, as I said, is the Chief, and of it self a sufficient Ground of Obligation to Gratitude.

THE

THE Second PART OF JUSTICE:

CONSISTING

Of Duties owing to, and from certain Persons, and arising from Special and Personal Obligations.

The PREFACE.

MY Design is, in the next Place, to treat of such Duties, as are peculiar to some Men, and not to others. And These differ according as the Persons concern'd in them, and their respective Conditions differ. Some of them are unequal, as Superiours, and Inferiours: Others are equal and upon the same Level. I shall begin with married Persons, because This is a Relation mixt and compounded of both; They being in some Respects Equal, and in Others Unequal. Besides, it will be convenient to set out with such Instances of Justice, as are Private and Domestick, These being in the very Nature and Order of Things antecedent to those that are Publick and Political. For Families are the Foundation, and first Matter of Common-wealths, and Kingdoms. And therefore the Justice exercised here, is the Source, and Model, and first Draught of Publick Administrations. Now, these Domestick Relations, are Three; Husband and Wife, Parents-

and

and Children, Maſters and Servants. Theſe are the Principal Parts of a Family, but that of Husband and Wife is the Ground-work, and beginning of all the reſt. And therefore That hath a right to be firſt conſidered.

CHAP. XII.

The Duties of a Married State.

1. IN Regard the Perſons under this Condition may be conſidered in different Reſpects, according to that Mixture of Equality and Inequality, which I have obſerved to be in their Circumſtances, it muſt needs follow, that the Duties peculiar to ſuch a State, are of Two Sorts; Some common to both, and Others appropriated to each of the Parties. Now, of thoſe that are reciprocal, the Obligation is entirely the ſame; and the Conſciences of both are equally violated by the Breach of them; though, according to the Cuſtoms of the World, the Penalty, and Reproach, and Inconvenience fall more Heavy on one ſide, than they do on the other. By theſe reciprocal Duties, I underſtand, an Entire Affection, ſteady Loyalty, uncorrupted Fidelity, and unreſerved Communication of all things whatſoever; ſo that Neither of them have any thing they can call their own, excluſive to the Right and Claim of the Other. To theſe we may add a prudent, and provident Care, and the Exerciſe of a juſt Authority over their Family, a diligent Inſpection into their Manners, and conſulting the Advantage of all that belong to them. Of this Subject we have ſpoken more at large in the firſt Book. I. Chap. 42. Firſt Part of this Treatiſe.

2. *Husband's Duty.* The Other ſort are Duties Peculiar to each of the Parties; and Theſe differ, according to the Terms of that unequal Relation, in which they ſtand. For, thoſe of the Huſband, conſidered as Superiour, are. 1. Inſtructing his Wife, conferring with, and directing her in every Particular, that may any way contribute to their Honour and Advantage; taking Care, that ſhe may be Ignorant in no Part of the Duty expected from her Character, nor defective in any uſeful and neceſſary Accompliſhments, which ſhe is capable of attaining to; and all this to be done not in a Rough and Magiſterial Way; but with all poſſible Gentleneſs and Sweetneſs,

Sweetneſs, in the ſofteſt and moſt engaging manner, with the Tenderneſs of a Parent, and the reſpectful Affection of a Friend. 2. The maintaining her as his Wife; as befits One, whom he hath made the ſame with himſelf; and therefore without any Regard to her former Circumſtances. Whether ſhe did, or did not bring a Fortune, That alters not the Caſe one whit; ſuch Conſiderations are quite out of Doors, and nothing now lies before him, but the preſent Relation between them. He is indeed to be governed by his own Abilities, and will do well to ſecure the main Chance; but then all the Frugality upon this Account muſt extend to the retrenching his own Expences too: For whatever Figure he allows himſelf to make; his Wife ought to be ſupported Suitably and in Proportion to it. 3. The providing her with Clothes, which is a Right ſo undoubted, that all Laws concur in giving a Wife this Privilege; and that in ſo Solemn and Incommunicable a manner, that they have denied the Husband a Power, of diſpoſing any thing of this Kind away from her; and have not left them liable to the Payment of his juſt Debts. 4. The Rights of the Bed. 5. The Loving, Cheriſhing, and Protecting her. Thoſe Two Extremes, which the World are apt to run into, are Vicious and Abominable. The keeping them under, and treating them like Servants; and the ſubmitting to them as if they were abſolute Miſtreſſes. Theſe I take to be the principal and conſtant Duties. Others there are, Accidental, and Occaſional Duties, ſecondary to, and conſequent upon the former: Such as, Taking Care of her, if ſhe be ſick; Ranſoming her, if ſhe be taken Captive; Burying her Honourably, and according to her Quality, if ſhe happen to die; and Making Proviſion by his laſt Will, for her decent Support in her Widowhood, and the comfortable Subſiſtence of the Children ſhe hath brought him.

3. *Wive's Duty.*

The Duties of the Wife are to pay all becoming Honour, and Reverence, and Reſpect to her Husband; looking upon him, as a kind and Affectionate Maſter. Accordingly the Scripture takes Notice, that Women eminent for their Conjugal Virtues, uſed to call their Huſbands *Lord*; and it is obſervable, that the ſame Word in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies *Lord* and *Husband* both.

The Imagination, that a Woman leſſens her ſelf by this reſpectful and ſubmiſſive Behaviour, is moſt Frivolous and Fooliſh; for ſhe that diſcharges this part of her Duty well, con-

consults her own, more than her Husband's Honour; and she that is Insolent and Imperious, Humoursome and Perverse, does the greatest Injury to her self. A Second Duty is Obedience to all his lawful and just Command's, complying with his Humours, and bringing over her own Inclinations to His: For a good and a prudent Wife, is like a true Glass, which makes an exact Reflection of the Face that looks in it. She should have no Design, no Passion, no Thought particular to her self; but to be sure, none in Opposition to His. Like Dimensions and Accidents, which have no Motion, no separate Existence of their own, but constantly move with, and subsist in the Body whereunto they belong; so Wives should always keep close, and be from the very Heart, and even Affections of their Souls, entirely, and inseparably united to their Husbands. A Third is Service, That part especially, which relates to the providing him seasonable and Necessary Refreshments, over-looking the Kitchin, ordering the Table, and not disdaining to do any Offices, or give him any kind of Assistance about his Person; a Duty so fit to be condescended to, that the Antients were wont to reckon Washing the Feet in particular, among the Instances of Service, due from the Wife to her Husband. *Fourthly.* Keeping much at Home, upon which Account a Wife is compar'd to a Tortoise, that carries her House upon her Back; and used heretofore to be painted with her Feet Naked, an Emblem of her not being provided for stirring abroad. This is a modest and decent Reserve, requisite at all Times, but more especially in the Absence of her Husband. For a good Wife is the exact Reverse of the Moon; she shines abroad and in full Lustre, when near her Sun; but disappears, and is totally invisible, when at a Distance from him. A *Fifth* is Silence; for she should never give her self the Liberty of talking much, except with her Husband, or for him; Here indeed her Tongue may take a Loose, and is subject to no other Restraint, than the speaking no more, than is convenient. This, I confess, is a very difficult Point, hard of Digestion in this lavish Age; where Multitude of Words sets up for a Female Virtue; and so rare in all Ages, that the Wise Son of *Sirach* calls a silent Woman a Precious and Particular Gift of God. The *Sixth* is applying her self to Housewifery and good Management; for though *Solomon*'s Description of a wise and good Woman may be thought too Mean and Mechani-

Eccluſ. xxvi. 14.

Prov. xxxi.

Mechanical for this refined Generation, yet certain it is, that the Buſineſs of a Family is the moſt Profitable, nay, the moſt Honourable Study they can employ themſelves in. This is the Reigning Accompliſhment, That, which ſo far as Fortune is concerned, ought to be principally eſteemed and regarded in the Choice of a Wife; To ſay the Truth, This is a Fortune ſingly, and by it ſelf; the Obſervation, or the Neglect of it, without the Addition of any Caſualties, is ſufficient to ruine, or to preſerve, nay, to make a Family. But This hath the Fate of all other Excellencies too, which is to be exceeding rare and ſcarce. There are, I confeſs, a great many ſordid and ſcraping Wives, but very few good Managers. But alas! there is a vaſt deal of Difference between Avarice and Parſimony, and provident Care and good Houſwifery.

As to the Enjoyments indulged in a Married State; Men ſhould always remember, that this is a Chaſt, a Pure, and a Religious Union; Conſecrated to Excellent Myſteries, and Holy Purpoſes; and therefore, that all the Pleaſures of it ſhould be uſed with Moderation and Sobriety: In ſuch Meaſures only, as Prudence and Conſcience would direct, when conſulted ſeriouſly, and without any Byaſs from groſs and carnal Affections. And ſure it would very ill become a Society inſtituted for mutual Comfort, and the Advancement of Religion, and the preſervation of Purity, to throw off all Reſtraint; and convert their Privilege of Lawful Delights, into an Occaſion of abandoning themſelves to Senſuality and Licentiouſneſs. This is One of thoſe Caſes, where no certain Bounds can be preſcribed; but it will highly concern all Perſons engaged in this State, to conſider the Dignity and the Deſign of it, and to keep themſelves under ſuch Reſerves, as may neither profane the one, nor evacuate the other. 4.

CHAP. XIII.

Good Management.

THis is a very becoming and necessary Care, An Employment, not hard to be attained to; every Man of common Discretion is capable of it. But, though the Art be easily learned, the constant Exercise of it is Intricate and Laborious; by Reason of that Great Variety of Business, in which it engages us; and, though many Matters about which it is managed, be small and inconsiderable in themselves; yet the constant Succession of them is very troublesome. Domestick Cares give great Uneasiness, because they allow of no Intermission; but, if the Difficulties are occasion'd by the principal Persons in the Family, they fret, and gall, and wrankle inward, and scarce admit of any Rest or Remedy.

The Best Method of rendring this Care easie and effectual, is, To procure some faithful Servants, in whose Honesty we can have entire Confidence, and Security. To buy in Provisions in their proper Seasons, and wait for the best Markets; To prevent all unnecessary Waste, which is the Province, proper to the Mistress of the House. To make Necessity, and Cleanliness, and Order, our first Care; and when These are served, if our Circumstances will extend farther, then to provide for Plenty, and Shew, and Niceness; a gentile Appearance, and every Thing fashionable in it's Kind. To regulate our Expences, by cutting off our Superfluous Charge; yet so, as to have a Regard to Decency and Convenience, and grudge Nothing, which either Necessity or Duty call for from us. One Shilling saved, with these Limitations, will do us more Credit, than Ten idly squandered away. But to the avoiding Profuseness, we should also add the other commendable Quality, of good Contrivance; for it is a Mark of great Address, when we can make our Peny go a great Way, and appear Handsomely with little Charge: But above all things, a Man must be sure to keep within Compass, and suite his way of Living to his present Circumstances: For the most probable Prospects, are still but Futurities; and, as such, they must needs be uncertain; so that there cannot be a more ridiculous

ridiculous Folly, than to ſpend high in Confidence of Reverſions, and diſtant Expectations.

A Maſter's Eye muſt be every where; and if either He or the Miſtreſs be ignorant and unexperienced in Buſineſs, they muſt take Care to conceal this Infirmity, and pretend at leaſt to underſtand all that belongs to them. But eſpecially, they muſt never appear Negligent or Remiſs, but put on an Air of Diligence and Concern however. For, if once the Servants get a Notion of their being Careleſs, how their Affairs are managed, they will not fail to take their Advantage, and in a ſhort Time, leave them little or nothing to take Care of.

CHAP. XIV.

The Duty of Parents and Children.

THE Duty of Parents and Children is Reciprocal, and Natural on both ſides; Thus far they both agree. But, if the Obligation be ſomewhat ſtricter on the Child's Part, that Difference is compenſated by being more Ancient on the Parents ſide: For Parents are the Authors, and firſt Cauſe; and, of the Two, of much greater Conſequence to the Publick. The Peopling the World with Good Men and Good Patriots, is their Work; the Education and Inſtruction of Youth is the only Method of effecting it, ſo that here the firſt Seeds of Political Societies and Inſtitutions are firſt laid. And, of the Two Inconveniencies, That is much leſs, which the State ſuffers from the Diſobedience and Ingratitude of Children toward their Parents, than from the Remiſneſs and Neglect Parents are guilty of toward their Children. Hence, in the *Lacedæmonian*, and ſome other very wiſe Governments, there were Mulcts and other Penalties inflicted upon Parents, when their Children prov'd Perverſe and Ill-tempered. And *Plato* declared, he knew no one Inſtance, that needed a Man's Care more, or deſerved it better, than the endeavouring to make a good Son. And *Crates* in great Wrath expoſtulated thus with his Country-men. "To "what Purpoſe is all this Pains to heap up great Eſtates, "while it is no part of your Concern what manner of "Heirs you leave them to? This is like a Man's being

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"Nice of his Shooe, and Negligent of his Foot. What "should a Man do with Riches, who hath not the Sense, "nor the Heart to make a good Use of them? This is "like an embroidered Saddle, and sumptuous Furniture up-"on a Jaded Horse. Parents indeed are doubly obliged to the Performance of this Duty. In Kindness to themselves; as they are their own Offspring; and in Regard to the Publick, because these young Suckers are the Hopes of the Tree, the promising Shoots, upon the thriving and kindly cultivating whereof, the Strength and Succession of the Body Politick depends. So that this is, killing Two Birds with One Stone, serving one's own private Interest, and promoting the Welfare and Honour of one's Country, at the same time.

2. Now, this Duty consists of Four Parts; each of which succeed in order to the other; and these are proportion'd to the Four Advantages which Children ought to receive from their Parents in their proper Seasons. Life, and Nourishment, Instruction, and partaking of the Advantages of Life with them. The *First* respects the Time of a Child's Existence, till his Birth inclusively; The *Second* his Infancy; The *Third* his Youth, and the *Last* his riper Age.

3. Concerning the *First* of These I shall only say, that though it be very little attended to, yet is it of mighty Consequence, and of strict Obligation: For no Man, who hath any the least Insight into Nature, can be ignorant, how hereditary Constitutions and Complexions are: And therefore we may be good or ill Parents, even before our Children are born. And I am sure, among other Inducements to the care of Health, and a regular Way of living, This ought not to be the least, that Those who derive their Being from us, do depend upon this Care for a great part of their Happiness; For by what hath been largely discoursed in the first Book, it may plainly appear, that the Capacity and Turn of Men's Minds, and the Soundness and Vigour of their Bodies, are in great Measure owing to a Parents good Constitution. And certainly, To Men of any Conscience, it should be an Eternal Sting and Reproach, to reflect what Rottenness and Diseases, they entail upon their Posterity, by abandoning themselves to Lewdness and Debauchery; how dearly those Innocents pay for their Ancestor's Excesses, and what a Barbarity it is to send poor Wretches into the World, to languish out a Life of Misery and Pain, and suffer for Sins, which they never committed.

ted. So Neceſſary, ſo Important a Virtue is Temperance to Succeſſions and Families, as well as to Mens own Perſons: So Miſchievous is Vice, and ſo Subtilly does it propagate its diſmal Effects, even to thoſe that are yet unborn.

The *Second* of theſe Heads I leave to Phyſicians and Nurſes; and having thus briefly diſpatch'd the Two Firſt, becauſe ſomewhat foreign to our preſent Deſign, and neceſſary to be mention'd, only for the rendring this Diviſion compleat, I ſhall proceed to the *Third*, which concerns the Inſtructing of them, and is a Subject more worthy our ſerious Conſideration. 4.

So ſoon as the Child begins to move his Soul; and the Faculties of That, as well as the Organs of his Body ſhew that he is a Rational, and not only a Living Creature; Great Application ſhould be uſed to form him well at firſt. And this Care may be allowed to take Place about Four or Five Years Old, for by that time The Memory and Imagination, and ſome little Strokes of Reaſon begin to dawn and diſplay themſelves. It is not to be imagined, of what conſequence theſe firſt Tinctures and Impreſſions are to the following part of Life; and what wonderful Efficacy and Influence they have, even to the changing and conquering Nature it ſelf: For Education is frequently obſerved to be Stronger than Natural Diſpoſition; either for the bettering or corrupting of the Man. *Lycurgus* made People ſenſible of this, by taking Two Whelps of the ſame Litter, which he had brought up different Ways, and in the Preſence of a great Company, ſetting before them Broth and a young Leveret; The Dog which had been brought up tenderly, and within Doors, fell to the Broth; but the Other, which had been uſed to range and hunt, neglected his Meat, and purſued his Game. 5.

Now that which renders ſuch Inſtructions ſo marvellouſly powerful, is, that they are taken in very eaſily, and as hardly loſt again: For that which comes firſt, takes abſolute Poſſeſſion; and carries all the Authority you can deſire; there being no Antecedent Notions to diſpute the Title, or call the Truth of it in Queſtion. While therefore the Soul is freſh and clear, a fair and perfect Blank, flexible and render, there can be no Difficulty in making it what you pleaſe; for this Condition diſpoſes it to receive any manner of Impreſſion, and to be moulded into any manner of Form.

6. Now, the laying these first Foundations is no such trivial Matter as is generally believed; rather indeed the Difficulty of doing it well, is proportionable to the Importance of its being done so. Nay, not of private only, but publick and general Importance; which makes me think the Complaint of *Aristotle* and *Plutarch* most just, though there is little or no Care taken to redress it, when they cryed out Loudly against the Education of Children being left entirely to the Mercy and Disposal of Parents, as a most notorious, deplorable, and destructive Injury to the State. For why should This rest wholly upon Persons, who are so often found to be Careless, or Ignorant, or Indiscreet, and by no Means fit to govern themselves? Why should not the Publick concern themselves in the Thing, and order some better Care to be taken of it, rather than suffer what they Daily do, by sitting still and seeing their own Ruin? *Lacedæmon* and *Crete* are almost the only Constitutions, where the disciplining of Children hath been prescribed by National Laws. And *Sparta* was indeed the best School in the World; which made *Agesilaus* persuade *Xenophon*, to send his Children thither, because there they would be sure to be instructed in the Best and Noblest Science; that of Governing, and of Obeying well; and because this was the Work-house, where they made admirable Lawgivers, Generals, Civil Magistrates, and Private Subjects. They seem'd indeed to be more intent upon the Instruction of Youth, and to lay greater Stress upon it, than upon any other Thing whatsoever. Insomuch that when *Antipater* demanded Fifty Children for Hostages, they Reply'd, That they did not care to part with any at that Age, and had much rather give him twice as many grown Men.

7. Now, before I enter upon this Subject particularly, permit me by the way to give one Advertisement; which seems to carry somewhat of Weight in it. Many People take a great deal of Pains to find out the Inclinations of their Children, and what sort of Business they are fit for. But alas! This at those Years is somewhat so very tender, so much in the Dark, and so very uncertain; that Parents after having (as they imagine) pitch'd right, and been at a World of Pains and Charge, find themselves miserably Mistaken. And therefore without troubling our selves about these dim Prognosticks, and depending upon the very weak and slender Conjectures, capable of being

being drawn from the Motions of Minds ſo very Young; the beſt courſe will be, to poſſeſs them with ſuch Inſtructions, as may be univerſally Good, and of general Uſe at firſt; and when they are ſeaſoned well with theſe, That will prove a moſt excellent Preparation, for their taking to any particular Employment afterwards. Thus you build upon a ſure Bottom, and perfect them preſently, in that which muſt be the conſtant, and daily Buſineſs of their Lives; and this firſt Tincture, like the Ground of a Picture, fits them for the receiving any other Colours.

8. To proceed now on, to the Matter it ſelf; which may very conveniently be reduced to three Heads; The Forming of the Mind, Managing the Body, and Regulating of the Manners. But I muſt once more beg my Reader's Pardon, for another Digreſſion, (if it deſerve to be thought ſo) ſince, before I proceed to conſider theſe Particulars, it ſeems to me highly Expedient, to lay down ſome General Rules relating to this Matter, which may direct us how to proceed, with Diſcretion and Succeſs.

9. The firſt of theſe Directions is, To keep this little White Soul from the Contagion and Corruption ſo univerſal among Men, that it may contract no Blemiſh, no Taint, at its firſt coming abroad into the World. In order hereunto ſtrict Centry muſt be kept at the Doors; I mean the Eyes, and eſpecially the Ears, muſt be diligently guarded, that no unclean Thing get Admittance there. Now, This is done by taking Care of thoſe that are about the Child, and not ſuffering any, even of his Relations to come near him; whoſe Converſation is ſo laviſh and diſſolute, that we have Reaſon to fear they may convey any ill Idea's into him, though never ſo little, never ſo ſecretly: For One ſingle Word, One diſtant Hint, is ſufficient to do more Miſchief in a Child, than a great deal of Pains will be able to root out, or retrieve again. Upon this Account it was, that *Plato* would never endure, that Children ſhould be left to Servants, or entertained with their Stories: For if they talk nothing worſe, yet the beſt we can expect from them is idle Tales and ridiculous Fictions, which take ſuch deep Root in this tender Soil, that I verily believe a very great Part of the Vulgar Errours and Idle Prejudices moſt Men are poſſeſt with, is owing to the Giants, and Hobgoblins, and the reſt of that ridiculous Stuff, which they were kept in awe, or diverted with, in their very Infancy.

10. The Second Direction concerns the Persons to be entrusted with this Child; what they are, what Discourse they have with him, what Books they put into his Hands. As to the Persons themselves; They should be Men of Honesty and Virtue, of a good Temper, and winning Behaviour; Men whose Heads be well; and eminent, rather for Wisdom, than Learning. They must also keep a good Correspondence together, and perfectly understand each other's Method; for fear, while they take contrary Ways, (as if one would gain upon his Charge by Fear, and another by Flattery) they should happen to cross and hinder one another; confound the Child, perplex the Design, and be perpetually doing and undoing. The Books and the Discourse intended for his Entertainment, should by no Means be such as treat of mean and trifling, frivolous and idle Subjects; but Great, and Serious, and Noble; such as may help to enrich his Understanding, to direct his Opinions, to regulate his Manners and Affections. Such particularly, as set before him Human Nature, as it really is; descry the secret Springs, and inward Movements of the Soul; that so he may not mistake the World, but be well acquainted with him self and other People: Such as may teach him, which are the proper Objects of his Fear, and Love, and Desire; how he ought to be affected with Regard to all external Things; What Passion, what Virtue is: And how he shall discern the Difference between Ambition and Avarice, between Servitude and Subjection, between Liberty and Licentiousness. And suffer not your self to be diverted from such early Attempts, by a ridiculous Pretence of the Child's Incapacity for Matters of so important a Nature; for, assure your self, he will swallow and digest these, as easily as those of another and more ludicrous Kind. There is not one jot more of Capacity or Apprehension required, to the Understanding all the illustrious Examples of *Valerius Maximus*, than there is to the knowing the Feats of *Guy* of *Warwick*, or *Amadis* of *Gaul*. The *Greek* and *Roman* History, which is the Noblest and most Useful Learning in the World, is every whit as entertaining, as easie to be comprehended, as any Romance of the same Bulk. A Child, that can tell how many Cocks and Hens run about his Mother's Yard, and can count and distinguish his Uncles and Cousins; what should hinder him from remembring with the same ease, the seven Kings of *Rome*, and the Twelve *Cæsars*? There

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is indeed a great Difference, between ſeveral Sciences; And the Faculties of Children have their proper Seaſons; but then this makes no Difference between the different Parts of the ſame Science, and Exerciſes of the ſame Faculty; and no Man will ever be able to prove, that one Matter of Fact is eaſie, and another difficult or impoſſible to be attained; but eſpecially, that the Falſe and Fictitious Inventions, are accommodated to the Capacity of Children, and that True and Serious Narratives are above, and unfit for them. This looks, as if God had made our Minds only capable of being deceived; and given them a ſtrange Alacrity in Lyes and Fables. But the Matter is much otherwiſe. For the main Buſineſs is, to manage the Capacity of a Child well, and if this be done, the Improvement will quickly ſhew the Vanity of trifling with Children, and diſtruſting their Abilities for greater and better Things. II.

The Third Admonition to this purpoſe is, that theſe Tutors and Governors would behave themſelves as becomes them towards their Charge; Not putting on always ſolemn and auſtere Looks, or treating them with Harſhneſs and Severity; but with Methods that are gentle and engaging, good Humour, and a cheerful Countenance. I cannot here but condemn without more ado, that general Cuſtom of beating, whipping, ſcolding and ſtorming at Children; and keeping them in all that Terror, and Subjection, which is uſual in ſome great Schools. For This is really a moſt unreaſonable Thing; of pernicious Conſequence, and as indecent as it would be in a Judge to fall into violent Paſſions with Criminals at the Bar; or a Phyſician to fall foul upon his Patients, and call them all to naught. How Prejudicial muſt this needs be in the Effect, how contrary to the Deſign of Education, which is, to make them in love with Virtue betimes, to ſweeten their Tempers, and train them in Virtue and Knowledge, and Decency of Behaviour! Now, this Imperious, and rough Treatment gives them a Prejudice to Inſtruction; makes them hate, and be afraid of it; fills them with Horrour, and Indignation, and Rage; tempts them to be Deſperate and Head-ſtrong; damps their Spirits, and depreſſes their Courage: Till at laſt by being uſed like Slaves, they degenerate entirely into cowardly and ſlaviſh Diſpoſitions. The Holy Ghoſt himſelf hath given us fair Warning of this Miſchievous Conſequence; when he commands by St. *Paul*, that *Parents ſhould not provoke their Children to Wrath*, 21. Coloſſ. iii.

Wrath, lest they be discouraged. This is the ready way to make them good for Nothing; they curse their Teacher, and hate the Government they are under. If they do what they are bidden, it is only because Your Eye is upon them, and they dare not do otherwise; not with any Cheerfulness or Satisfaction, or because they are acted by any Noble and Generous Principle. If they have been tardy in their Duty, they take Sanctuary in the vilest Methods to save themselves from Punishment. Lyes, and Equivocations, and shuffling Excuses; Trembling, and Tears of Madness, and Despair; Playing Truant, and Running away from School; all which are Refuges infinitely worse, than the Fault they were guilty of before.

* *He that's compell'd by Threats to do his Duty,*
Will be wary no longer than you've an Eye over him;
But when he sees he shan't be found out,
He'll even follow his own Inclinations.
But he that's govern'd by Love, obeys most cheerfully;
Strives to make due returns, and is the same, Present or Absent.

12. Now, I would have Children used with greater Easiness and Freedom; bred as becomes Men and Gentlemen; argued into their Duty by fair and mild Remonstrances, and possest with Principles of Honour, and Modesty, and Shame to do amiss. The Former of these Affections would prove a Spur and mighty Incitement to Goodness; and the Latter a Curb and powerful Restraint, to disengage them from Vice, and work in them a just Abhorrence and Detestation of Evil. There seems to me to be somwhat so mean and servile in Severity and rigorous Constraint, that it can never be reconciled with Honour and true Freedom of Mind. We should therefore exalt rather and ennoble their Affections with Ingenuity of Temper and Behaviour, and the Love of Virtue, winning upon their Minds with setting before them it's Desirableness, and displaying all it's Charms, and attracting Beauties.

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* Dum id rescitum iri credit, tantisper cavet:
Si sperat fore clam, rursum ad ingenium redit.
Ille, quem Beneficio adjungas, ex animo facit;
Studet par referre; præsens absensq; idem erit. *Terent. Adelph.*

* 'Twas

* *'Twas always my Opinion, that 'tis much better*
To keep Children in Order by Shame, and Generosity
Of Inclination, than by Fear ——
This is a Father's part to use his Child,
So as his own Choice rather than Constraint
Should put him upon doing well.
Here lies the Difference between a Father and a Master;
And he that acts otherwise, let him confess,
That he understands not at all the Art
Of managing Children. ——

Blows are for Beasts, which are incapable of hearing Reason; and Rage and Brawling, and contemptuous Usage, for none but Slaves. He that is once accustomed to these, will come to very little. But Reason and Argument, the Gracefulness of the Action, the Imitation of excellent Men, the Honour and Respect, and universal Approbation that attend their doing well, the pleasing and generous Satisfactions of one's own Mind, which result from a Sense of having done so, and the Deference paid by others to such Persons and Actions; The Deformity of an ill thing, the Representations of its being unworthy and unbecoming, a Reproach and Affront to Human Nature; the Shame and Scandal, the inward Upbraiding and Discontents, and the General Dislike and Aversion it draws upon us; how despicable and little it makes us appear, both in our own Eyes, and the Esteem of the World; These are the Defensive Arms against Vice; these the Spurs to Virtue, that influence and quicken up all Children of good Tempers, and such as give us any tolerable Hopes of making significant Men. These we shall do well to be perpetually ringing in their Ears; and if such Arts as these prove ineffectual, all the Methods of Rigour will do but little Good upon them. What cannot be compassed by dint of Reason, and Prudence, and Address, will either never be compassed by dint of Blow; or if it be, it will turn to very

* Pudore & Liberalitate Liberos retinere
Satius esse credo quàm metu. ——
Hoc Patrium est, potius consuefacere filium,
Suâ Sponte rectè facere, quàm alieno metu.
Hoc Pater ac Dominus interest, hoc qui nequit,
Fateatur se nescire imperare Liberis.

poor

poor Account. But indeed there is no fear of Disappointment, if such Methods are taken in time, and the Corruptions of Vice be not suffered to get beforehand with us: For these Notions are commensurate, and Proper to the Soul, and the most natural that can possibly be, while it is preserved in its Primitive Innocence and Purity. I would not be mistaken in all this; As if it were any part of my Intention to countenance or commend that loose and effeminate Indulgence, which admits of no Contradiction, no Correction at all; but makes it a Principle, to let Children have their Humour in every Thing, for fear of fretting and putting them out of Temper. This is an Extreme every whit as extravagant, and as destructive, as the other. Such Parents are like the Ivy, that certainly kills the Tree encircled by it; or the Ape that hugs her Whelps to Death with mere Fondness. 'Tis as if when we see a Man drowning, we should stand by, and let him sink, for fear the pulling him out by the Hair of the Head should hurt him. Against this Foolish Tenderness it is, that the wise Preacher inveighs so largely, and so smartly. *He that spareth the Rod, hateth his Son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes. Chasten thy Son while there is hope, and let not thy Soul spare for his crying. With-hold not Correction from the Child; for if thou beatest him with the Rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the Rod, and shalt deliver his Soul from Hell. An Horse not broken becometh Headstrong; and a Child left to himself will be wilfull; Cocker thy Child, and he shall make thee afraid. Bow down his Neck while he is young, lest he wax stubborn, and bring Sorrow to thine Heart.* And all this Advice is very consistent with what I recommended before; for Youth must not be suffered to run wild, and grow Lawless. They ought to be contained in Discipline and good Order; but then this Discipline should be so tempered and managed, as becomes a Spiritual, Human, and reasonable Discipline; and not fly out into Rage, and Fury, as if we were dealing with Brutes who have no Sense; or with Madmen, who have lost their Senses, and must be bang'd into them again.

Prov. xiii. 24. xix. 18. xxiii. 13, 14. Eccluſ. xxx. 8, 9, 12.

13. *Advice for forming the Mind.* And now it may be seasonable for us to proceed in the Consideration of those Particulars mention'd lately, and the Rules for Instruction and Education suited to each of them. The First of these Particulars was said to consist, in exercising, sharpening and forming the Minds of young People.

ple. And here we might take Occaſion to lay down a great Variety of Directions; But the Firſt, and Chief, and indeed the Fundamental Rule of all the reſt, (that which regards the Aim and End of all this painful Toil; and which I am the more concerned to preſs and inculcate, becauſe it is very little obſerved, but by an Epidemical and fatal Miſtake, Men are generally fond of the quite contrary Courſe) this Rule, I ſay, which I would urge, and preſume to be infinitely the moſt concerning and material of any, is, That Men would employ the greateſt Part by much, and make it in a manner the Whole, of their Buſineſs and Study, to exerciſe, and improve, and exert, That which is our Natural and Particular Excellence; to brighten, and bring to light the Treaſure hid in every Man's breaſt, rather than to heap up, and make Oſtentation of that which is a foreign Growth. To aim at Wiſdom rather than Learning, and the quaint Subtilties of Speculative Knowledge; to ſtrengthen the Judgment, and conſequently give the true Bent and Turn to the Will and the Conſcience, rather than fill the Memory, and warm the Fancy; in a Word, That they would labour to make the Perſons committed to their Charge, Prudent, Honeſt, and good Men, and think this better Service, and infinitely higher Accompliſhments, than the making them Nice, Florid, Learned, or all that which the World calls fine Scholars, and fine Gentlemen. Of the Three predominant Parts of the Reaſonable Soul, Judgment is the Chief, and moſt Valuable; as was ſhewn at large in the Beginning of this Treatiſe, to which I refer my Reader. But almoſt all the World are of another Opinion, and run greedily after Art and acquired Learning. Parents are at an infinite Expence; and Children themſelves at infinite Pains and trouble, to purchaſe a Stock of Knowledge; and yet *Tacitus* his Complaint may be ours at this Day; That the Exceſs of Learning is our Diſeaſe; and as it is in all other Exceſſes, the World is not the better, but the worſe for it: For in the midſt of all this Fruitleſs Care and Charge, they are in little or no Concern, for that which would come at a much eaſier Rate; the breeding them ſo, that they may be Prudent and Honeſt, and fit for Buſineſs. Now, though this Fault may be ſo general, yet All are not Guilty of it upon the ſame Principle. Some are blindly led away by Cuſtom; and imagine, that Wiſdom and Learning are either the ſame thing, or very near of Kin

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Kin to one another; but to be sure, that they constantly go together, and that one of them cannot possibly be attained without the other. These Men are under an innocent Mistake, and deserve to have some Pains taken with them, for their better Information. Others are wilfully in the Wrong; and know well enough the Difference between these Two: But still they will have artificial and acquired Knowledge, whatever it cost them. And indeed as the Case stands now with our Western Parts of *Europe*; this is the only way to make a Noise in the World. Reputation and Riches are not to be got without it. So that the Persons we now speak of, make a Trade of Learning, and sink it into a Mercenary, Pedantick, Sordid, Mechanical Thing. A Commodity bought dear, to be sold again dearer at second Hand. These Hucksters are past all Cure, and it is not worth while to give our selves any Trouble about them. Not but that our Men of Mode are, some of them as Extravagantly Foolish in the other Extreme, who esteem Learning an ungentile Thing, and somewhat too Pedantick and Mean for Quality, and esteem a Man the less for being a Scholar. This is but another Proof of their Folly and Emptiness, and Want of all Sense of Virtue and Honour, which their Ignorance, Impertinence, sauntring Lives, and vain Fopperies, give us such abundant Demonstrations of every Day.

14. *Learning and Wisdom compar'd.*

But now for the Instruction of those Others, that give us some Hopes of Recovery, and for the discovering where their Mistake lies, we must shew Two Things *First*, That there is a Real Difference between Learning and Wisdom; and that the Latter is infinitely to be preferred, before any the most exquisite and exalted Degree of the Former. *Secondly*, That they do not always go together, nay, that most commonly they obstruct each other; insomuch that your Men of nice Learning are not often eminent for Wisdom; nor your Truly wise Men deep Learned. There are, I confess, some Exceptions to this last Observation, but it were heartily to be wished there were more of them. They that are so, are Men of Great, and Noble Souls; of which Antiquity furnishes some Instances, but the more Modern Times are very barren of them.

15. In order to the doing this Argument Right, we must first know what Learning and Wisdom are. Now, Learning is a vast Collection of other Peoples Excellencies; a Stock

Stock laid in with Labour and long Trouble, of all that we have ſeen, and heard, and read in Books; the Sayings and Actions of Great and Good Men, who have lived in all Ages and Nations. The Repoſitory or Magazine, where this Proviſion is treaſured up, is the Memory. He who is provided by Nature with a good Memory, hath no body to blame but himſelf, if he be not a Scholar; for he hath the Means in his own Hands. Wiſdom is a calm and regular Government of the Soul: That Man is Wiſe, who obſerves true Meaſures, and a due Decorum in his Thoughts, and Opinions, and Deſires; his Words, and Actions, and Deportment. In ſhort; Wiſdom is the Rule and Standard of the Soul; and he that uſes this Rule aright, that is, The Man of Judgment and Diſcretion, that ſees, and diſcerns, judges and eſteems Things according to their Nature and Intrinſick Value; who places each in its juſt Order and Degree, is the Perſon we would have every one attempt to be. And how Reaſonable that Advice is, will quickly appear, by obſerving how far the greater Excellence of the Two, this of Wiſdom is.

Learning, however Valuable in it ſelf, is yet but 16.
a poor and barren Accompliſhment, in Compariſon of Wiſdom: For it is not only unneceſſary; being what Two Parts in Three of Mankind make a very good Shift without; but the Uſefulneſs of is but ſmall; and there are but a very few Inſtances (comparatively) to which that Uſefulneſs extends. It contributes nothing at all to Life; I.
for how many do we ſee of all Qualities and Conditions, High and Low, Rich and Poor, that paſs their Time in great Eaſe and Pleaſure, without knowing any thing at all of the Matter? There are a great many other Things, more Serviceable both to Men's private Happineſs, and to Human Society in General. Honour, and Reputation, Noble Birth, and Quality, and yet even Theſe are far from being abſolutely neceſſary; The moſt they can pretend to, is the being Ornaments, and Conveniences, and additional Advantages. It contributes Nothing to any Natural II.
Operations; the moſt ignorant Man, in this Reſpect, is upon the Level with the greateſt Clerk. For Nature is of her ſelf a ſufficient Miſtreſs, and deals to every one the III.
Knowledge needful for ſupporting her own Occaſions. Nor does it in any Degree aſſiſt a Man's Probity; no body is one whit the Honeſter, or Juſter for it; rather indeed it hinders and corrupts the Integrity of the Mind, by teaching

ing Men to be Subtle, and to distinguish all Plain-dealing quite away. Look into the Characters of Excellent Persons in History; and you shall find most amongst them of moderate and very indifferent Attainments. Witness Old *Rome*, which, in the Days of her Ignorance, was renowned for Justice and Honour; but when Learning and Eloquence got the Ascendent, the Fame of her Virtue was in its Declension; and in Proportion as Mens Wits grew more Subtle and Refin'd, Innocence and Simplicity fell into Decay and Contempt. Sects and Heresies, Errours and Atheism it self have ever been set on foot and propagated, by Persons of Artifice and Learning. The primitive Source of our Misery and Ruine, and that first Temptation of the Devil, which inveigled and undid Mankind, was an unseasonable and intemperate Desire of Knowledge. *Ye shall be as Gods discerning between Good and Evil*, was that fatal Expectation, which depress our first Parents, and made them less than Man. The more Men employed their Wits in Study, the more plausible, and consequently the more dangerous Notions they started; which made St. *Paul* bid his *Colossians beware, that they were not seduced by Philosophy, and vain Deceit.* And one of the Learnedest Men, that ever liv'd, speaks but very meanly of it, as a Thing Vain and Unprofitable, Hurtful and Troublesom, such as was never to be enjoyed without many grievous Incumbrances; since he *that increaseth Knowledge* must *unavoidably increase Sorrow* at the same Time. In a Word; Learning, it is confest, may Civilize and refine us, but it cannot moralize us; we may be more courteous, and conversable, and accomplished; but we cannot be one jot the Holier, the Juster, more Temperate, or more Charitable for it. Nay, *Fourthly*, it does us no Service, neither in the sweetning of our Lives, or abating our Resentments, for any of the Afflictions that embitter them. It rather sets a Sharper Edge upon our Calamities, and raises our Sense of them to be more quick and tender. Accordingly we see, that Children, and plain ignorant People, (who measure their Misfortunes, only by what they feel at present, and neither anticipate, and give them an Imaginary Being; nor revive and, as it were, raise them from the Dead again by melancholy Reflections,) get over their Sufferings much more easily, and support themselves under them with much greater Temper and Moderation, than your quaint, and refined, and more thinking Men.

IV.

Ignorance

Ignorance is in some Degree a good Remedy; a strong Amulet against Misfortunes; and our Friends (it is very manifest) are of that Opinion, when they beg of us to forget, and not to think of them. For what is this but to drive us hither for Shelter? I confess, such Advice is Ridiculous, and a mere Jest; for Remembring and Forgetting, are not Things in our own disposal; and all we can contribute toward this, is not to torment our selves Industriously; not to awaken the sleeping Lyon; and when such Reflections offer themselves, to soften, and counter-Work them, by Arguments for Patience and Contentedness; But here our Advisers play the Surgeon's Part; who when they cannot heal the Wound, assuage the Pain and Skin over the Sore, as well as they can. Those that have advised People to dispatch themselves, when their Sufferings are come to Extremity, and all Hope, all Possibility of Amendment gone, are directly of the same Mind: For what is Death but a State of Stupidity and Insensibility? and those who seek a Refuge here, acknowledge Ignorance to be their last, and most effectual Remedy.

But now, Wisdom is an Accomplishment, of absolute Necessity, and universal Use; All Things fall within the Verge of its Jurisdiction, and nothing can be exempted, or conceal'd from its Cognizance. It rules and sits Supreme in War and in Peace; in Publick and in Private; nay, it presides over our Frolicks and Feasts; our Jollities and Recreations; for All these ought to be managed with Prudence, and Discretion, and Sobriety. And, where Wisdom does not interpose, all things run into Disorder and Confusion.

17. *Secondly.* Learning is Servile, and Mean, and Mechanical, when put into the Balance with Wisdom; It is a borrowed Excellence, and borrowed with great Importunity too. A learned Man is like the Jay in the Fable, tricked up and made fine with the Feathers of other Birds. He sets himself off and entertains the World with his Reading; but this is like making a Feast at another Man's Cost. Whereas the Wise Man lives upon his Rents, and hath an inexhaustible Fund of his own: For Wisdom is a Man's proper Possession, an Inheritance setled upon him by Nature; but cultivated, and made Fertile, by Art, and Industry, and Exercise.

18. *Thirdly.* The Qualities and Conditions of these Two are vastly Different; more Graceful, more Generous in the One, than the Other. Learning is usually Proud and Peevish, Captious and Cavilling, Arrogant and Presumptuous,

Peremptory and Bold, Quarrelſome and addicted to Diſputes, Ill-mannerd and Indiſcreet: Wiſdom is Modeſt and Reſerved, Gentle and Peaceable, free from a Spirit of Contradiction, and full of Reſpect. Again. Learning is commonly Forward and Affected, Unſeaſonable and Pretending, always thruſting it ſelf in at every Thing, and yet able to do Nothing: For it conſiſts not in Action, but in Talk. But Wiſdom is full of Efficacy and Activity; it Manages and Governs every Thing; and is never Troubleſom, or Vain; never Nauſeous or out of Time.

Thus it Appears, that there is a mighty Difference between true Wiſdom, and acquired Knowledge; and how much the One is Better and more Valuable than the Other. As much indeed, as a Thing that is indiſpenſably Neceſſary, and of general Uſe, Active and Vigorous, and Subſtantial; Noble, and Virtuous, and Becoming; excels another, which is Serviceable but in ſome Caſes, and abſolutely Neceſſary in none; Impotent and Unactive, Mechanick and Mean, Preſumptuous and Poſitive, Stiff and Humorſome; Captious and Cavilling.

19. Let us Now proceed to the Other part of this Argument, which undertakes to prove, that theſe Two do not always go together; nay, that they are generally found ſingle and aſunder. The Account of this, ſo far as Nature is concern'd in it, ſeems to be, what hath been formerly explain'd at large; that the Temperaments of the Brain, which capacitate and diſpoſe Men to theſe ſeveral Accompliſhments, are diſtant and incompatible: For That where Memory excels, which qualifies Men for acquired Learning, is Moiſt; and the other, where Wiſdom is Predominant and Judgment excels, is Dry. This is alſo hinted to us, by what the Scriptures mention to have befallen our firſt Parents; for in the Inſtant that they fixed their Deſires upon Speculative Knowledge, Wiſdom forſook them quite; and the Advantages of this Kind, which were included in the Original Perfection of Human Nature, were withdrawn. And conſtant Experience ſhews us, that the Fate of their Succeſſors is ſtill in Proportion the ſame. The Greateſt and moſt Flouriſhing Empires and Common-wealths, both Ancient and Modern have been, and yet are govern'd by Wiſdom deſtitute of Scholarſhip; both in Civil and Military Affairs. *Rome* was as Ignorant as any other Part of the World, for the Firſt Five Hundred Years; and then was it's Acme both for Virtue and Valour:

lour: when Learning came in, Corruption and Vice, Factions and Civil Wars entred with it. The most glorious Constitution the World ever saw, was that of the *Lacedemonians* founded by *Lycurgus*. The Gallantest Men in Story were bred under it, and yet they do not seem to have made any Pretension to Learning, or to express any great Esteem for it at that time. This was the Famous School for Virtue and Wisdom; and conquered *Athens*, the most refined City in the World, the Scene of Sciences, the Seat of the Muses, and Store-house of Philosophy. These Examples are Notorious in Ancient Story. If we descend down to our own Times: All those large, wealthy and flourishing Kingdoms in the *East* and *West Indies*, lived very well, and wanted neither Grandeur nor Plenty; they never had Learning, nor did they ever feel the Want of it; nay; they were Ignorant even of reading and writing; and the Knowledge as they have now, hath been purchased at the expence of their Liberty: Besides that, they have learnt to cheat, and to be Vicious into the Bargain, and several wicked Arts, never so much as mention'd amongst them before. But indeed where do we find an Empire, for Glory and Success, comparable to that of the *Grand Signior?* He, like the Lyon of the World, renders himself Formidable to all his Neighbours; and is a Check and Terror to the Princes and Monarchs of the Earth. And yet in this whole Dominion, Nothing Reigns so Universally, as profound Ignorance of Letters; No Professors of Sciences, no Schools, no Allowance to read for the Publick Instruction of others; no, not even in Religion it self. What then hath contained this State in such excellent Order? what hath procur'd all its Successes? what indeed but Prudence, and Discipline, and Conduct? Turn your Eyes now, and observe those other Kingdoms where Learning hath been in Authority and Reputation. That of *France*, for Example, which seems to succeed *Athens* in all its Glory. The Principal Ministers of this Crown, the Constables, and Mareschals, and Admirals, and Secretaries of State, through whose Hands all Business of Moment passes, are for the most Part Persons of little or no acquired Learning. And we know, that several eminent Lawgivers, and Princes, and Founders of Common-wealths, have utterly banish'd all Studies of this Nature as the Poyson and Plague of a Nation; So did *Licinius*, and *Valentinian*, and *Mahomet*, and an ancienter and better Man than all these, *Lycurgus*. This is a sufficient Proof, that there may be Wisdom,

where there is no acquired Learning. Let us next enquire, whether we can find Learning deſtitute of Wiſdom; and the Inſtances of this Part, are no leſs obvious, and numerous, than the other. Do but take notice of great part of the Men, who make Learning their Study and Profeſſion, whoſe Heads are full of *Ariſtotle*, and *Cicero*, the Philoſophers, and the School-Men. Are there any People in the World more aukward and uncouth in Buſineſs? Is it not a common Proverb, when we ſee a Man Odd and Clumſie, to ſay *He is a mere Scholar?* One would almoſt think, that they had pored away their Senſes; and that exceſs of Knowledge had ſtunn'd and ſtupify'd them. How many are there, who would have made excellent Perſons, had they not ſunk and dwindled into Pedantry; and had been wiſer Men, if they had traded upon their own Natural Stock, and never ſat down to Books at all? and how many of their own Brethren do we ſee, who never had that Education, and prove much ſhrewder Men, and better Contrivers, more quick and expert in all manner of Buſineſs? Take one of your Nice Diſputants, or quaint Rhetoricians, bring him into a debate at the next Corporation, where any Matter of Government, or Civil Intereſt is under Deliberation; put him upon ſpeaking to the Point, and he ſhall Bluſh and Tremble, turn Pale, and Cough, and Hem: But it is Odds, if he ſay any Thing to the Purpoſe. At laſt perhaps, you ſhall have a formal Harangue; ſome Definitions of *Ariſtotle*, or Quotations out of *Tully*, with an *Ergo* at the End of them. And yet at the ſame Meeting you ſhall have a dull, plodding Alderman, that chalks up all his Acounts behind the Door; and can neither write nor read, and yet this Fellow, by ſeeing and knowing the World, ſhall out of his own Obſervation and Experience, come to better Reſolutions, and propoſe more feaſible and proper Expedients, than the ſubtileſt and moſt refin'd Student of them all. Were Matters indeed ſo managed, that Men turned their Speculation into Practice, and took Care to apply their Reading to the Purpoſes of Human Life; the Advantage of Learning would be unſpeakable; and we ſee how illuſtriouſly ſuch Perſons ſhine in the World. And therefore what I have ſaid upon this Occaſion, is not to be ſtretched to the Prejudice of Learning in general; but only to ſuch a falſe Opinion of it, as depends upon This alone for the moſt eligible, and Only Qualification of the Mind of Man; and ſo reſts upon it, and buries it in Inactivity. This the foregoing Inſtances

ſhew

ſhew is frequently done, and a very vulgar Error; and conſequently they prove the Point, for the Illuſtration of which alone they are produced; and that is, That this Diſtinction between Wiſdom and Learning is not Imaginary, but grounded upon a real Difference; and that in Fact theſe Two do not always go Hand in Hand, nor meet in the ſame Perſon.

This I deſign to make appear more fully in the following Paragraphs of this Chapter; for I have already promiſed, not to content my ſelf with urging bare matter of Fact, but likewiſe to enter into the Reaſon of the Thing. An Enquiry, which I am the more Zealous, and look upon my ſelf obliged to ſatisfie, that ſo I may prevent any Offence being taken at the former Reflection; and cut off any Suſpicions, which ſome might be provoked to entertain concerning me, as if I were an Enemy to Learning, and thought it Inſignificant and Deſpicable. There is, I confeſs, ground ſufficient for this Queſtion, why Wiſdom and Learning ſhould not go together; for it is a very odd Caſe, and ſeems foreign to the Reaſon of the Thing, that a Man ſhould not be very much the Wiſer, for being a better Scholar; ſince Learning and Study is without Controverſie the ready Road, and a moſt Excellent Inſtrument and Preparation to Wiſdom. Take any Two Men, equal in all other Reſpects; let the One be a Man of Letters, the Other not ſo. 'Tis plain, He who hath employed his Time in Study, ought to be a great deal Wiſer than the other; and it will be expected from him, that he ſhould prove ſo: For he hath all the Advantages, that the Unletter'd Man hath; a Natural Capacity, Reaſon and Underſtanding; and he hath a great deal more beſides too; the Additional Improvements of Reading, which have furniſh'd him with the Examples, Directions, Diſcourſes, and Determinations, of the Greateſt Men that ever were in the World. Muſt not this Perſon then be Wiſer, more Apprehenſive and Judicious, of a more exalted Virtue, and greater Addreſs, than the other who is altogether deſtitute of ſuch Helps; Since he hath the ſame Stock to ſet up with, and all theſe foreign Aſſiſtances acquired, and tranſported to him from all the Quarters of the Univerſe beſides? Since, as one ſays very truly, The Natural Advantages, when joyn'd and ſtrengthened by the Accidental, make a Noble and Complete Compoſition. And yet, in deſpight of all our Reaſonings to the contrary, Experience, 20.

and undeniable Matter of Fact, give us Ten thouſand Inſtances of it's being otherwiſe.

21. Now, the true Reaſon, and ſatisfactory Anſwer to this Doubt, ſtands really thus. That the Methods of Inſtruction are not well ordered. Books and Places of Publick Education furniſh Men with admirable Matter; but they do not imbibe, and uſe it, as they ſhould do. Hence it is, that vaſt Improvements in Knowledge turn to ſo very ſlender Account: They are Poor in the midſt of Plenty; and, like *Tantalus* in the Fable, ſtarved with the Meat at their Mouths. When they apply themſelves to Reading, the Thing they principally aim at, is to learn Words more than Things; or at leaſt, they content themſelves with a very ſlight and ſuperficial Knowledge of Things; and He is reputed the beſt Scholar, who hath made the largeſt Collections, and cramm'd his Memory fulleſt. Thus they are Learned, but not with any Care of poliſhing their Minds, and forming their Judgments, or growing practically Wiſe. Like a Man that puts his Bread in his Pocket, and not in his Stomach; and if he go on Thus, he may be famiſh'd for want of Suſtenance, notwithſtanding both Pockets are full. Thus they continue Fools, with a vaſt Treaſure of Wiſdom in their Brains. They ſtudy for Entertainment, or Oſtentation, or Gain, or Applauſe; and not for their own true Benefit, and the becoming Uſeful to the World. They are living Repertories and Common-place Books; and would be rare Compilers of Precedents and Reports. *Cicero*, they tell you, or *Ariſtotle*, or *Plato* ſay Thus and Thus; but all this while, They ſay not one Tittle of their own Obſervation. They are guilty of Two great Faults: One is, that they do not apply what they read, to themſelves, nor make it their own by Meditation, Reflection and Uſe; ſo that all this while they have not advanc'd one Step in Virtue; nor are One whit more Prudent, more Reſolute and Confirm'd in Goodneſs; and thus their Scholarſhip is never digeſted, and incorporated with the Soul, but ſwims and floats about in the Brain, and conſequently can never nouriſh, or do them any manner of Good. The Other is, That in all this Time and Trouble, ſo diligently ſpent in heaping together the Wealth of other Men, they neglect their own Proper and Natural Fund, and let this lie dead, and ruſt upon their Hands, for want of Exerciſe. Now, Others, who are not capable of Study, have nothing but their own Common

Senſe

Sense and Reason to be intent upon; and therefore they must keep it in constant Employment. They manure and cultivate their little Plat of Ground, and reap a Crop in proportion to their Diligence; grow Better, and Wiser, more Resolute and Steady, though not so Knowing, or so Eloquent, so Wealthy, or so Celebrated in the World. The whole of which Observation may be reduced to that short Maxim of an Author to this purpose; *That weak and little Souls are spoiled by Learning, but vigorous and great Ones are perfected by it.* The Former are diverted by it from Matters more Weighty and Substantial; the Latter make it only Subservient to such, and transcribe it all into their own Practice.

22. Now, the Method, which I would prescribe, for reforming this unprofitable and superficial Way of Study, is as follows. Not to trouble our Heads, and waste our Time, in retaining and treasuring up other Mens Knowledge; only that we may be able to repeat and quote it, and make a Shew and Noise with it in Company; or else to convert it to Gain, and so employ it to Sordid and Mercenary Purposes; but to enrich our Minds in good Earnest, by making other Mens Notions our own: Not barely to give them Lodging and Entertainment in our Souls, and use them like Guests, but to incorporate and transubstantiate them: Not only to sprinkle the Mind with them, but thoroughly to soak, and drench it; that the Tincture may be taken all over, and we may become effectually Wise, and Good, and Generous, and brave; For if This be not done, what is all our Study good for? * *We must not only get Wisdom, but we must use and enjoy it*, if we will do any thing to Purpose. We must not do like the Gatherers of Nosegays, that pick up here and there whole Flowers, and after that make them up into Nosegays to sell or give away; For thus unskilful Students do; They get together a Collection of good Sayings and Observations out of the Books they have read; merely for the Sake of Ostentation, and to put them off in all Company where they come: But we must imitate the Bees, that never take away the Flower entire; but sit and brood upon it, suck out the Life, and Spirit, and Quintessence, and convert it into their own Substance, and Nourishment; and when This is done, they do not render it back again in Thyme, or Marjoram, as they

* Non paranda nobis solùm, sed fruenda sapientia est.

drew it in, but diſtil it into moſt delicious and excellent Honey. Juſt after the ſame Manner, We are not obliged, to put our ſelves under the Slavery of getting Things by Heart; and ſaying them again by Rote; (which ſome value themſelves upon,) nor need we tye up our Attention, to that ſuperſtitious Vanity of others, That of remembring preciſely the very Paſſage, and Page, and Chapter; (all which devours our Time, and our Pains, and is bought very Dear with the Loſs of that which our Minds ſhould principally aim at;) but we ſhould draw out the Marrow and Subſtance of our Authors, feed and feaſt our Thoughts upon them; deduce Inferences, and form the Judgment, and give the Soul quite another Turn; we ſhould bring all Home, and lay it cloſe to our Hearts; that it may be entirely of a Piece with us, inſtruct our Underſtandings, regulate our Affections, direct and incline our Wills, and guide our Conſciences in all their practical Determinations and Debates. In a Word, The Principles of Honeſty, and Wiſdom, and Prudence, and Perſeverance, which we meet with ſcattered up and down in Books, we are to collect into one entire Body; and out of that make an Honeſt, Wiſe, Prudent, and Well-reſolved Man. So ſays *Tacitus* upon a like Occaſion, * *Our Intention muſt not be Pomp, and Shew, the Credit and Reputation of being Book-learned; but the fitting our ſelves for Action and Buſineſs, and fortifying our Minds againſt any Accidents that may happen to us.*

23. In order hereunto, there muſt be Care uſed, that a Proper and Prudent Choice be made of the Sciences young People apply their Studies to. Now thoſe, which I dare take upon me to recommend, becauſe they manifeſtly conduce moſt of any, to that ſort of Study which I have here been propounding, are Natural and Moral Philoſophy; for Theſe teach us what it is to live, and what to live Well; and entertain us with the Images and Beauties both of Nature, and of Virtue; ſhew us, what we are, and what be ought to be. Under the Heads of Morality I comprehend Politicks, Oeconomicks, and Hiſtory, as well as that which is more Peculiarly call'd Ethicks. All other Studies are in a manner Emptineſs and Air, Diverſions to recreate the Mind, but not of Weight enough to make them our Buſineſs. And therefore we ſhould take a little of Them by the

* Non ad pompam, nec ad ſpeciem, nec ut nomine magnifico ſequi otium velis, ſed quò firmior adverſus fortuita Rempublicam capeſſas.

by;

by; but theſe we may fix and dwell upon, becauſe They will not fail to ſtick by Us, and amply to reward our Pains.

This End, to which the Inſtruction of young People ſhould be directed, and the ſtating our Compariſon between Wiſdom and acquired Learning hath detain'd us a very great while, by Reaſon of the Controverſies ariſing upon it. Let us now at length proſecute the other Parts of this Subject, and come to thoſe Directions which ſtill remain behind. Now, the Manner of either informing one's ſelf, or inſtructing others, is very various: For firſt there are Two Ways of Learning, the One Verbal; that is, by Precepts, Inſtructions, and Leſſons read, or heard, or explained to us; or elſe by Conference and Diſcourſe with able and good Men, thus poliſhing, and whetting our Minds upon Theirs; as Iron is brightened, and cleanſed, and ſharpened by the File. This is a very agreable, and pleaſant, and Natural Courſe. 24.

The Other Method of Inſtruction is by Facts; This is what we call Example, and a mighty Advantage may be made of it, not only with Regard to thoſe Good and Commendable Ones, which we ſhall do well carefully to Copy, and conform our ſelves to; but to thoſe likewiſe, that are Ill; ſuch as we are obliged to avoid and deteſt, and ſuffer no manner of Reſemblance, or Agreement with. Some Diſpoſitions are ſo formed, that they improve abundantly more, by this kind of Inſtruction taken from Contraries; and are much more dextrous at Declining, than Imitating. This is particularly the Method, which publick Juſtice takes with us; It condemns one Malefactor, that he may be a Warning, and create Horror in others. And *Cato* the Elder uſed to ſay, that *Wiſe Men might learn a great deal more from Fools, than Fools could from Wiſe Men.* The *Lacedæmonians*, to work in their Children an Abhorrence of Drunkenneſs, and draw them off from this beaſtly Vice effectually, made their Slaves drunk; that ſo this Odious and Ridiculous Spectacle, might leave laſting Impreſſions behind it. Now, this *Second* Way of Learning by Example, is infinitely the eaſier, and more entertaining of the Two. To learn by Precepts is a long and tedious Journey, and carries us a great way about; becauſe it coſts us Time and Pains to underſtand them; and freſh Labour to remember what we do underſtand; and, after all this, the greateſt and moſt difficult Part of our Buſineſs, is to be ready and punctual in the Practice of what we do remember. So that we cannot eaſily aſſure our ſelves of reaping the Fruit, which is, 25.

and

and ought to be propounded, as the Recompence of our Studies in this kind. But now Example and Imitation comes Home to us presently, and does the Work at once; it draws us on with greater Eagerness and Zeal; it fires us with a Noble Emulation, of our Patterns, and encourages us with a Prospect of the same Reputation and Advantage, which those Good and Great Men have already attained to by their shining Virtues. All Seeds do by Degrees conform to the Quality of the Soil into which they are transplanted; and carry the Relish of that which is the natural Growth of the Place. And thus the Minds and Manners of Men are assimulated and transformed, into the Dispositions, and Habits, of the Persons, whose Actions they contemplate, and whose Company they frequent: For there is an Universal Contagion in Nature, and One thing is daily more and more changed, and drawn into a nearer Resemblance of another.

26. Now, these Methods of Improvement, both by Verbal Precepts, and by Examples, are capable of a farther Distinction: For they are deduc'd and drawn into Practice from Excellent Persons; who are either now living, by the Benefit of Conversation, and Mutual Conference, or sensible Observation; or else from such as are already dead, by reading of Books, and such Accounts, as History delivers to us concerning them.

The Former, of holding a Correspondence with the Living, is the more Lively, and Vigorous, and Natural. This indeed is a very Profitable Exercise; much in request among the Ancients, and especially in *Greece*; but then it is accidental and uncertain; it depends upon another, and you cannot always enjoy it, when you would. It is also Difficult and Rare, for a Man cannot every where meet with Persons proper for it, and less yet can he enjoy them sufficiently to improve by. This again is capable of being practised, either about Home, or at a greater Distance, by travelling and visiting foreign Countries. An that is an Advantage, I confess, very considerable, provided a Man make the most of it: For the End of Travelling is not to entertain our selves with fine Sights, or to bring back an Account of the Buildings, or Grottos, or Fountains we see abroad; but to study the Natives, and observe their different Humours, and Manner of Living, their Vices and Virtues, their Laws and Customs, their private Conduct, and publick Constitutions. This is a most agreeable, and a most profitable Way of Education in all Respects; It contributes much to Health,

by

by keeping the Body in Motion and Moderate Exercise, a due Medium between Idleness and Fatigue: And it keeps the Mind in continual Employment too, by presenting new and strange Objects to it every Day; and provoking it to proper Observations and Reflections from them; and particularly to the drawing Comparisons between these fresh and foreign Matters, and what we had seen and were acquainted with before. And indeed there is no better School of Life in the World, than the seeing continually so many different Tempers and Ways of living; contemplating the Beauty of Nature in all her different Forms, and out of all these, to pick and cull that, which may complete and adorn our own Conversation.

The other Sort of Correspondence is kept up with the Dead by the Help of Books; and This is more sure and constant to us. We have it in our own Disposal, and can go into this Company when we will; and beside, it is more suitable to the Circumstances of most Men, because the Trouble and Expence is much Easier, than in the former Case. They who know how to make a good Use of this, may reap infinite Advantage and Satisfaction from it. It discharges us from the Burden of a troublesome Idleness; fills up the void Spaces of Leisure; and leaves no Room for any Complaints of Time hanging upon our Hands; It draws us from the vain and tormenting Imaginations of a roving Mind; and diverts the Uneasiness of any Affairs or Accidents from without, which are apt to distract and perplex our Thoughts, when they find us out of Business, and at Liberty to attend them: It is a powerful Preservative against Vice; not only by the Force of the Arguments and Instructions it furnishes us with, to oppose and subdue it, but by keeping us out of Harm's Way, and at a distance from the Temptation: It ministers Comfort, and marvellous Relief in our Calamities and Sufferings; but then it must be acknowledged with all, that it only contributes to the Health and Good Constitution of the Mind; for this is a Sedentary Life, it keeps the Body out of Exercise; and, if pursued with great Vehemence and constant Application, wasts its Strength, impairs its Vigour and Complexion, and disposes it to Melancholy, and Diseases. 27.

The next thing to be done is to give some Directions concerning a Tutor's Method, and the Forms of Instruction, which it will be proper for him to Observe, in Order to the making 28. *Putting our Scholars upon Discourse*

making his Care Successful. This Head consists of several Parts. The *First* Advice I shall give upon it is, That he would frequently confer with his Charge; ask him Questions, and put him upon giving his own Opinion, upon every fresh Occasion or Object, that offers it self to his Consideration. This I am afraid is but too opposite to the manner of proceeding generally in use; the Master talks All, and teaches his Children in a Dogmatical Way; thus pouring his own Notions into their Heads like Water into a Vessel; so that They in the mean while have nothing to do but to keep their Ears open, and are purely passive in the whole Matter. This is certainly a very Ill Custom. * *The Authority of the Teacher, and his taking so much upon himself, is a common and a mighty Hindrance to the Improvement even of the most diligent Scholar.* Their Apprehension should be awakend and warmed by starting of Doubts, and requiring an Account of what we have infused into them; and they should likewise be indulged in the same Liberty of asking us Questions, and putting Cases, informing themselves, and opening their own Way. If we never allow them to come in for a Share of the Discourse, all we say to them will be to little Purpose: Our Scholar only gives us the Hearing, and that sometimes but Coldly and Negligently neither; but as to any Application or Improvement, he troubles not himself, nor is at all Zealous about it; because This is a Matter which he is not called upon for, nor concern'd to bear a Part in the Conversation. Nor is it enough in this Case, that we make them Deliver their Opinions, except we moreover require them to alledge their Reasons, and oblige them to argue in Defence of it: For this is the Way to prevent their talking without Book, and by Rote; This will make them Heedful and Attentive, Cautious what they say, and considerate before they speak; and, for their better Encouragement to confer with us freely, we must commend, and make the best of what they say; and where the Performance falls short, we must accept the Endeavour very graciously. This Method of Instruction by way of Questions, was admirably put in Practice by *Socrates*, who was indeed the greatest Master in it of all the Philosophers; and we see all along in *Plato*, by what a Chain and Mutual Connexion of Enquiries, he led Men gently up to the Truth; and by insensible Degrees gain'd his Point upon the

* Obest plerumq; iis, qui discere volunt, Authoritas eorum qui docent, Ob-

Objectors. But indeed a much Greater than *Socrates* hath ſet us a Pattern in it; Even our Bleſſed Lord, who, with inimitable Prudence, appealed to Men's own Senſe and Judgment; and as he ſometimes taught his Diſciples, ſo did he at others confute his Adverſaries out of their own Mouths. Now theſe Queſtions and Conferences need not always be confin'd to ſuch Subjects, as the Attainments of Memory, or Fancy, or what we call acquired Knowledge are concern'd in; but may, (indeed they ought much rather to) be extended to ſuch as are Tryals of the Judgment, and ſound Senſe. So that no ſort of Subjects, will be excluded; for all, even the leaſt and moſt Inconſiderable, are capable of being employed to very good Purpoſe. The Negligence of a Servant, the Folly of a Child, the Moroſeneſs and Ill-nature of a Clown, the Sports or Plays of Boys, the Talk at Table; for the Excellency and Buſineſs of Judgment does by no Means conſiſt in the Management or Determination of Weighty or Sublime Matters only, but in paſſing a true and Right Deciſion, and ſetting a juſt Value upon all Manner of Things, be they Great or Small, Trivial or Important: It is not the Condition of the Subject, but the Truth, and Pertinency of what is reſolved, and ſaid upon it, that proves the Perſon to be Judicious. It will be very convenient therefore to let him deliver his Opinion of Men and Actions; but, to be ſure, always to ſay ſomewhat in Juſtification of his Opinion; and to let nothing paſs without ſome Reflexion, and the Inducements, which move him to think thus rather than otherwiſe: For This will have a wonderful Influence in the directing his Conſcience, and practical Judgment; which is of all other Faculties moſt neceſſary to be cultivated and ſet Right; becauſe, if This Happen to go amiſs, all our Actions which reſult from its Determination, muſt conſequently be Irregular. *Cyrus* his Tutor in *Xenophon* took this Courſe; and propounded the following Matter of Fact for an Exerciſe and Leſſon to his Pupil. A great Boy having a ſhort Coat, gave it to one of his Playfellows, who was leſs than himſelf, and took away his Coat in Exchange, which was Larger, and too Big for the right Owner: Now, the Thing required of *Cyrus* was to deliver his Judgment upon this Matter. *Cyrus* his Opinion was, that the Matter was very well ordered, and much better than before; for now both the Boys were fitted to their Turn, whereas, till that Exchange was made, neither of them was ſo. His Tutor rebuked him very ſharply for ſo raſh and unjuſt a Judgment; for that he had only

only conſidered the Convenience of the Thing, and not the Right and Merits of the Cauſe; ſince Juſtice is of ſo much greater Conſequence, that the other ought not to be put into the Balance with it; nor muſt a Man's Property be invaded, upon the Pretence of giving ſomewhat that its fitter for his Circumſtances in the ſtead of it. This now is an excellent Way of informing them. Again, When they repeat or quote any Thing out of their Books; as *Cicero*, or *Ariſtotle*, or the like, This Task ſhould be impoſed, not merely for the Sake of retaining it in their Memories, but to faſten it in their Minds, and give them a true Taſt of it, and enable them to judge of it themſelves. And, in order to this, he ſhould take it under all its different Appearances turn and examine it every way; and be taught to apply it to ſeveral Subjects. It would be a Matter of very ſmall Conſequence, for a Youth to tell a Story, of *Cato's* killing himſelf, for Fear of falling into the Hands of *Cæſar*; or how *Brutus* and *Caſſius* engaged in the taking *Cæſar* off; This is the leaſt Part of the Improvement ſuch Hiſtorical Narrations are Capable of furniſhing. The Main Point is, To call theſe Men before him, to Arraign, and Try, and Sentence them for theſe Actions; Whether they did Well or Ill; whether they conſulted the Publick Good, and behaved themſelves like true Patriots; what Prudence, and Juſtice, and Courage, there was in theſe Inſtances; and wherein theſe Excellencies exerted, or their Contrary Qualities betrayed themſelves. *Laſtly*, In all the Queſtions, and Conferences, he ought to take Care, that his Charge proceed according to Truth; that he be taught to expreſs himſelf Properly, and Pertinently; to reaſon juſtly; and to exerciſe his Practical Judgment of Things, which is an Excellence and Accompliſhment infinitely to be preferred before any the niceſt Subtilties of the moſt refined ſpeculative Knowledge. And in ſuch Exerciſes as theſe, No Doubt ſhould be left unſatisfied; no Point ſuffered to paſs off Imperfectly diſcuſs'd; no Connivence given to lame and ſuperficial Accounts of Things, the little Shiftings of an Argument, or the calling of an other Cauſe; but the Scholar muſt be preſt home; carried to the Bottom of all that is propounded; kept cloſe to the Matter in Hand; that ſo he may be a perfect Maſter of what he undertakes, and have ſolid and ſubſtantial Grounds for the Opinions he entertains.

29. *Secondly*, He ought to train his Pupil up to a becoming Curioſity, and a Deſire to know every Thing his Condition

is capable of. That ſo he may always have his Mind intent, and his Wits about him; applying himſelf to weigh and conſider Critically all that is ſaid or done in his Company; taking nothing at firſt View, without Reflection, and a Second Examination of it privately in his own Thoughts. And not only ſo, but with Modeſty and Temper to inform himſelf, and conſult others, in Matters both of Right, and of Fact. It is a common Proverb, *That he who never asks Queſtions, will never be a Wiſe Man*; that is, If a Man's Mind be not kept ſtirring, it will ruſt and mould; and nothing but conſtant Uſe and Exercíſe can cleanſe and brighten it. Now, whatever of this Kind falls under his Conſideration, ſhould be managed to the beſt Advantage; applyed and brought home to himſelf; diſcourſed and adviſed upon with others; and that, whether it be ſomewhat already paſt, to diſcover what Defects there were, and which were the falſe Steps in it; or whether it be ſomewhat future, that he may govern himſelf regularly; be warned of any Hazards and Dangers that attend what he goes about; and prevent Miſcarriages and Inconvenience, by growing wiſe in Time. Children ſhould never be left to their own idle Fancies, to dare and trifle alone; For their Age and Capacity, not being of it ſelf able to furniſh Noble Matter of Thought, will certainly dwindle into Vanity, and feed upon Impertinencies and Whimſies of a Size with their Imaginations. They ſhould therefore be kept in conſtant Employment; to exerciſe and give them a Manly Way of thinking; and particularly to beget and excite this inquiſitive Humor, and eager Appetite of Knowledge, which will be ſure to keep their Souls always awake and buſie, and by inſpiring them with a Noble Emulation, be Eternally putting forward to freſh and larger Attainments. And this Curioſity, if qualified, as I have here deſcribed it, will neither be Vain and Fruitleſs in it ſelf, nor Troubleſome or Unmannerly to any, they converſe with.

Thirdly, Another neceſſary Care in the Inſtructing of Children is, To frame and mould their Minds, after the Model of Univerſal Nature, taking the World at large for our Pattern; to make the Univerſe their Book, and whatever Subject lies before them, to draw it in full Proportion, and repreſent the ſeveral Opinions and Cuſtoms, which do, or ever have prevailed with regard to it. The Greateſt and moſt Excellent Perſons have always had the freeſt and moſt enlarged Souls: For this indeed ſtrengthens and confirms the Mind; delivers it from Wonder and Surpriſe; 30

and

and fixes it in Reason and Resolution; which is the highest Point of Wisdom. This Particular, and the Benefits of it, as well as the Absurdity and great Uneasinesses of the Contrary hath been so largely insisted upon heretofore, that I shall omit what might be said more upon it here; adding only this Observation, That such a large and universal Spirit must be the Business and Acquest of early Application, and Diligence in the Master; before the Prepossessions of his Native Country and Customs have taken too fast Hold upon his Scholar; and when he is ripe for Travelling and Conversation, that which will contribute most to the perfecting him in this Disposition, is going abroad; conferring much with Foreigners; or, if that cannot be, yet informing himself at Home, by reading such Books as give Account of Travels into remote Parts of the World, and contain the Histories of all Nations.

See Book II. Ch. 2.

31. *Lastly*, Children ought to be taught betimes not to swallow things at a venture, nor receive any Opinions upon Trust, and the bare Authority of the Person who delivers them; but to seek and expect all the Evidence that can be had, before they yield their Assent. The contrary Easiness of Mind, is to suffer one's self to be led about hoodwinked; to renounce the Use of Reason quite, and submit to the Condition of Brutes, whose Business is only to know their Driver, and go as they are directed: Let every Thing therefore be fairly propounded; let the Arguments on each Side be stated, and set in their true Light, and then let him choose, as Judgment shall determine him. If he be at a Loss, which Side he should incline to, let him deliberate longer, and doubt on; such a distrust and uncertainty of Mind is an excellent Sign; more Safe, more Promising than a rash Confidence, which resolves Right or Wrong, and thinks it self always sure, though it can give no reason why. The Perplexities and Dilemmas of a cautious and considerate Person, are much to be preferred before even the true Determinations that are made in a Heat, and by Chance. But then, as the Youth should be taught always to practise upon his own Judgment, so should he learn likewise to have a Modest Diffidence of his Abilities; and when any Difficulty interposes, or the Resolution is of great Consequence, to consult those, who are proper to be advised with, and never venture to come to a peremptory Determination, merely upon the Strength of his own reasoning. For, As the being able to examine and compare Things is

one

One Argument of Sufficiency, ſo is the calling in Help Another; and the refuſing to reſt upon one's own ſingle Opinion is no Reflexion upon our Wiſdom; No Diſparagement to what we think alone, but rather the quite contrary.

Next after the Soul of Children, Parents are obliged to take Care of their Bodies; and this is not to be deferr'd any more than the other. It hath no diſtinct and ſeparate Seaſons, but muſt go along with the Former; and only differs in This, that, tho' we ought to expreſs a conſtant Care and Concern for both, yet we are not obliged to have that Concern equal for both. But, ſince Nature hath united theſe Two into One and the ſame Perſon, we muſt contribute to the Good of each by our joynt Endeavours. Now, the Care of the Body will be moſt profitably Expreſt, not in the Indulging its Appetites, or treating it tenderly (as the Generality of thoſe, who pretend to refined Education do;) but by utterly abandoning all Softneſs and effeminate Nicety in Cloths and Lodging, Meat and Drink; to give it plain and hearty Nouriſhment; a ſimple and wholeſome Diet; conſidering the Convenience of Health and Digeſtion, more than the Pleaſures and Delicacy of the Palate: To ſupport it in a Condition of Strength, capable of ſupporting Labour and Hardſhip; and accordingly inure it to Heat and Cold, Wind and Weather; That ſo the Muſcles and Nerves, as well as the Soul, may be fortified for Toil; and by That, for Pain; For the Cuſtom of the Former, hardens us againſt the Latter. In a Word, to keep the Body Vigorous and Freſh; and the Appetite and Conſtitution indifferent to all ſorts of Meats, and Taſts: For the ſeveral Parts of this Advice, are by no Means ſo inſignificant, as they may ſeem. It were enough to ſay, that they conduce mightily to the preſerving and confirming our Health; but That is not all; for the Benefit extends beyond our own Perſons, and the Publick is the better for them; as they enable and qualifie Men for the enduring Fatigues, and ſo fit them for Buſineſs, and the Service of their Country. 32. *Advice for the Body.*

It is now Time to apply our ſelves to the *Third* Branch of this Duty, which contains a Parents Care of his Childrens Manners; in which, Soul and Body both are very highly concern'd. Now, this Care conſiſts of Two Parts; The Preventing Ill Habits; and Cultivating Good Ones. The Former is the more Neceſſary, and Requires the more diligent Attention of the Two. And This is a Buſineſs, 33. *Directions for Manners.*

which ought to be begun very early indeed, a Man can hardly ſet about it too ſoon: For Vicious Diſpoſitions grow into Habits apace; ſo that the Corruption of Nature is ſure to be beforehand with us; and, if theſe Things be not ſtifled in the Birth, it is very difficult Dealing with them afterwards. I ſuppoſe, I need not ſay, that this Endeavour ought to be Univerſal, and bend it ſelf againſt all Vice without Exception: But ſome there are, which I ſhall mention, and recommend the ſubduing of more eſpecially, becauſe they are more incident to that Condition of Life, and therefore more formidable than the reſt.

The *Firſt* is Lying; A pitiful, poor-ſpirited Vice; the Character of Slaves and Cowards, the moſt ungenteel Quality that can be, and certain Indication of a baſe, degenerate, and timorous Soul; but more particularly, fit to be caution'd againſt in this Place; becauſe harſh Methods, and rigorous Severities in the Education of Children, very often fright them into it at firſt, and lay the ſeeds of Fear and Falſhood for their whole Lives.

The *Second* is an Aukward Baſhfulneſs, which puts them upon hiding their Faces, hanging down their Heads, bluſhing and looking out of Countenance, when they are ſpoken to; makes them incapable of bearing any ſort of Correction, or the leaſt angry Word, without being diſordered, and put quite out of Humor. A great deal of This is owing to the Natural Weakneſs and Tenderneſs of their Minds; but this Infirmity muſt be corrected by Study and Application; by learning them to bear Admonition and Rebukes, uſing them to ſee Company; and fortifying them with a becoming Aſſurance and Preſence of Mind.

Thirdly, All Affectation and Singularity in their Dreſs, their Mean, their Gate, their Geſtures, their Speech, and every other Part of Behaviour. Making their Deportment and Converſation Maſculine, and free; eaſie and unconſtrained: For Affectation is a ſure Sign of Vanity, an inordinate Deſire of recommending themſelves by doing ſomewhat particular, and out of the common Road; and is extremely Nauſeous and Offenſive to all Companies; it diſpleaſes even where it labours to oblige; and caſts a Blemiſh upon our beſt Actions and kindeſt Intentions. * *A Man may be Wiſe without Oſtentation, and ſhould labour to be ſo, without giving Prejudice or Offence.*

* Licet ſapere ſine pompâ ſine invidiâ.

But

But especially, They must check and utterly banish all Anger, and Peevishness, and Spight, and Obstinacy. And in order hereunto, It will be a good Rule to settle a Resolution never to gratifie Children when they are froward, nor give them any thing they cry and are outragious for. To make them sensible betimes, that these Arts will never do them service; and are therefore unprofitable, as well as unbecoming. Another necessary Course to this purpose will be, never to flatter, or wheedle, or caress them in their querulous Humours; for Fondness and Indulgence, which is blameable at all times, is of most dangerous consequence at such times as these: This absolutely ruines them to all Intents and Purposes, incourages them to be Passionate and Sullen, if they have not what they ask for, and renders them at length Obstinate and Headstrong, Intractable and Insolent: For * *Nothing dispoſes Men more to extravagant Paſſion and Reſentment, than the being humour'd and cocker'd in their Infancy*; and the greatest part of those Fretful, Exceptious, and Self-conceited Qualities, which render Conversation so difficult, and so full of Cavils, as we find it, are owing most certainly to a Failure in this part of Education. The Niceness and Tenderness they have been us'd with in their Infancy, and the Unreasonable Compliances with their Passions then, have absolutely broke their Tempers, and make them Whimsical and Jealous, Furious and domineering all their Life-long; They expect, because Mothers and Nurses have done it to my young Master and Miss, that all the World shou'd submit to their Humours when they come to be Men and Women.

But it is not sufficient to clear the Soil of Weeds and Bryars, except you sow it with good Seed; and therefore at the same time you root out Ill Habits, Care must be taken to implant Good ones. The first and most important part whereof is, to Infuse into them, and take care they be throughly season'd with a becoming Reverence, and awful Fear of God; learning them to tremble at his infinite and incomprehensible Majesty; to admire and adore the Perfection of his Holiness; to take his Name into their Mouths but very seldom; and when they do, to mention it with Gravity and great Respect; to discourse of his Power, his Wisdom, his Eternal Essence, his Will, his Word, and his Works, not indifferently, and upon every Occasion, but with such Seriousness and Submission, such Modesty and

* Nihil magis reddet Iracundos, quam Educatio mollis & blanda.

Humility; and at Seaſons ſo proper, that all the World may perceive we have due Dread, and a conſtant Awe of that Being, which we take care to treat ſo very reſpectfully. Not to uſe themſelves to diſpute upon Religion, or call the Myſteries of it in into Queſtion; but reſign their Underſtandings to the Oracles of God, and be content to believe the Scriptures in ſuch a Senſe as the truly Catholick Church hath embrac'd, and commanded to be taught and receiv'd.

2. In the Second Place, The Spirit of Children ſhou'd be ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd by Ingenuity and Frankneſs of Temper, Openneſs and Eaſineſs of Converſation, Candor and Integrity; and eſpecially they ſhou'd be fix'd in the Fitneſs and the Neceſſity of Virtue, and ſo made reſolute and zealous in Juſtice and Goodneſs, deaf and inflexible to every thing which is Vicious and Diſhonourable. Thus the Youth muſt by degrees be brought to embrace and ſtick to Virtue, upon a true and ſolid Principle; for its Own ſake, and real Excellence, and exact Congruity to the Dictates of uncorrupt Reaſon, and not be induc'd meerly by the force of Fear, or Intereſt, or ſome other Conſideration ſo ſlaviſh and mercenary, that it cannot deſerve a Name ſo noble as Virtue. Theſe Two Directions are principally for a Man's private uſe, and centre in his own proper Benefit.

3. The Third regards other People, and hath a more immediate tendency to fit him for, and render him eaſie and agreeable in Company. And to this purpoſe you muſt uſe all means poſſible, for the Sweetning his Temper, teach him the Rules of Civility and Complaiſance, and ſhew him the Deference that ought to be paid to all Qualities; let him know how to make himſelf acceptable; how far it is fit to accommodate himſelf to other People's Humours, and ſubmit to their Manner. *Alcibiades*'s peculiar Excellence was ſaid to lie in this obliging Eaſineſs of Humour: And *Ariſtippus* was a Man of perfect Addreſs; ſo far from Moroſeneſs, or ſuffering the Study of Philoſophy to ſowre him, that *Horace* takes notice of him as a Perſon ſo *debonnaire* and well-faſhion'd, that every thing he did became him, and he was never at a Loſs.

* *All Fortune fitted* Ariſtippus *well,*
Aiming at Greater, pleas'd with what befel. Creech.

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* Omnis Ariſtippum decuit color, & ſtatus, & res, &c. *Hor. Ep.* xvii.

Let

Let your young Charge be ſo much a Maſter of Converſation, as to be capable of keeping all manner of Company, but let him chooſe and frequent none but ſuch as are virtuous and good. Let him abſtain from Vice, not upon Compulſion only, out of Fear, or Ignorance, but out of Inclination and Choice. For † *There is a great deal of difference between refuſing to be Wicked, and not daring, or not knowing how to be ſo.*

4. The Fourth Virtue I deſire to have early ingrafted into the Minds of young People, is Modeſty. This will preſerve them from that Forwardneſs which puts them upon Contradiction and Diſpute, and attacking all they come near. With ſome Perſons it is never proper for us to engage at all; as thoſe particularly, whoſe Quality is much above, or very much below our own; whether the Difference lie in Birth, or Riches, or Honour, or Parts, or Characters; Theſe can never be a fit Match for us at any time. But indeed, Thoſe that are ſo ſhou'd not be encounter'd at All Times, nor upon All Occaſions; not for a trifling Circumſtance, an improper Expreſſion; in ſhort, What is of little Moment in it ſelf, or little or no Concern to Us, will not juſtifie our wrangling for it. To let nothing go without putting in an Exception to it, is ill-manner'd, impertinent, and troubleſome: But even in thoſe things that are worth a Diſpute, to be opinionative and peremptory, warm and violent, clamorous and loud, is as much a Breach of this Virtue; for Modeſty teaches Men to be Meek and Gentle, Moderate and Condeſcending; it cannot be reconcil'd with a poſitive dogmatical way of Talk with an abounding in our own Senſe, and a Reſolution not to be convinc'd: But it yields the Point when it is no longer defenſible; and, As it never diſputes for Oſtentation, or Diſputing's ſake, ſo it hath a juſt Deference to the Perſon, and his contrary Opinion; it preſerves Decency and good Manners; allows all that can poſſibly be granted, and takes Care to ſoften the Oppoſition of that which Judgment will not ſuffer it to allow. But of This I have ſpoken in another Part of this Treatiſe already; and therefore ſhall diſmiſs the Subject at preſent, and with it Three parts of that Duty which Parents owe to their Children. Book II. Chap. 9.

35. The Fourth and Laſt part of this Duty concerns the Affection they ought to bear towards their Children, and the manner of treating and converſing with them when they are *Paternal Affection.*

† Multum intereſt. utrum peccare quis nolit, aut neſciat.

grown up, and the former Rules have had their desir'd Effect. Now we need not be told that the Affection between Parents and Children is natural and reciprocal. But it is stronger and more natural on the Parent's side; because This is the streight Course of Nature, carrying on the Life, and promoting the Succession of Mankind by the Descent of a right Line; whereas That of Children is only by way of Rebound and Reflection, and consequently cannot move so vigorously back again, as the former does forward. This indeed seems rather to be the Paying of a Debt, and the Sense and Return of Kindnesses receiv'd, than free, and natural, and pure Love. Besides, He that first does the Kindness, loves more than the Person who is passive, and receives it: And therefore the Parent, who is the first Mover, loves more vehemently than he is belov'd again. Of this Assertion there are many Arguments to assure us. Every Thing is fond of Existence, and Existence proves it self by Exercise and Action. Now whoever does Good to another, does after some sort exist in that Person; and he who gives Being, manifestly lives and acts in That Being which is propagated by him. He that does a Kindness, does a noble and generous Thing; but he who receives it, hath not the same to alledg. For the Virtue is the proper Quality of the First; but the Profit and Advantage is peculiar to the Second. Now Virtue, we know, is rooted in the Nature of the Thing, and consequently is a more worthy and amiable, a more firm and permanent Quality, than that of Advantage can possibly be; for This is additional, occasional, and accidental only; it may quickly vanish into nothing, and take it self away. Again, We are fond of those Things that are obtain'd with Difficulty and Expence; *That is dear to us which costs us dear*, says the Proverb. But the Bringing Children into the World, the Cherishing, Maintaining, and Educating them, are infinitely more troublesome for Parents to bestow, than it is possible to be to Children to receive these Advantages.

36. *Of two kinds.* But this Love of Parents is capable of a very just Distinction; and tho' there be two different sorts of it, yet thus far they agree, that both are Natural. The First is purely and entirely so; little, if at all remov'd from that which we commonly call *Instinct* in Brutes; for they partake of it as well as we. This disposes Parents to a strange Tenderness for their Children, even at the Breast, and in the Cradle, and gives the first Infant-Cries and Complaints, a wondrous Power of moving Compassion, and piercing their very Souls.

This

This likewiſe inſpires an unaccountable Fondneſs and Delight in them; while as yet they are only capable of diverting us, and as meer Play-things, as thoſe Wax and Plaiſter-Babies, which themſelves are ſhortly to be entertain'd withal. Now This Affection is not ſtrictly and properly Humane: Nor ought a Man enrich'd with an Endowment ſo noble as Reaſon, to ſuffer himſelf to be thus enſlav'd to Nature, after the manner of Beaſts that know no better; but rather he ſhou'd be led by theſe Motions of the Soul, and follow them freely, with all that Temper and Evenneſs, which Judgment and Conſideration ſhou'd inſpire; For theſe ſhou'd preſide over Nature, and moderate its Affections, reducing all to the Meaſures and Guidance of Reaſon. But now the other ſort is more agreeable to Theſe, and conſequently more Humane and worthy of us. This inclines us to love our Children more or leſs, as they are more or leſs attractive and deſerving our Affection; to riſe in This as theſe tender Plants of ours Bloſſom and Bud; and in proportion to the early Dawnings and brighter and ſtronger Shinings of Wit and good Senſe, Virtue and Goodneſs in them. Some Parents there are, who ſeem wonderfully tranſported with the firſt Appearances of this kind, but loſe the Satisfaction ſoon after, becauſe the Charge of maintaining them at firſt, is no great Matter; but That of the Education, which muſt improve and finiſh them, and bring Credit to their Natural Gifts, is grievous and inſupportable. This looks as if they grudg'd their Children the Honour and Happineſs of growing wiſer and better, and were ſorry that they anſwer the End of their Creation; A Folly ſo abſurd, ſo infinitely unreaſonable, that we may juſtly call them brutiſh and inhumane Fathers who are guilty of it.

37. Now in purſuance of this Second and properly Paternal Affection, Parents ſhou'd by all means admit their Children, ſo ſoon as they are capable of it, to keep them Company: They ſhou'd make them a competent Allowance fit for the Rank and Condition of them and their Family; ſhou'd enter them into Buſineſs, and let them ſee the World; confer and conſult with them about their own Private Affairs, communicate their Deſigns, their Opinions to them, not only as their Companions, but their Friends, and not keep them in Darkneſs, and Strangers to things which they have ſo great an Intereſt in; Theſe ſhou'd conſent to, and even condeſcend to aſſiſt in their becoming and innocent Diverſions, as Occaſions ſhall offer, and ſo far as any of theſe things can conveniently be done; but ſtill ſo as to preſerve all due re-

gard to their own Authority, and the Character of a Parent. For certainly such prudent Reserves may be us'd in this Case, as wou'd in no degree diminish That; and yet abundantly condemn that stern and austere, that magisterial and imperious Countenance and Carriage, which never lets a Child hear one mild Word, nor see one pleasant Look. Men think it now below them to hear of the Relation, and disdain to be call'd Fathers; when yet God himself does not only condescend to, but delight in that Title, above all others whatsoever. They make it no part of their Endeavour or Concern, to win the Love of their Children, but prefer Fear, and Awe, and respectful Expressions of Distance, before all the Endearments and Testimonies of a dutiful and tender Affection. And, to contain them in these Sentiments the better, and to confirm them the more, they shew their Power by holding their Hands, and denying the Supplies that are necessary and fit for them; make them (as the Term is) *bite of the Bridle*, and not only live like Beggars or Scoundrels at present, but threaten to keep them so, by leaving their Estates from them when they die. Now what Stuff is all this? how sottish and ridiculous a Farce do such People act? What is this but to distrust the Efficacy of that Authority which is real and natural, and of right belongs to the Relation they stand in, that so they may usurp a foreign and unjust Jurisdiction, and frame an artificial and imaginary Authority to themselves? An Authority which all serious and good Men do but pity or contemn; nay, which crosses and contradicts the very End of all this foolish Project; for they destroy that very Reverence they would maintain, and render themselves despicable in their own Families, a Jest and Scorn even to those Children. But, if it have not this Effect (which it too often hath) of drawing such Contempt upon them, yet is it a mighty Temptation to young People thus us'd, to take to Tricks, and little dishonest Shifts, and, without the least Remorse, to cheat and impose upon such Parents; Whose Business, indeed, shou'd have been to regulate and inform their Minds, and shew them the Equity and Reasonableness of their Duty; but by no means to have Recourse to such kind of Treatment as is much more agreeable to the Arbitrary Violence of a Tyrant, than the Affectionate Regards, and kind Care of a Father. What says the wise Comedian to this purpose?

Truly

* *Truly in my Mind that Man thinks much amiss,*
Who believes that Government purely by Force
Shou'd have more Authority, and a better Foundation,
Than when 'tis accompany'd with Tenderness and Respect.

As to the final Disposal of the Estate; The best and wisest way (all notable and extraordinary Accidents excepted) will be, to take our Measures from the Laws and Customs of the Country where we dwell: For it ought to be presum'd, that the Laws are wiser than We; and that the Makers of them consider'd things more maturely than private Men are likely to do. And, if any Inconvenience shou'd afterwards happen from such a Distribution, it will be much more excusable to Posterity, that we have err'd in going by the common Road, than if it had been by any particular Whimsie of our own. But sure there cannot be a greater abuse of the Trust repos'd in us, and the Liberty we have to dispose of our Fortunes as we please, than to let little foolish Fancies, and frivolous Quarrels, or private Resentments, weigh down the Obligations of a higher Nature, and either endite, or alter Articles in our Will. And yet how many Instances do we see of Men, who suffer themselves to be transported by a most unreasonable Partiality, and are wrought upon either by some little officious Diligence, or the Presence of one Child when the rest are Absent, to make a mighty Difference, where Blood and Duty have never made any at all; who play with their Wills as if it were a jesting-matter, and gratifie or chastise such Actions, as do not deserve such an Animadversion; for it ought to be something much more than common, which excludes those who have a just Pretence to share in what we leave, or that disposes us to a Division so unequal, as shou'd very much affect the Fortunes of our Children, in prejudice to one another, and leave no Mark whereby to know that they were Brothers and Sisters. And if the Acting thus be a Fault, the Threatning at a distance, or promising such an Inequality is highly Wicked and Foolish, and of most pernicious Influence in the Family: And therefore I say still, in despight of any supportable Defects in our Children, the Flatteries and Officiousness of some, or the pardonable Provocations of others; let us sit down and consider 38.

* Errat longè meâ quidem *Sententiâ*,
Qui imperium credit esse gravius aut stabilius
Vi quod fit, quam illud quod amicitiâ adjungitur.

that

that This, as it is one of the last, so it is one of the most important and serious Actions of our Lives; and therefore Reason, and Law, and common Usage ought to take place in it. For these are the wisest Guides we can follow, and, in conforming to Them, we take the surest Course to answer the Obligations of our Character, to vindicate our Proceedings to the World, and to quiet and satisfie our own Consciences.

39. *Duty of Children.* We are now come to that other general Division of this Chapter, The Duty of Children toward their Parents; than which there is not any more plainly and visibly writ in the Book of Nature, or more expresly and positively enjoyn'd by Religion: A Duty which ought to be paid them, not as mere and common Men, but as a sort of Demy-Gods, earthly and visible Deities in this Mortal Flesh. Upon this Account *Philo* the Jew tells us, that the Fifth Commandment was written half of it in the First, and the other half in the Second Table of the Decalogue: Because it in part regards the Duty we owe to God, and in part That which we owe to our Neighbour. This is likewise so self-evident and acknowledg'd a Duty, so strictly and indispensably requir'd at our Hands, that No other Duty, no other Affection can supersede it; even tho' our Affection to other Persons may, and is allow'd to be more intimate and tender. For put the Case, that a Man hath a Father and a Son both involv'd in the same Distress, and that he have it in his Power to relieve but one of them, it hath been the Opinion of very wise Men, that he is bound to assist his Father, notwithstanding his Affection to the Son, (according to what hath been lately urg'd upon that Occasion,) be the greater and stronger. The Reason of which Resolution seems to be, That the Son's Debt to the Father is of longer standing; and the Obligation bore Date, and was in Force before that to his own Son; and that therefore it is in this, as in other Cases of like Nature, where no antecedent Tie can be cancell'd by any Engagement or Debt contracted afterwards.

40. Now this Duty principally consists in Five Particulars; All of which are comprehended under that significant Expression of Honouring our Father and Mother.

The First is Reverence; by which we are to understand, not only those External Respects of the Looks, or Gestures, or Behaviour, but the Inward and Respectful Sense of the Mind; and This indeed chiefly as the Source and Foundation of the other. Now This consists in a high Esteem, and profound Veneration for them, looking upon them as the Authors and Original of our Being, and all the Comforts of it

it. The Inſtruments and Immediate Cauſes which the Univerſal Father of all things was pleas'd to make choice of, for the bringing us out of Nothing, and making us what we are; and therefore in that Quality bearing a very great Reſemblance to God himſelf.

The Second is Obedience; Which, provided the Matter of the Command be lawful, cannot be diſpens'd with, upon the Pretence of any Rigour or Hardſhip that it is encumber'd with. And thus we find the *Rechabites* commended by God himſelf, for complying with the Severities of Life, impoſed upon Them, and their Poſterity, by *Jonadab* their Anceſtor. Jer. xxxv.

The Third is, Succouring them in all their Exigencies and Diſtreſſes; maintaining and cheriſhing them in their Wants and Weakneſſes; Old Age and Sickneſs, Infirmities and Poverty muſt be ſo far from Provoking our Scorn and Contempt, that they are but ſo many louder Calls, and more engaging Ties to Love and Duty, to Aſſiſtance and Reſpect; aiding and adviſing them in their Buſineſs, and exerting our utmoſt Power to do them Service. Of This we have ſome wonderful Examples in the other Parts of Nature; and Brutes themſelves have ſet us a noble and almoſt inimitable Pattern; particularly the Stork, which St. *Baſil* ſo elegantly extols upon this account: For the young Storks are ſaid to nouriſh and feed the old ones; to cover them with their Feathers when the Shedding of their own expoſes them to the Injuries of Cold and Weather; to fly in couples, and join Wings to carry them on their Backs. Nature, it ſeems, inſpiring them with this Artificial Contrivance of ſhewing this Piety and Affection. This Example is ſo lively, ſo very moving, that the Duty of Parents to their Children hath been expreſs'd in ſome Tranſlations by ἀντιπελαργεῖν, that is, *acting the Part of a Stork.* And the *Hebrews* in conſideration of this eminent Quality, call this Bird *Chaſida*, which ſignifies *Kind, Charitable, Good-Natur'd.* Some very remarkable Inſtances of this kind among Men, we read in ancient Hiſtory. *Tymon*, Son to the Great *Miltiades*, when his Father was dead in Priſon, and ſo poor that he had not wherewith to bury him, (tho' ſome ſay it was for the Payment of his Debts, for failure whereof his Corpſe was arreſted, and kept above-ground) ſold himſelf, and ſacrific'd his Liberty, for a Summ of Money, to be expended in defraying the Charges of the Funeral. This Man did not contribute to his Father's Neceſſities out of his own Abundance, or his actual Poſſeſſions, but parted with his Freedom; a Thing dearer to him and eſteem'd more valuable, than either Fortune, or Life it

ſelf,

ſelf for his Father's Sake. He did not relieve him alive and, in diſtreſs; but when he was dead, no longer his Father, no longer a Man. What a Brave, what an Heroick Act was this? What may we reaſonably imagine, ſo gallant a Son would have done, what indeed would he not have done for a living and a neceſſitous Father, One that had asked, or that had needed his Aſſiſtance? This is a generous and a glorious Inſtance of the Duty now under Conſideration. We are likewiſe told of Two Examples in the weaker Sex, Women who ſuckled, the One her Father, and the Other her Mother, when they were Priſoners underSentence of Condemnation, and to be famiſhed to Death; which is ſaid to have been heretofore a Puniſhment very commonly inflicted in Capital Caſes. It looks a little Unnatural for a Mother to Subſiſt upon her Daughter's Milk; This is turning the Stream back again up to the Fountain-Head; but ſure it deſerves to be conſidered by the Ladies of Our Age; how very Natural, indeed how Fundamental and Primitive a Law of Nature it is, for Mothers to ſuckle, and give that Suſtenance, which Nature hath provided on purpoſe to their own Children.

The *Fourth* Duty is, To be governed and directed by them in all Matters of Moment; to attempt no conſiderable Thing without taking their Advice, and asking their Conſent, and being confirmed in our Intentions and Deſigns, by the Parents Approbation and good Liking. This is a general Rule, extending to all the important Affairs of Humane Life; All that are fit to trouble and conſult them about; but it hath a ſpecial Regard to the Diſpoſing of themſelves in Marriage, which is of all others the moſt Weighty and Serious; and ſuch as Parents have a particular right to be well informed of, and perfectly ſatisfied in.

The *Fifth* is, Covering their Vices and Imperfections; ſubmitting to their Humors and Paſſions; their Severity and hard Uſage; and bearing all their moſt unreaſonable Peeviſhneſs, and angry Rebukes with Patience and Temper. Of This we have a notable Inſtance in *Manlius Pomponius*. The Tribune had accuſed the Father of this *Manlius* to the People, of ſeveral grievous Crimes; among the reſt of horrible Barbarity to his Son; and among other Indignities, that he forc'd him to dig and drive the Plough. This Son went to this Tribune's Houſe; found him in Bed; and, putting a Knife to his Throat, made him ſwear that he would withdraw the Indictment, and proſecute his Father no farther; declaring that he had rather ſubmit to the moſt

Slaviſh

Slaviſh Drudgery his Father could impoſe upon him, and toil at it all the Days of his Life, than ſee him proſecuted and expoſed for any rigorous Carriage to him.

Theſe *Five* Duties, at firſt Sight, may perhaps ſeem too Rigid, but there is no Child, who would not allow them to be very reaſonable and becoming him to pay, did he but give himſelf the Trouble of conſidering ſeriouſly, how much he hath ſtood his Parents in. What Pain and Anxiety, what Tender Care and Concern, what Trouble and Expence, and what a World of Affection went to the bringing of him up. But This in Truth is a Compuration which no Man is capable of making juſtly, till he come to have Children of his own; Then Matters will appear to him quite otherwiſe, than now they do. And therefore, as the Philoſopher, who was found riding upon a Hobby-Horſe with his little Boy, deſired that his Friend would forbear to expoſe that Levity of his, till he was a Father himſelf: So in the Caſe before us, whoever ſhall imagine, that the Duty to Parents is carried beyond Equity and Reaſon, or Their Merits to their Children over-rated here, we muſt beg that he will be content to ſuſpend his Final Determination of this Matter, till that Time come, which alone can make him a competent Judge of it.

CHAP. XV.

Duties of Maſters and Servants

THere remains now only the Third and Laſt Part of Private and Domeſtick Juſtice to be ſpoken to, which conſiſts of the mutual Duties of that loweſt Relation, between Maſters and Servants.

Now, in Order to a right Underſtanding of this Matter, we muſt remember, that there are different Sorts of Servants, and more eſpecially theſe *Three* that follow. The *Firſt* are, what we call Slaves, in which all the World abounded heretofore, and the greateſt Part of it does ſo ſtill; for except one Quarter of *Europe*, they are ſtill reckoned as part of their Maſters Riches and Eſtate: And accordingly, they have no Right in any Thing, not ſo much as in their Goods, their Children, or their own Bodies; but their Patron hath an abſolute Power, to buy and ſell them, to give them, or barter them away; and to deal by them in

as

as Arbitrary and Uncontrouled a Manner, as We do with our Horſes, or Cattel, or any Beaſts of Service. Of theſe we have delivered our Opinion at large in the firſt Book. The Next are, what we commonly call Servants or Attendants; Theſe are Free-Men, and have a Right Inviolable in their own Perſons and Poſſeſſions; nay, they have ſuch an indefeaſible Liberty, that it cannot be taken away from them, by any Voluntary Compact of their own, or any other Means uſed in Prejudice of it. But they are bound to Pay Honor and Reſpect, Obedience and Service, for ſo long a Time, and upon ſuch Conditions, as have been covenanted for; and their Maſters accordingly have a Power of commanding, correcting, and puniſhing them, within the Bounds of Moderation and Diſcretion. The *Third* Sort are, what we may term Hirelings, or Workmen; which are ſtill leſs in Subjection than the Former: For they are not obliged to Attendance, nor Obedience in general; but only to the Performance of that Particular Work, we take them for; and ſo they only make an Exchange of their Labour and Induſtry, for ſo much of our Money; for thoſe that Hire them, have no Authority either to correct them for doing amiſs, or to command them at large in any other Thing.

Book I. Chap. 43.

Now, The Duty of Maſters towards their Servants, whether in the Quality of Slaves, or of Attendants, is; Not to uſe them Barbarouſly, but always to remember, that Theſe too are Men; of the very ſame Species with themſelves, made up of the ſame Materials, caſt in the ſame Mould; deſcended from the ſame Anceſtors. That it is not Nature, which hath put any Difference, but only Fortune; and Fortune is a very Humorſom and changeable Thing, for ſhe ſeems to make her ſelf great Diverſion with her Wheel; and to triumph in turning thoſe that were at the Bottom up to the Top, and tumbling thoſe that ſat at the Top, down to the Bottom. Conſequently, that the Diſtinction is not ſo great, as they are willing to imagine; nor what can bear them out in keeping their Fellows at ſo vaſt a diſtance; and expecting ſuch wonderful Submiſſions from them. For * *theſe*, ſays *Seneca*, are *Men, and our poor Friends, and humble Companions, but withall our Fellow-Servants, for we are all equally at the Diſpoſal of the ſame Providence.* Our Servants then ſhould be treated

* Sunt homines, contubernales, humiles amici, conſervi, æquè Fortunæ ſubjecti.

with

with Courteſie and Condeſcenſion; not with proud Diſdain, and impious Contempt; we ſhould rather make it our Buſineſs, that they may love us, than that they may be afraid of us: But to deal Roughly, and uſe them Hardly, diſcovers great Inhumanity and Cruelty of Diſpoſition; and plainly declares, that we ſhould uſe all Mankind juſt ſo, if we had them as much at our Mercy; and that it is not want of Will, but want of Power, which hinders us from the Execution of our Barbarous Inclinations. We are alſo obliged to have Regard to their Health, to be Kind and Tender of them in Sickneſs, and ſad Accidents; to Provide for their Inſtruction; and take ſpecial Care, that they be taught their Duty; eſpecially ſuch Things as are Neceſſary to be known for the Good of their Souls, and which their everlaſting Salvation may be promoted by.

The Duty of Servants is to Honour and fear their Maſters, with regard to this Relation between them; whatſoever they may be, or how little ſoever they may deſerve ſuch Deference in any other reſpects. To obey them Faithfully and Diligently; to be true to their Truſt; to ſerve, not only in Appearance, and while the Maſter's Eye is upon them; but Sincerely, Seriouſly, and Cordially; out of a Principle of Conſcience, and without the leaſt mixture of Hypocriſie and Diſſimulation. To ſow no Diſcord, or foment Jealouſies and Diſcontents in the Family; to keep Secrets; not to turn Whiſperers or Hearkeners, or buſie Bodies; not divulging what is done at Home to the Prejudice of their Maſter; but advancing his Intereſt, and vindicating his Reputation; as well as aſſiſting and defending his Perſon, ſo far as lies in their Power. And indeed there are ſeveral very Noble, and Generous, and Brave Inſtances upon Record of eminent Things done by Servants for their Maſters; nay, ſome of them have gone ſo far, as to hazard their own, for the ſaving their Maſters Life, or the doing Right to their Honour.

CHAP. XVI.

Duty of Princes and Subjects.

CONcerning Princes and their Dignity, the Different Meaſures of their Power, the Humors to which this Elevation diſpoſes them, the Miſeries and Inconveniences of ſo impor-

important a Truſt, we have had Occaſion to ſpeak already, in the Forty Sixth Chapter of the Firſt Book; as we likewiſe have done very largely in the Second and Third of this Book; concerning their Duty, and how they ought to Govern: But, all this notwithſtanding, we will juſt touch upon the main Strokes, and general Heads, of their Buſineſs, in this Place.

1. A Sovereign Prince is in a middle Station, between God and his People; and therefore a Debtor he is to each of them; As ſuch, he ſhould conſtantly Remember, that he is the living Image and Repreſentation, the Vice-Roy and Commiſſioner General of the Great, the Almighty God; who is likewiſe his Prince and his Maſter; that with regard to his People, he is a Shining Light, a Mirror in continual Reflection, a Spectacle ſet up on high, that draws all Eyes to it; A Spring, of whoſe Waters all his Subjects hope to drink; a Spur and mighty Incitement to Virtue; and one that never can do any Good, but the Benefit of it is diffuſed far and wide, and the remembrance of it faithfully treaſured up, and put to Account. This in ſhort is his Character, and theſe the Conditions of his Station, and from hence it is very eaſie to infer, what muſt needs be required of him to anſwer and fill up the ſeveral Parts of this Deſcription.

It is evident then, firſt of all, that he is in an eſpecial Manner obliged to Devotion, Religion, Piety and the Fear of God; and That, not only with regard to himſelf, conſidered abſtractedly, and for the ſatisfying his own Conſcience, as he is a Man; but moreover with reſpect to his Government, in his Politick Capacity, and as a Prince. Now, the Piety, which concerns us to obſerve in this Place, is conſequently not ſo much the Perſonal, as the Publick and Princely Acts of it; The Care and Regard he ought to have for the Preſervation and Security of the Eſtabliſhed Religion; making ſeaſonable Proviſion for its Protection and Defence by wholeſome and wiſe Laws; ordering and inflicting ſevere Penalties, upon the Poiſoners and Diſturbers of it, and taking all poſſible Care, that neither the Doctrines and Myſteries of it be reviled and blaſphemed, nor the Rights of it violated, nor the Exerciſe of it innovated and confounded by Fickle and Factious Men. This is a Care, that will conduce mightily to his Honour, and the Security of his own Perſon and Government: For Men are naturally diſpoſed to ſtand in greater Awe of, and pay a more willing Obedience to a Governour, who (they are con-

continued) does truly fear God. They are more Fearful and Cautious in forming any Attempts againſt ſuch a one, becauſe the Natural Notions of a Superintending Providence, repreſent him to Mankind, as one under the more ſpecial and immediate Care of God. * *Piety* (ſays an old Author) *is one ſtrong Guard. All the Malice of the Evil Genius, and all the Strength of Fate are not able to take any hold on the Pious Man; For his God delivers him from all Evil.* Nor is this a Safeguard to his Perſon only, but to his Country and Government alſo; for all the Philoſophers and wiſe Men are unanimouſly agreed, that Religion is the Strongeſt Tye, the cloſeſt and moſt binding Cement of Human Society, and mutual Commerce.

The Prince is alſo bound to pay a ſtrict and inviolable Obedience to the Laws of God; and to enforce the ſame Obedience and Religious Obſervance upon other People: For theſe Laws are Indiſpenſable and Eternal; and he, who endeavours the reverſing, or (which as to the Effect is almoſt the ſame thing) the bringing them into publick Neglect and Contempt, is not only a Tyrant, but a Monſter.

As to the People under his Juriſdiction; he is oblig'd, firſt of all faithfully and punctually to keep his Promiſes, and Covenants, and Treaties, whether theſe Engagements were entred into with his own Subjects as Parties; or whether with any other, that have an Intereſt in them. This is a Branch of Natural and Univerſal Equity; even God himſelf, who is above all Law but that of his own moſt Holy and Divine Will, declares himſelf bound by, and always true to his Promiſes. *Hath he ſaid it, and ſhall he not do it?* and *God is not a Man that he ſhould lye, or the Son of Man that he ſhould repent: Behold I the Lord have ſaid it, I will certainly bring it to paſs.* Theſe are the Characters given us of Himſelf, by *the God that cannot lie*, in Holy Scripture. And it would ill become his Image upon Earth, to degenerate from that Great Pattern above; and be changed into the Reſemblance of Him, who is the Father of Lyes. But, beſides the Obligations to Truth in this Reſpect, A Prince is the Security, the formal Guarantee for the Laws and mutual Agreements between his Subjects; and he is to ſee that they proceed in all their private Tranſactions, according to Juſtice and Truth. His Engagement therefore to keep his Word is ſuperiour and more binding, than that of

* Una cuſtodia Pietas. Pium virum nec malus Genius nec Fatum devincit. Deus enim eripit eum ab omni malo.

any other Man can possibly be; for there is not any Quality or Crime possible for a Prince to be guilty of, so shameful and detestable, as the violating his Word, and his Oath. Upon which Account it hath been observed, that when ever a Prince goes counter to his Promise, we are to suppose him controuled and over-powerd by some extraordinary Accident or Exigence: For to imagine him false to his Engagements, without invincible Necessity, were to entertain a Presumption inconsistent with the Reverence due to so high a Character. Nor is he bound by his own Promises and Covenants only; but likewise by those of his Predecessors; if he succeeded into their Right by Inheritance; or any other Way that declar'd him satisfied to take the Crown as he found it; or if they be such as manifestly contribute to the Publick Safety and Advantage. In short, by the same Reason, and upon the same Accounts, he may discharge himself of all the unreasonable and prejudicial Promises, with Regard to his People; that private Persons think sufficient to disengage Them from, when They stand bound to their Prince.

4. Again, Princes, even the most Absolute of them All, ought to consider, that although the Law, (the Civil and Human Law I mean) be their own Handy-work, and proper Sanction, changed and abrogated at Pleasure, (for this Legislative Power is the peculiar Right and distinguishing Character of Soveraignty,) and so, in that respect, they are above the Law, as the Creator is above his Creature; yet so long as any Law stands unrepealed, and in full Force, they are bound in all Equity and good Conscience, to make it the Rule and Standard of their Actions and Determinations: And it would be an infinite Blemish and Dishonour to themselves, as well as of ill Example and pernicious Consequence to others, if they should do otherwise: For This were to refuse to stand to their own Act and Deed; a living in perfect Contradiction, and giving the Lye to themselves. The Great *Augustus* had like to have died with Remorse, for having once upon Occasion done in his own Person, a thing contrary to Law; *Agesilaus*, and *Seleucus* have left us very memorable Examples of this kind, and paid very dear for them.

5. *Thirdly*, The Prince is a Debtor to his People, for the regular Administration of Justice; and ought upon all Occasions to make This the Measure of his Power, and not to stretch beyond the Line. This indeed is the Peculiar Excellence of a Prince; a truly Royal and distinguishing Virtue. Upon which Account, it was both smartly and pertinently replyed by an old Woman to King *Philip*; upon his putting her

her off, upon Pretence that he was not at Leiſure to do her Right; That if he could not ſpare time to do the Duty of his Office, he ought to lay it down, and be a King no longer. But *Demetrius* did not come off ſo eaſily upon the like Provocation: For upon his throwing ſeveral of their Petitions into the River, without ever returning any Anſwer to them, or redreſſing the Grievances they complained of, they thought themſelves at Liberty to take an other Courſe, and Dethron'd that King, who had expreſt ſuch an haughty Diſregard, to his People, and their Addreſſes.

Once more. He ought to love and to cheriſh, to take a very tender Care of his Subjects; and imitate the King of Kings, in watching over them for their Good: His Affection and his Deportment ought to be That of a Husband to the Wife of his Boſom: His Bowels and provident Concern, Thoſe of a Father to his Children; His Vigilance, That of a Shepherd over his Flock, conſtantly keeping in his Eye the Advantage and Security of his People, and making Their Eaſe, and Quiet, and Welfare, the Aim and End of all his Undertakings. The Happineſs of the Country is the Satisfaction and Joy of a good King; the Strength, the Wealth, the Honour, the Virtue of his People are his chief Deſire and Delight. That Prince, who looks no farther than himſelf and his own Intereſt, abuſes and impoſes upon himſelf: For he is none of his own, nor is the State for Him, but He for the State. He is indeed the Maſter and the Governor of it; but not to the Intent that he ſhould domineer and Tyrannize over it, but that, by the Advantage of ſo great a Power, he may be enabled to ſupport and maintain it. * The People are committed to him, not as an abſolute Poſſeſſion, and to make them Slaves; but as a Truſt, to be their Guardian; and to uſe them like ſo many Minors under his Direction; to cheriſh, and breed, and watch over them. That by virtue of his Vigilant Care, his Subjects may ſleep ſecurely; that in his Toil and Fatigues they may find Eaſe and Leiſure; that his Induſtry may preſerve their Properties and Pleaſures, and that every Man under his Juriſdiction may know and feel experimentally, that he is as much for their Advantage as he is above them in Dignity and Power. 6. 7.

Now, In Order to the Being ſo indeed, and the Effectual diſcharge of this important Truſt, it will be Neceſſary for him to govern himſelf by the Rules, which have been laid down at large in the Second and Third Chapter of this Book.

* Cui non Civium ſervitus tradita, ſed tutela.

That is, To be sufficiently provided, with a wise Counsel, a substantial Exchequer, and a convenient Strength of Forces at Home; and with significant Alliances and Friends abroad. To manage this Provision to the best Advantage; and so to act and Rule, both in Peace and War, that he may reign in the Hearts of his People, and be both loved and feared by them at the same time.

8. To be short, and say all in a Word; The Character of a truly good King is compounded of these following Qualifications. He must fear and reverence his Master, Almighty God, above all; he must be prudent and considerate in his Designs; Vigorous and Bold in the Execution of them; Firm in his Resolutions; True to his Word; Wise and Discerning in his Counsel; tender of his Subjects; assisting to his Friends; formidable to his Enemies; compassionate to those in Distress; Courteous and Kind to Good Men; a Terror to the Wicked; and Just to all.

9. The Duty of Subjects towards their Prince, consists of *Three* Particulars. The *First*, is Honour and Reverence; And This is due to Princes, in regard they are the Image and Similitude of the most High God; established and ordained by him; and therefore Those, who disparage and detract from them, that revile or speak ill of them, and endeavour to sow Discords and discontented Thoughts, by virulent Reproaches, or wicked Scandals, are very highly to be blamed. These are indeed the true Descendents, of Prophane and Undutiful *Ham*; who either invent and contrive, or at least expose and deride their Father's Shame. The *Second* is, Obedience; which is a Word of very extensive signification, and includes serving them in the Wars, paying the Taxes and Tributes imposed by Their Authority, and the like. The *Third* is, Heartily Desiring their Happiness and Prosperity, and recommending Them, and Their Undertakings to the Blessing and Protection of Almighty God, in constant and fervent Prayers for them.

10. But a very considerable Doubt arises upon this Occasion; which is, Whether all these Duties are to be paid to all Princes without any Distinction; whether wicked Princes, whether Tyrants have a Right to them? This Controversie cannot be decided by any single positive Answer; but to come to a true Resolution of the Point, we must state the Case, and distinguish the Circumstances cautiously: For a Prince may be Tyrannical either at the very Entrance into his Power, or in the Exercise of it afterwards; that is, He may usurp his Authority, or he may abuse that Rightful one which he is fairly possest

poſſeſt of. If his Entrance upon the Government be Tyrannical; that is, If he invade without any juſt Pretenſion, be he otherwiſe a Good or a Bad Governour, it matters not much; It hath been the general Senſe of Wiſe Men, that he ought to be withſtood by Methods of Juſtice and legal Redreſs, if there be any opportunity of obtaining Redreſs that way; but if there be not, then by open Force. And indeed I take it, that where we meet with the Word *Tyrant* in old Authors, who uſe it in an ill Senſe, it ought conſtantly to be thus underſtood. And *Cicero* ſays, that among the Ancient *Greeks*, there were particular Honours and Rewards aſſign'd to thoſe who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by ſuch Deliverances of their Country from a lawleſs Yoke. Nor can This in any good propriety of Speech be call'd Reſiſting one's Prince, ſince it ſuppoſes him never to have been ſo, either in Right or in Fact; but only One who put himſelf upon the People, without ever being receiv'd, or recogniz'd as ſuch. II.

The Caſe is different, if this Tyranny be charg'd upon the Exerciſe and Adminiſtration of his Power only; That is, If he be duly poſſeſs'd of his Power, but uſe it unduly; if he be Cruel, or Wicked, which in the modern Language is, Tyrannical and Arbitrary. And here again we muſt be beholding to another Diſtinction, to help us to a right Underſtanding of the Caſe: For a Prince may be Tyrannical in this Senſe of the Word, three ſeveral ways; and a different ſort of Behaviour is requir'd from Subjects, with regard to each of them.

First he may be ſo, by violating the Laws of God and Nature, acting contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Religion of his Country, the expreſs Commands of God, or the Native Liberty of Men's Conſciences. In this Caſe we muſt by no means obey him, according to the Maxims laid down in Holy Scripture, that *We ought to obey God rather than Men; and to fear Him who hath power over the whole Man, more than Him who hath power over one part of the Man only, and that the leſs, and more inconſiderable part of him too.* But then, if we can have no Relief by Law or Juſtice, we muſt not have Recourſe to Violence; which is the contrary Extreme to a ſinful Compliance; but keep the middle Way, which is to flee or to ſuffer.

The Second Caſe is not quite ſo bad as the former, becauſe it offers no Violence to the Conſciences of Men, but to their Bodies and Eſtates only, by abuſing his Subjects, refuſing to do them Juſtice, taking away the Liberty of their Perſons, and the Property of their Eſtates. And here the three Duties mention'd before, Honour and Obedience, good Wiſhes and

and Prayers ought ſtill to be paid, with Patience and Submiſſion, and a Senſe and Acknowledgment of the Wrath of God let looſe upon them in this Scourge of an Unjuſt Prince: For there are Three Conſiderations fit to be attended to upon ſuch Occaſions. One is, *That all Power is of God, and he that reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* * *The Gods*, (ſays a very wiſe and judicious Heathen) *have committed the Supreme Judgment, and laſt Determination of Humane Affairs to the Prince: The Glory of Obedience is the Subject's Portion; we muſt therefore wiſh and pray that we may have none but Good Princes; but when we have them, we muſt endure them whether they be Good or Bad.* The Ground and formal Reaſon of our Obedience does not lie in the Conſideration of their Perſonal Virtues, or juſt and commendable Adminiſtration, but in their Character, and Superiority over us. There is a vaſt difference between True and Good; and he who is truly our Governour, tho' he be not a good Governour, is to be regarded as the Laws themſelves are; which bind us, not upon the Account of their Juſtice or Convenience, but purely upon the Account of their being Laws, and having the Sanction that is requiſite to give them Authority. A Second Reflection upon this Occaſion ſhou'd be, That God permits Hypocrites, and ſets up wicked Men to bear Rule for the Sins of a People, and in the Day of his fierce Anger. He makes a barbarous unjuſt Prince the Inſtrument of his Vengeance; and therefore This muſt be born with the ſame Temper of Mind with which we ſubmit to other Calamities made uſe of by God for that Purpoſe: † *Like a Blaſt, or a Barren Year, Inundations and exceſſive Rains, or other Evils in the Courſe of Nature, ſo ſhou'd the Avarice and Luxury of Princes be endur'd by thoſe they oppreſs*, ſays *Tacitus*. Inſtances of this kind we have in *Saul*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ſeveral of the *Roman* Emperors before *Conſtantine*'s Time; and ſome others, as wicked Tyrants as was poſſible for them to be, and yet Good Men paid them theſe Three Duties notwithſtanding, and were commanded ſo to do by the Prophets and Preachers of thoſe Times; in Agreement to our Great Maſter, the Oracle of Truth it ſelf, who directs his Diſciples to *obey thoſe that ſat in Moſes's Chair*; tho' in the ſame Breath

* Principi ſummum Rerum judicium Dii dederunt: Subditis obſequii gloria relicta eſt. Bonos Principes voto expetere, qualeſcunque tolerare.

† Quomodo Sterilitatem, aut nimios Imbres, & cætera Naturæ mala, ſic Luxum & Avaritiam Dominantium tolerare.

ho

he charges those very Governours with Wickedness and Cruelty, with *binding heavy Burdens*, and *laying upon Men's Shoulders more than cou'd be born.* Matt. xxiii

The Third Case concerns the State in general, when the very Fundamentals of Government are endeavour'd to be torn up, or over-turn'd; when he goes about to change, or to take away the Constitution; as if, for Instance, a Prince wou'd make that which is Elective, Hereditary; or from an Aristocracy, or Democracy, or any other such mixt Government, wou'd engross all to himself, and make it an Absolute Monarchy; or in any other Case like or equivalent to these, shall attempt to alter the State from what it was formerly, and ought to continue; In this Case Men may and ought to withstand him, and to hinder any such Attempts from taking place upon them, and That, either by Methods of Legal Justice, or otherwise: For a Prince is not the Master and Disposer of the Constitution, but the Guardian and Conservator of it. But then, This must be done regularly too; for the setting such Matters right does not belong to all the Subjects indifferently; but to those who are the Trustees of the State, or have the Principal Interest in it. Who these are, the Constitutions of the respective Countries must determine: In Elective Kingdoms, the Electors; in others, the Princes of the Blood; In Republicks, and those Places which have Fundamental Laws, the States-General assembled: And This I conceive to be the only Case which can justifie Subjects in resisting a Tyrant in this Second Sense of the Word, with regard to the Exercise of his Power, and the Pretence of Male-Administration. What I have hitherto deliver'd upon this last Case is meant *of Subjects*; that is, of Those who are not permitted in any Circumstances, or upon any Provocation to attempt any thing against their Sovereign; of Them, I say, who are by the Laws declar'd guilty of a Capital Crime, if they shall but Counsel, or compass, or so much as imagine the Death of their King. And if so much be allowable to Men under these Obligations and Penalties, then, no doubt, it is lawful, nay, it is highly commendable and a glorious Action in a Stranger, or Foreign Prince, to take up Arms, for the Defence and Revenge of a whole Nation, labouring under unjust Oppression: To redress their Wrongs, and deliver them from the heavy Yoke of Tyranny; as we find *Hercules* in his Time, and afterwards *Dion* and *Timoleon*, and not long since *Tamerlane* Prince of the *Tartars*, who defeated *Bajazet* the *Turkish* Emperor at the Siege of *Constantinople*.

Such

12. Such is the State of a Subject's Duty to his Prince, during his Life-time; but when Princes are dead, it is but an Act of Justice to examine into their Actions. It is indeed a Customary thing so to do, and a very reasonable and useful Custom no doubt it is. The Nations that observe it, find mighty Benefit from this Practice; and all good Princes will have reason to encourage and desire it; because thus that common Complaint wou'd be quite taken away, that all Princes are treated alike, and that there is no Distinction observ'd in our Respects to the Memory of the Good and the Bad. Kings are the Law's Fellows, if they be not their Masters: And the Revenge, which Justice will not permit to be taken upon their Persons, it is but fitting that it shou'd take upon their Reputation, and the Estates of their Successors. We owe Subjection and Obedience to all Kings alike; because This is an Obligation annex'd to their Offices, and payable purely upon that Consideration; but we cannot be accountable for our Affection and Esteem to all alike, because These will depend upon their Qualities, and are due only to their Merits and Virtue. Let us then resolve patiently to endure even the worst and most unworthy, while we have them; let us endeavour to cover and conceal the Vices of the Living, for this is what Respect to their Authority requires from us; and besides, the Weight and Difficulty of their Charge, and the Preservation of Publick Peace and Order, challenge our joint Endeavours, and stand in need of the utmost we can possibly do to support them. But when they are withdrawn, and gone off the Stage, it wou'd be hard to deny us a just Liberty of expressing our real Thoughts of them, without all that Reserve. Nay it is an honest and a commendable Pattern which these Proceedings set to Posterity; who cannot but look upon it as a singular Commendation of our Obedience and Respect, that we were content to pay these to a Master, whose Imperfections we were very well acquainted with. Those Writers, who upon the Account of Personal Interest, or Obligations, espouse the Memory of a wicked Prince, and set it off to the World; do an Act of Private Justice at the Expence of the Publick: For to serve, or shew themselves grateful, they defraud Mankind of the Truth. This Reflection were an admirable Lesson for a Successor, if it cou'd be well observ'd; and a powerful Check it might be to the Exorbitancies of Power, to think with one's self, that the Time will shortly come, when the World will make us as free with his Character, as they do at present with his Predecessor's.

CHAP

CHAP. XVII.

Duty of Magiſtrates.

THoſe few Wiſe and Good Men, who are Members of the Common-wealth, would doubtleſs be better pleaſed to retire into themſelves, and live at Eaſe; full of that ſweet Content, which excellent and intelligent Perſons know how to give themſelves, in the Contemplation of the Beauties of Nature, and the works of Providence, than to ſacrifice all this ſatisfaction to Buſineſs and a publick Poſt; were it not, that they hope to do ſome good, in being ſerviceable to their Country by their own Endeavours, and in preventing the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs from falling into ill, or unskilful hands. This may and ought to prevail with Perſons of this Character, to conſent to the trouble of being Magiſtrates: But to cabal and make Parties, and court Employments of Truſt with Eagerneſs and Paſſion; eſpecially ſuch as are judicial, is a very baſe and ſcandalous Practice; condemned as ſuch by all good Laws, even thoſe of Pagan Republicks, (as the *Julian* Law among the *Romans* abundantly teſtifies,) unbecoming a Man of Honour; and the ſhrewdeſt ſign that can be, that the Perſon is unfit for the Truſt he ſeeks ſo vehemently. To buy publick Offices is ſtill more infamous and abominable; the moſt ſordid, the moſt villainous way of Trading in the World: For it is plain, he that buys in the Piece, muſt make himſelf whole by ſelling out again in Parcels. Which was a good Reaſon for the Emperour *Severus*, when he was declaring againſt a Fault of this nature, to ſay, *That it was very hard to condemn a Man for making Money of that which he had given Money for before.* 1.

Juſt for all the World, as a Man dreſſes, and ſets his Perſon in order and form, putting on his beſt Face before he goes abroad, that he may make a Figure, and appear well in Company; ſo is it fit that a Man ſhould learn to govern his own Paſſions, and bring his Mind to good Habits, before he preſume to meddle with publick Buſineſs, or take upon him the Charge of governing other People. No Man is ſo weak, to enter the Liſts with an unmanaged Horſe, or to hazard his Perſon with ſuch a one in any Service of Conſequence and Danger; but trains and teaches him firſt, 2.

breeds him to his hand, and uſes him to the Exerciſe he is deſigned for: And is there not the ſame reaſon that this wild and reſtiff part of our Soul ſhould be tamed and accuſtomed to bear the Bit? Should be perfectly inſtructed in thoſe Laws and Meaſures which are to be the Rules of our Actions, and upon which, the good or ill Conduct of our Lives will depend? Is it not reaſonable, I ſay, That a Man ſhould be Maſter of his own private Behaviour, and expert in making the beſt of every Accident and Occaſion, before he venture out upon the publick Stage; and either give Laws to others, or correct them for the neglect of thoſe they have already? And yet, (as *Socrates* obſerved very truly) the manner of the World is quite otherwiſe: For, though no body undertakes to Exerciſe a Trade, to which he hath not been Educated, and ſerved a long Apprenticeſhip; and how Mean or Mechanical ſoever the Calling be, ſeveral Years are beſtowed upon the Learning of it; Yet in the caſe of publick Adminiſtrations which is of all other Profeſſions the moſt intricate and difficult, (ſo abſurd, ſo wretchedly careleſs are we) that every body is admitted, every body thinks himſelf abundantly qualified to undertake them. Theſe Commiſſions are made Complements and things of Courſe, without any Conſideration of Men's Abilities; or regarding at all, whether they know any thing of the matter; as if a Man's Quality, or the having an Eſtate in his Country, could inform his Underſtanding, or ſecure his Integrity, or render him capable of diſcerning between Right and Wrong, and a competent Judge of his Poorer, (but perhaps much honeſter and wiſer) Neighbours.

3. Magiſtrates have a mixt Quality, and are placed in a middle Station, between ſovereign Princes and private Subjects. Theſe Subalterns therefore have a double Task incumbent upon them, and muſt learn both how to Command, and how to Obey. To obey the Princes, who truſt and employ them, to ſubmit to, and truckle under the Paramount Authority of their Superiour Officers; to pay Reſpect to their Equals; to Command thoſe under their Juriſdiction; to Protect and Defend the Poor, and thoſe that are unable to Contend for their own; to ſtand in the Gap, and oppoſe the powerful Oppreſſor; and to diſtribute Right and Juſtice to all Sorts and Conditions of Men whatſoever. And, if this be the Buſineſs of a Magiſtrate, well might it grow into a Proverb, that the Office diſcovers the Man, ſince no mean Abilities, no common Addreſs, can ſuffice for the ſuſtaining ſo

ſo many Characters at once, and to Act each part ſo well, as to merit a general Approbation and Applauſe.

4. As to the Sovereign, by whoſe Commiſſion the Magiſtrates Act, his Commands muſt be the Rule of their Behaviour. Some of his Orders they ought to Execute ſpeedily; ſome again they muſt by no means comply with; or be in any degree inſtrumental in the Execution of them; and in others the moſt adviſeable Courſe will be, to ſuſpend their Obedience for ſome convenient time.

1. In all Commiſſions, which leave the Cogniſance of the Matter to the Magiſtrate, ſuch as thoſe of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; and in all others, where there is this Clauſe, (ſo *far as to you ſhall appear*) or any other Clauſe equivalent to This, inſerted; or which, though they do not refer the Cogniſance to Him, yet order ſuch things, as are either manifeſtly juſt, or at leaſt lawful and indifferent in their own Natures, he ought to obey readily, and without demur; for here is no difficulty, nor any ground at all for a juſt and reaſonable Scruple.

2. In ſuch Commiſſions and Orders, as do not leave the Cogniſance of the Matter to Him, but only decree ſome point of Executive Obedience; as in thoſe particularly, which we commonly call Mandates and Warrants; if they be contrary to any poſitive Law, which the Sovereign hath power to diſpenſe with, and there be Clauſes of Non-Obſtante for that purpoſe, to ſave the Party harmleſs; he is obliged to obey his Orders without more to do. Becauſe, according to the Civil Conſtitution, and the Laws of the Land, the Sovereign hath a Liberty reſerved to him of Relaxing, or ſetting aſide the Law in ſuch particular Caſes. And the having ſuch a Power over all Laws whatſoever, is the very thing in which Abſolute and Unlimited Sovereignty conſiſts.

3. In Caſes contrary to Law, and where no ſuch Diſpenſing Clauſe is inſerted; or ſuch as manifeſtly make againſt the Publick Good, (though there ſhould be an Indemnifying Clauſe) or where the Magiſtrate knows his Orders to be obtained by Surpriſes or upon falſe Suggeſtions, or by Corrupt Methods; he ought not, in any of theſe three Caſes, to be haſty in the Executing his Orders; but let them lie by a while, and with all Humility Remonſtrate againſt them; And, if Occaſion be, repeat thoſe Remonſtrances a ſecond or a third time; but if the Command be Peremptory, and Unalterable, and repeated as often; then he is to comply ſo

far as in Honour and good Conſcience he may, and for the reſt, to excuſe himſelf, as well as he can.

4. In Matters contrary to the Law of God and Nature, he muſt lay down his Office, and be content to quit all; nay, reſolve to ſuffer the worſt that can come, rather than be inſtrumental in, or conſenting to them. I cannot ſo much as allow him to deliberate, or once to doubt, in ſuch Circumſtances, what he ſhould do; For natural Juſtice cannot be hid; it ſhines clearer and brighter than the Sun; and all Men muſt ſee it, except thoſe only, who wilfully ſhut their Eyes, and wink hard againſt it.

5. All this Advice relates to Things in agitation, and intended or ordered to be done; but, as for thoſe which the Sovereign hath done already, let them be never ſo Wicked and Unreaſonable, a Man had better diſſemble the Matter as well as he can, and try to wipe out all Remembrance of it, than loſe all, by Provoking, and Expoſtulating with a Prince to no purpoſe; as *Papinian* did. *For * it is the very extremity of Madneſs to ſtrive againſt a Stream; where no ground can be got, nor any thing but Hatred and Diſfavour for our pains.*

5. As for their Duty, when conſidered in their other Capacity, and with regard to the private Subjects under their Government, Magiſtrates muſt always remember, whoſe their Authority is, and from whence they derive it. That
1. this is none of their own proper Right, but meerly a Truſt; That they hold it from and under the Prince; That he hath the Fee, and is the Lord and conſtant Proprietor; but they are Tenants and Stewards at will, put in to Exerciſe this part of his Juriſdiction for ſo long a Term only, as their Commiſſion purports; or during his Pleaſure; and no longer. Now from hence it is very natural and obvious to
2. infer. That a Magiſtrate ought to be eaſie of Acceſs; always ready and at leiſure to hear and receive the Petitions, and Complaints preferred to him. That his Doors ſhould be open to all Comers, and he as ſeldom out of the way as is poſſible; but eſpecially, not ſo, wilfully and by Contrivance; for he ſhould conſider himſelf, as no longer at his own diſpoſal; but a Servant of the Publick, and devoted

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* Fruſtra niti, & nihil aliud niſi Odium quærere, extremæ eſt dementiæ.

to

to the Uſe and Benefit of other People: * *A great Poſt is a great ſlavery.* And this was the reaſon why *Moſes* his Law Commanded, That the Judges ſhould keep their Seſſions, and decide Controverſies in the Gates of their Cities; that ſo Juſtice might offer it ſelf to all that went in and out, and none might find any difficulty in addreſſing for, or in obtaining it.

3. He ought to receive the Applications of all Perſons and Conditions alike; and be open and kind to all; the Mean as well as the Great; and the Poor no leſs than the Rich. Upon which account it is, that one of the Philoſophers compared a Magiſtrate to an Altar; to which all People have recourſe in their Affliction and extream Neceſſity; pour out their Souls there; and depend upon Relief and Conſolation for their Troubles from ſo doing.

4. But, though in point of Juſtice, he ſhould be free and open, yet in Friendſhips, and Acquaintance he ought to be exceedingly reſerved; Not to make himſelf Cheap and Common, nor to admit any into his Familiarities, and intimate Converſation, except ſome very few Choice Perſons, ſuch as are known to be Men of ſound Senſe, and ſtanch Virtues; and theſe too, but privately. For a large and general Acquaintance debaſes the Authority of his Character; and abates of that Firmneſs and Vigour, which is neceſſary for the due Diſcharge of it. When *Cleon* was choſen and admitted to the Government, he called all his Friends together, and ſolemnly renounced from that time, whatever Friendſhip had been formerly between them; as thinking the continuing under ſuch Engagements, by no means reconcileable with the Truſt he had now took upon him; and *Cicero* obſerves accordingly, that a Man muſt put off the Character of the Friend, and lay that quite aſide, before he can do Right to the part of a Judge.

5. There are two Things, wherein the Office of a Magiſtrate chiefly conſiſts: The One is, to † preſerve and keep up the Honour, and Dignity, and juſt Rights of the Prince, who hath employed him, and of the Publick whoſe Repreſentative he is, with a becoming State, with Gravity, Authoritative Behaviour, and a well-tempered Severity.

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* Magna ſervitus, magna fortuna.

† Gerere perſonam civitatis, ejus dignitatem & decus ſuſtinere.

6. Next, He is to Act like a true and faithful Tranſcript from the Original; an Interpreter and Executor of his Maſter's Will; to ſee that this be duly declared, and diligently obſerved. By this Will, I mean the Law; for this is the Authentick Will of the Prince, and the only Declaration of it, which Subjects are bound to take notice of. Of this the Magiſtrate is to exact a faithful Account and punctual Obſervance; for which reaſon we often find him termed by Authors, *The Living and the Speaking Law.*

7. Now, though it be the Duty of a Magiſtrate, and an excellent Qualification in him, to temper Juſtice with Prudence; and Severity with Gentleneſs and Forbearance; yet, it muſt be confeſſed much more for the common Advantage, to have ſuch Magiſtrates as incline to the exceſs of Sharpneſs and Rigour, than thoſe who are diſpos'd to Mildneſs, and Eaſineſs, and Compaſſion. For even God himſelf, who ſo highly recommends, ſo ſtrictly enjoyns all thoſe humane and ſoft Diſpoſitions upon other Occaſions, yet poſitively forbids a Judge to be moved with Pity. The Strict and Harſh Magiſtrate is the better Reſtraint, the ſtronger Curb; He contains People in Bounds, and preſerves a due Awe and Obedience of the Laws. The Mild and Merciful One expoſes the Laws to Contempt; makes Magiſtracy cheap, and leſſens the Prince, who made both the Law and the Magiſtrate, in the Eyes and Eſteem of his People. In one word; There muſt go two Qualifications to the Capacitating a Man for the diſcharging this Office compleatly; Integrity, and Courage. The firſt cannot ſubſiſt alone, but ſtands in need of the ſecond to ſupport and back it. The former will be ſure to keep the Magiſtrate's Hands clean from Avarice, and Partiality, and Reſpect of Perſons; from Bribery and Gifts, which are the Bane and utter Exterminators of Truth; and from any other violation of Juſtice; which *Plato* calls, (what indeed it ought to be) a Pure Unblemiſhed Virgin: This will alſo be a Guard to him againſt his Paſſions; the Averſions, or the Affection he may bear to the Parties concerned; and indeed all other Reſentments, which are but ſo many Enemies and Underminers of Right and Equity. But then he will find great occaſion for Courage too, to ſtand his ground againſt the Menaces and Imperious Sollicitations of Great Men, the Requeſts and Importunities of Friends who fanſie they have a ſort of Right to diſpoſe of him, and will not take a reaſonable Refuſal: To harden him againſt the Prayers and Tears, the loud Cries, and bitter Complaints of

of the Miſerable and Afflicted; for all theſe are very moving and forcible inducements, a great Violence upon Reaſon and Duty; and yet ſo committed, that there is a plauſible appearance of both, in the very Diverſion they labour to give us from both. And the truth is, this firmneſs and inflexible Conſtancy of Mind is the moſt maſterly Virtue, and particular Excellence of a Magiſtrate; that he neither be terrified and ſubdued by Greatneſs and Power, nor melted by Miſeries, and deplorable Circumſtances. Theſe are what very brave Men are often tranſported by; and therefore it is the greater Praiſe to continue Proof againſt them. For, though being ſoftned by the latter have an Air of Good-nature, and is more likely to prevail upon the Better ſort of Men; yet either of the Extreams is ſinful, and both forreign to the merits of the Cauſe, which is the only thing that lies upon the Judge. The Motives to Pity then are very dangerous Temptations; and what a Man in Authority ought as much to ſtop his Ears againſt, as Promiſes or Threatnings; for even that God himſelf, who is Love and Mercy in Perfection, hath diſcountenanced this unſeaſonable Compaſſion. And the ſame Legiſlator, who ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not receive a Gift to blind thine Eyes therewith, neither ſhalt thou accept the Perſon of the Mighty*, found it no leſs neceſſary for the Good of Mankind, and the equal Diſtribution of Juſtice, no leſs agreeable to his own Goodneſs, to add that other Command, *Thou ſhalt not favour a Poor Man in his Cauſe.*

CHAP. XVIII.

The Duty of Great, and of Mean Men.

THE Duty of Perſons of Honour and Quality conſiſts principally in theſe two Points. The lending a ſtrong and powerful Aſſiſtance to the Publick; employing their Wealth, their Intereſt, their Blood, in the Maintenance and Preſervation of Piety and Juſtice; of the Prince and the Government, and in general, of the common ſafety and advantage. For they are the Pillars and Supporters, upon which theſe noble Structures ſtand; and by which they muſt be ſuſtained. The other Branch conſiſts in being a mighty Defence and Protection to the Poor and Needy, the Injured and Oppreſſed; by interpoſing their Power on the behalf of ſuch, ſtanding

between Them and Ruin, and giving a Check and Diverſion to the Violence of wicked and unreaſonable Men. Perſons of Honour in a State, ſhould be like the Spirits and good Blood in our Bodies, which always run to the wounded, and the ailing part. It was this, that rendered *Moſes* ſo proper to be made the Captain of the *Iſraelitiſh* Nation; and the Scripture takes expreſs notice of his Zeal in revenging the Injuries of one of his Brethren who ſuffered Wrong, and ſlaying the inſolent *Ægyptian*; as a Sign, that God had Marked him out for a Deliverer of his People. Thus *Hercules* was Deified among the Heathens, for being a Scourge to the Cruelty of Tyrants, and a Refuge to thoſe that were Oppreſs'd, and opprobriouſly Treated by them. And thoſe other renouned Names in Antiquity, who followed his Example, have always been looked upon as Heroes, and ſomething more than Men. Particular Honours and diſtinguiſhing Rewards were heretofore awarded to all ſuch; as to Perſons, who deſerved exceeding well of the Publick; and for an Intimation, That no Character is more glorious, none more attractive of Univerſal Admiration, and profound Reſpect, than that of being a Succour to the Afflicted, and Abuſed; and helping thoſe, who were in no condition of helping themſelves. It is by no means true Greatneſs, to appear formidable to any part of Mankind, except one's Enemies only. The affectation to have others ſtand in Awe, and Dread, and to Tremble before one, is a mean and pitiful Temper; and, at the ſame time that it renders the Man a Terrour, it renders him an Odium too; a publick Nuiſance, and a common Enemy. Love in this caſe is more deſirable, than even Adoration could be without it. Such imperious Men betray a fierce and haughty, a proud and aſſuming Diſpoſition. This is it, which makes them ſo Contumelious and Diſdainful; ſcorning their Inferiours, as if they were no better than the Droſs and Dung of the World; and not Men of the ſame Nature with their own Great Selves. From hence, by degrees they degenerate into Barbarity and Inſolence; abuſing all beneath them, without the leaſt Pity or Remorſe; enſlaving their Perſons; invading their Properties and Poſſeſſions; as if Humanity and Juſtice were intended only for the Benefit of them who need it leaſt; and as if they had no right to any thing, who cannot right themſelves. All this is infinitely diſtant from true Greatneſs; and utterly inconſiſtent with Generoſity and a Noble Mind; for theſe never diſpoſe a Man to Cruelty or Contempt;

Act. 7.

Contempt; but are a Safeguard and Defence, and delight in Offices of Courteſie, and Condeſcenſion, of Charity, and Mercy.

The Duty of Mean and Inferiour Perſons towards thoſe that are above them, is likewiſe Two-fold. Firſt, That of Honour and Reſpect; and this, not confined meerly to the outward Behaviour, and the viſible Marks of a Ceremonious diſtance; (which is due upon the account of their Quality and Rank in the World, conſidered abſtractedly, and by it ſelf. Be they in themſelves what they will in other reſpects, their Virtues or their Vices make no difference in the Caſe;) But there is likewiſe an internal Honour, the real Eſteem and Affection of the Heart, which muſt conſtantly attend and put forward the other, if they be deſerving Perſons, and lovers of the publick Good. Honour and Eſteem are therefore capable of very different Senſes; They are both due to ſuch as are Good, for ſuch indeed are all that are truly Great Men. To thoſe who want this ſubſtantial Character of Quality; we muſt pay the Civilities of the Cap and the Knee; our Bodies may and ought to bow to them, but our Hearts cannot; for this is done only by paying them our Love and Eſteem.

The other part of this Duty conſiſts in endeavouring to pleaſe, and be in their good Graces, by reſpectful and voluntary Tenders of our Service.

To pleaſe the Great is not the ſmalleſt Praiſe. Creech. and putting * our ſelves under the ſhelter of their Protection. However, if we cannot make them our Friends, we ſhould be ſure to take care that they may not be our Enemies; which Care too muſt be as Prudent, as it is Neceſſary; and rightly tempered with Moderation and Diſcretion. For nothing is more nauſeous, than a Cringing Fawning Coxcomb, and exceſſive Officiouſneſs does more harm than good. He that declines the Diſpleaſure of a great Man, with too ſollicitous a Caution; or tries to wriggle into his favour by impertinent and unſeaſonable Addreſſes, does not only diſcover his own weakneſs and deſpicable littleneſs of Soul; but he likewiſe miniſters juſt occaſion of Jealouſie and Offence; and ſecretly accuſes his Patron of Cruelty or Injuſtice. And therefore what is done of this kind muſt be unſeen, and by the by.

* Principibus placuiſſe viris non ultima laus eſt. *Horat. Ep.* 17.

† *He*

† *He muſt not make it his profeſt Buſineſs to decline and keep out of the way of his anger, for no Man avoids another, who does not in his own Breaſt condemn, and think ill of him at the ſame time.* But beſides, this too anxious and conſtrained way of making our Court may have another very untoward Effect: For, if the Perſon be diſpoſed to do ill, and delight to be feared, it may be a Temptation to him, to Exerciſe his Power to our prejudice. For many times Men take a Pride to cruſh and inſult over the fearful and ſuſpicious; and mean unworthy Submiſſions do but provoke a more extravagant and remorſeleſs Barbarity.

† Non ex profeſſo cavere aut fugere; nam quem quis fugit, damnat.

OF

OF FORTITUDE.

The Third *Cardinal* Virtue.

THE two Virtues, which have been insisted upon hitherto, are a Rule to Men, considered as Members of Society; and regard their Deportment, and Conversation; their Interests and Obligations with Others; These two that follow are to govern them within, and for themselves. They look upon Fortune in her two different Aspects, Prosperity and Adversity; which are general Terms for all the good or ill Accidents of humane Life; and the provision made against them, is to arm the Mind by Fortitude against Adversity, and in Prosperity to balast, and moderate it by Temperance. Both these Virtues might indeed be comprehended under the general notion of Constancy; which is a tight and even firmness, or steadiness of Soul, in all manner of outward Accidents or Occurrences, so that the Man is neither elevated and transported upon the account of Prosperity, nor dejected and disheartened from any Adversity that befalls him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Fortitude in General.

1. COurage, (for ſo indeed this Virtue ought to be called, rather than Fortitude,) is a right and ſtrong Reſolution, an equal and uniform ſteadineſs of Mind; by which we are enabled to encounter Danger and Difficulty, and Pain, ſo that the proper Object, and true Matter, about which this Virtue is converſant, is in general any thing that humane Infirmity is apt to ſtart at, or be terrified by. Thus *Seneca* deſcribes it, a Quality * *that deſpiſes all things in their own nature formidable; that challenges and conquers the cauſe of our Fears, and ſuch as enſlave and ſubdue the native Liberty of the Soul.*

2. This is of all other Virtues the Gallanteſt and moſt Noble, and hath always been held in higheſt Honour and Eſteem. The Excellence whereof, was ſo rightly apprehended by the *Latins*, that they gave it the Title of Virtue by way of Singularity and Eminence. It is of all others the hardeſt to be attained; the moſt pompous and ſplendid; and produces the greateſt, and moſt illuſtrious Fruits. Magnanimity and Patience, Conſtancy, and invincible Perſeverance, and the reſt of that Heroick Catalogue of Godlike Excellencies are all contained under it. For which Reaſon, Men greedy of Fame, have oftentimes not only entertained Calamities gladly, but have even courted, and eagerly ſought out Hardſhips and Dangers, to gain thereby the greater opportunities of exerciſing it, and exerting themſelves. It is an impregnable Bulwark; a compleat Armour tempered and proved: † *The Fortification, behind which humane nature lies ſecurely intrenched, and he who hath caſt up this work about him holds out the ſiege of Life, and can never be taken, or diſmantled.*

Virtus.

3. But now, in regard that this Matter is not rightly underſtood, and many falſe Pretenders to this Virtue are ſet up,

* Timendorum contemptrix, quæ terribilia, & ſub jugum libertatem noſtram mittentia deſpicit, provocat, frangit.

† Munimentum imbecillitatis humanæ inexpugnabile, quod qui circumdedit ſibi, ſecurus in hâc vitæ obſidione perdurat.

which

which are not really of the right Line. It may not be amiſs to expatiate a little more upon the true Nature of Fortitude; and in ſo doing, to diſcover and reject the vulgar Errours concerning it. We will therefore obſerve four Conditions, which are all of them requiſite to the forming of this Virtue; and if what would paſs for ſuch, be defective in any one of them, That we may be ſure, is counterfeit, and of a Baſtard Race.

As firſt of all, True Courage is univerſal, that is, it makes a brave ſtand againſt every kind of Difficulty and Danger without diſtinction, and this ſhews us the mighty miſtake of confining this notion of Courage to Military Valour only; That indeed gains Eſteem with the generality of People, becauſe it makes more Shew and Noiſe in the World, and yet oftentimes there is nothing of ſubſtance or ſolidity at the bottom of it. Now allowing Military Valour all that can poſſibly belong to it, yet at beſt, it is but one part, and that a ſmall one neither; a ſingle Ray of that Glory which the true and entire, the perfect, and univerſal Valour, ſheds round about it. For by this a Man is the ſame thing alone, that he is in Company; the ſame brave Man upon a Bed of Languiſhing and Pain, as in the Field, and heat of Action; and marches up againſt Death with all his Friends and Relations looking on, and lamenting his Fate, as he would at the Head of an Army, when animated by the Shouts of thoſe that aſſiſt in the Engagement. This Military and Fighting Courage, is more peculiar and natural to Brute Beaſts; and among them, we find accordingly, that the Female Sex have it in common with the Males. But in Men it is frequently the effect of Art, rather than any Tendency in Nature; kindled by the dread of Captivity and ill uſage; by the evident Neceſſity of doing bravely in their own Defence; and the certain proſpect of Death or Wounds, Poverty, or Pain, or Puniſhment, if they do otherwiſe. All which have not any influence upon Beaſts; nor do they lie under the leaſt apprehenſion of them. The Courage of Men is a ſort of wiſe Cowardice; and we commonly ſay, That *every Man would be a Coward if he durſt.* It is Fear attended with skill to ſhun one Evil by another; and Anger is the Liquor that tempers, the File that ſharpens it; But in Brutes it is genuine and pure, undeſigning and unconſtrained. Men arrive at ſome ſort of Maſtery and Perfection in it by Cuſtom and long Acquaintance, by Inſtruction, Education, and Example; upon which account it is, that

that we find it ſometimes among the meaneſt, moſt ignorant, and moſt degenerate ſort of People. A Footman that hath run away from his Maſter, an Apprentice from behind a Counter, a Villain out of a common Gaol, ſhall very often make a good Souldier, ſtand a Charge, and do Duty very well; and yet have no ſuch thing as real Fortitude; there is not the leaſt tincture or ſpark of Virtue, or Philoſophical Bravery in all this Fire.

4. The ſecond neceſſary Ingredient in this noble Compoſition is a full and diſtinct Knowledge of the Difficulty, the Toil, the Danger, that aſſaults us in our Undertaking; and alſo of the Beauty, the Decency, the Juſtice, and the Obligation, of attempting vigorouſly, or conſtantly and patiently enduring, what we are called to at that time. And this diſcovers the Folly and Miſtake of confounding this Courage (as ſome do) with giddy unthinking Raſhneſs; or elſe with Fool-hardineſs, and a brutal inſenſibility. * *It is by no means* (*ſays* Seneca) *an inconſiderate forwardneſs; not a fondneſs of Danger, nor a deſire of thoſe Accidents, which ſtrike a Terrour into common Men; Fortitude is provident and careful, and diligent in her own Defence; and yet ſhe is extreamly patient and reſigned under thoſe things, which are* (*commonly but falſely*) *reputed Evils.* There cannot poſſibly be any ſuch thing as Virtue, where there is no Knowledge, no Apprehenſion; and a Man cannot with any good Senſe be ſaid to deſpiſe that Danger, which he knows not, and does not rightly underſtand. For at this rate we cannot refuſe the honour of this Virtue to Brutes; who in every part which concerns the Action, or the Suffering, do equal, if not exceed the Stouteſt Men; and yield to us in no point, but that of foreſeeing and making a true Eſtimate of our Danger. For Valour diſtinguiſhes it ſelf particularly by going on with our Eyes open, and not running blindfold; and accordingly we find by Experience, that thoſe who undertake boldly, without regarding, or duly weighing what is like to come on't; commonly flinch and ſneak, and prove errand Daſtards, when they are driven to a puſh.

5. A third Ingredient neceſſary to be taken notice of in the Character of Fortitude, is, That it is a Reſolution and

* Non eſt inconſulta temeritas, nec periculorum amor, nec formidabilium appetitio; diligentiſſima in tutelâ ſui fortitudo eſt. Et eadem patientiſſima eorum quibus falſa ſpecies malorum eſt.

firmneſs

firmneſs of Mind founded upon ſolid and good Principles; the ſenſe of Duty, the Honeſty, and Juſtice of the undertaking; and ſuch other Motives; and this too ſuch a Reſolution, as never wavers or abates, whatever the Event be: But perſiſts with unmoveable Generoſity, till either the Deſign be brought to Perfection, or the Life loſt in the Attempt. The mention of this Qualification may at firſt ſight ſeem ſomewhat ſuperfluous in the former part of the Deſcription, but it is in reality ſeaſonable and of good uſe; and that, as upon its own account, ſo more eſpecially becauſe it gives us an occaſion to obviate two or three very groſs and common Miſtakes, with relation to this Matter.

As firſt, ſome have ſo odd, ſo ſtupid a notion of Fortitude, as to place it in bodily Strength, the Structure of the Man, and the largeneſs of his Limbs. But alas! This is no Excellence belonging to the Body, not the ſtiffneſs of the Muſcles, the knitting of the Joynts, or the ſize of an Arm, or a Leg; but a quality peculiar to the Soul, and entirely reſiding there. The worth of a Man is to be computed from his Heart, and his Will; there it is, that his true Honour is to be found; and the only Advantage, the true and compleat Victory to be gained over an Enemy, is the ſhaking his Conſtancy, driving away his Reſolution, ſubjecting him to Terrour and Diſorder, and putting his Virtue to flight. All other Advantages are either fictitious, and imaginary, or elſe borrowed, and not properly ours; The luſtineſs and ſtrength of a Leg and an Arm, is an Excellence fit for a Porter only to boaſt of: To force our Enemy to give ground, or engage him in a diſadvantageous ground, is not a Commendation belonging to Us, but to Fortune. He that continues his Courage to the laſt, and ſlackens not one whit of his Gallantry, and Conſtancy, at the approach of Danger or Death; you may call him beaten, if you pleaſe, but then it is not his Adverſary but the Chance of War that beats him; and if he happen to fall in the Engagement, he is killed, I confeſs, but he is not Conquered. If Fate be to blame, he is not; for though he die unfortunately, yet he does not die cowardly and baſely: For the Gallanteſt Men cannot command Events anſwerable to their Merits, and very frequently are leſs ſucceſsful than others. Another Errour, yet more ſenſeleſs than the former, is the looking upon thoſe to be ſtout and brave, who ſwagger, and ſtrut, and talk big, and by a contemptuous Air, a ſtern Countenance, and vain boaſts, would fain get the Reputation 6.

of

of Valour. But theſe do not often meet with People ſilly enough to be frightned into ſuch an Opinion; and when the Bully comes to be tryed, a difference is ſoon ſeen, between a Hector and a Hero.

Nor are they leſs deceived, who give the Title of Valour to ſubtlety and ſtratagem, or to Induſtry and Art; This is too ſacrilegious a Prophanation, to bring in Courage acting ſo mean and ſneaking a part: Theſe are trick and diſguiſe, and would put falſe Stones upon the undiſcerning World for true Jewels. The *Lacedæmonians*, who bred their Youth to Wreſtling, would not ſuffer Maſters in any of their Cities, that ſo their Warlike Exerciſes, and growing expert in them, might be entirely Nature's Work, and that Art might uſurp no part of the Glory. We count it a bold and brave undertaking to encounter Bears, or Lyons, or wild Boars, who have nothing but their natural Fierceneſs to render them formidable; but the ſame Commendation is not reckoned due to one, that engages with Bees or Waſps, who watch their advantage, and go cunningly to work. *Alexander* would never play at the Olympick Games; for the Striſe, he ſaid, was not well contrived, where a private Man of no Soul might come off with applauſe, and a King with a great one might be thrown out with Diſgrace. There is no manner of reaſon, why a Man of Honour ſhould value himſelf, or offer to put his Valour upon a Proof, which the errandeſt Coward in the World, if he be better taught, and dextrous at his Weapon, ſhall be able to baffle him in. For ſuch a Conqueſt is in no degree owing to Courage, or true Virtue; but to activity of Body, and ſome particular motions, which are purely the effect of Artifice and Addreſs; ſuch as the baſeſt and moſt timorous may excel in, and ſuch as a truly valiant Perſon, may either not know how to perform, or may think it beneath him to deſcend to them. Fencing particularly is ſuch an advantage, The Braveſt may be utterly unskilful in it, and the moſt deſpicable Wretches may be Maſters of it. And how many Scoundrels do we ſee in every Street, ready to draw upon all occaſions; how many Cheats that play Prizes, and Hack one another for Money; who would not ſtand one Charge at the approach of an Enemy? The ſame may be ſaid of that aſſurance and preſence of Mind, which proceeds from habitual Exerciſe, and long Cuſtom. How many hazardous things do Tumblers, and Rope-dancers, and Seamen do, without the leaſt concern? Not that theſe Men are really more valiant than others, or dare

dare venture farther into Danger; but becauſe this is their own way, what they have been bred up in, and accuſtomed to from Children; and Practice hath worn out thoſe Apprehenſions, which a Gallanter Man would have, who is raw and unexperienced in the Trade.

7. One very wrong Notion more it is fit I ſhould mention upon this occaſion; That, I mean, which, for want of obſerving nicely the Springs by which Men are moved, and the true ſourſe of each Action, does very abſurdly put all that to the account of Bravery and Courage, which is in truth a Weakneſs, and owing merely to Heat of Paſſion, or a Zealous Concern for ſome particular Intereſt. For, as a Man cannot deſerve to have his Vertues commended in point of Juſtice, for being faithful and ſerviceable to thoſe he dearly loves; nor in point of Chaſtity, for not abuſing his own Daughter, or his Siſter; nor in point of Liberality, for being bountiful to his Wife and Children; ſo neither may he pretend to any juſt Honour in point of Valour, for expoſing himſelf reſolutely to thoſe dangers, which Anger, or Revenge, Intereſt, or private Satisfaction thruſt him upon. If therefore Avarice ſhall make a Man bold, as it does Spies and Traitors, Robbers and Villains, Merchants at Sea, or Souldiers of Fortune, that fight purely for pay; if Ambition and vain Glory, an itch to get the name of a brave Man, kindle the ſpark of Honour as they call it; which may very reaſonably be preſumed to be the caſe of a great many Men of the Sword, (who will not ſcruple to own ſometimes, that if they could be verily perſwaded they ſhould die in the Attack, nothing ſhould ever bring them on:) If they grow peeviſh and diſcontented, weary of living, or worn out with pain, like *Antigonus* his Souldier, who, whilſt in violent Tortment with a Fiſtula, ventured at all, but when the Diſeaſe was Cured, and he in perfect Health again, could never be got to face an Enemy more. In a word, if there be nothing but ſome particular humour, or ſelfiſh and foreign Conſideration at the bottom, how fair ſoever the Exploits, that are built upon this may look, yet ſtill the foundation hath a flaw, and conſequently, call the thing what elſe you will, but while it is defective in ſo very material a part, you muſt not be allowed to call it Valour or Virtue.

8. I proceed now to the fourth Qualification of this noble Excellence, and that is Prudence and Diſcretion in the executive part. Which being once admitted, ſeveral other falſe

opinions relating to this Matter, are from thenceforth out of doors, ſuch particularly as theſe that follow. That a Man, who is really couragious, ſhould not uſe any defence to ſhelter himſelf from the Evils and Inconveniences which threaten him; that he ſhould never be in fear of a Surpriſe, nor be ſollicitous to make proviſion againſt it; that he ſhould not ſo much as feel the leaſt ſhock or impreſſions of diſorder from any thing more than ordinary, or that happens unawares; as a Clap of Thunder, the Diſcharge of a Cannon-ſhot, the tumbling down of a Breach. Now all this is monſtrouſly fooliſh and abſurd, for a Man of Fortitude is allowed to take all imaginable care of his own Preſervation; and to have as quick and ſenſible reſentments of all accidents whatſoever, as any other Perſon. Nor is this the leaſt diſparagement or reflection upon his Vertues, provided he be not daunted and diſmayed, but keep up his mind in the ſame ſteadineſs of Temper, and do not depart from his Reaſon and Reſolution. Nay, it is not only his Right and Privilege, but his Duty and juſt Commendation, to wheel and decline, and defend himſelf from harms, ſo long as there are any honeſt ſhifts, and decent Remedies left; but when there are none, then he muſt ſtand his ground, receive the worſt that can come, and dare to ſuffer any thing rather than to do what is vicious, or unbecoming his Character, for the prevention or eſcape of it. He muſt then like *Æneas*, obey the Commands from * above at any rate, for ſo we find him deſcribed by the Poet.

Sighs, Groans, and Tears, are all employ'd in vain:
Firm the reſolves of his unbroken mind remain.

Socrates therefore uſed to laugh at thoſe idle Men, who condemned all Flight, and giving of ground, as inconſiſtent with Fortitude. *What?* ſays he, *ſhall a Man be reproached with Cowardice, for defeating his Enemy, becauſe this was done by retreating from before him? Homer*, among the other Heroick Excellencies of *Ulyſſes*, puts this of Skill in retreating into his Character. The *Lacedæmonians*, who pretended to the moſt obſtinate Courage of any Nation in the World, yet in that renowned action of *Platea* gave ground, on purpoſe to break the *Perſian* Troops, and diſorder them in the

* Mens immota manet, lachrymæ volvuntur inanes.

purſuit,

purſuit. This was an advantage which they had no other way of compaſſing, and the Succeſs anſwered the wiſdom of the Deſign; for they won the Day by this Feint of loſing it. In a word, the moſt warlike Countrys in the World have given it authority, and never thought themſelves diſhonoured by the Practice. Nay, even the *Stoicks* after all their impracticable, and romantick Stretches of humane nature, are content to allow their wiſe Man, ſo far as looking Pale, and ſhivering at new and ſurpriſing Accidents; provided this be only a bodily Affection, and that it do not enter ſo deep, or laſt ſo long, as to give the Soul any part of the Diſorder.

And thus much may ſuffice to poſſeſs us with a true Idea of Fortitude, or Courage in general.

Of the particular Objects, and Exerciſe of Fortitude.

NOW that we may cut our Work out, and lay it in due order; it is neceſſary, in the firſt place, that I put my Reader in remembrance, that this Virtue undertakes to deal with all that, (whatever it be) which is called Evil; according to the moſt popular and extenſive ſignification of the Word. Now this Evil is of two ſorts, either External, or Internal. The former is that which aſſaults us from without, and goes by great variety of Names; ſuch as, Adverſity, Afflictions, Injuries, Misfortunes, Caſualties, or unwelcome Accidents. The other ariſes from within, and hath its reſidence in the Soul; but it is excited, and agitated by the Evil from without: Such particularly are thoſe Paſſions, which diſturb and diſcontent us, as Fear, Grief, Anger, and the reſt of that black diſorderly Crew. It will be proper for us to ſpeak to each part of this Diviſion fully and diſtinctly; to explain their Operations, to provide Men with proper Remedies, and ſufficient means for the ſubduing and ſoftening, and regulating theſe Grievances. And ſuch are the Arguments and Directions for the Virtue of Fortitude, now under our Conſideration. Conſequently then, what you are to expect upon this Subject will conſiſt of two parts, the one reſpecting the Calamities and Diſaſtrous Accidents of

our Lives; the other concerning the Paſſions, which theſe Accidents provoke, and ſtimulate in our Minds. And here my Reader muſt recollect that the general Directions thought neceſſary for the bearing good or ill Fortune decently, he hath been ſupplyed with already. So that referring him back to the ſecond Book, for what regards Proſperity and Adverſity in the groſs, he is only to expect now, that we ſhould deſcend to the particular ſorts of Misfortunes, and what is fit to be preſcribed for each of them reſpectively.

Book II. *Chap.* 7.

CHAP. XX.

Of External Evils.

1. WE may conſider theſe External Evils, in three ſeveral reſpects. Firſt, with regard to the cauſes or occaſions of them, (which ſhall make the Subject of this Chapter) next in their Effects; and laſtly, with regard to what they are in themſelves; where I ſhall treat of the ſeveral Species of them diſtinctly. And under each of theſe Heads, I will make it my endeavour to lay down ſuch Rules and Directions, as may ſuſtain us under, and fortifie us againſt them.

The Cauſes or Occaſions of theſe afflicting Accidents, which are capable of happening to every one of us, may be publick or general, when they affect a great many at the ſame time; when whole Kingdoms, or Neighbourhoods at leaſt are involved at once; ſuch as Peſtilence, Famine, War, Tyranny, and Oppreſſion. And theſe, for the moſt part, are Rods of the divine Vengeance; Scourges ſent by him to chaſtiſe the exorbitant Wickedneſs of obſtinate Men, who refuſe to be won over by gentler methods of Reformation: (At leaſt we know not what immediate cauſe to aſcribe them to,) or elſe they are private Calamities, and ſuch as we are able to trace up to their firſt Author and Original; that is, they are inflicted and brought upon us by ſome other Perſon: And thus both the private and publick Misfortunes are of two ſorts. Now the publick Calamities, thoſe, I mean, which proceed from a general Cauſe, though they do really come home to each ſingle Perſon; yet are they in different reſpects more or leſs grievous, important, and dangerous, than

than the private ones, of which we are able to give a diſtinct and particular account. They are more ſo, becauſe they aſſault us with united force, fall on in Troops, and with greater violence, make a louder noiſe, rage more horribly, have a longer and blacker train of ill Conſequences attending them, are more perplexing and amazing, and create greater Diſorders, and a more general Confuſion. But then, they are leſs ſo too, in regard of their being thus general; and for the numbers, which are involved in them together: For when a Diſaſter is common, every Man is apt to think his own ſhare of it the leſs. It is ſome kind of comfort, to think that we are not ſingled out for Examples; and for this reaſon, the efficacy of ſuch Corrections is uſually the leſs; for every Man takes Sanctuary in the commonneſs of the Calamity, and imputes it to ſome univerſal diſorder in Nature, or to ſome unuſual concurrence of natural Cauſes; and ſo ſhelters himſelf in the Crowd by vain pretences, which perſonal afflictions leave no room for. And beſides, daily experience ſhews, that the Evils brought upon us by other Men, gall us more ſenſibly, and go nearer to the Quick, and have a greater influence upon our Minds, than any of the former ſort are wont to do. Now all theſe, both of the one, and the other ſort, have ſeveral proper Remedies, and Conſiderations to qualifie and render them very ſupportable to us, as particularly theſe that follow.

When we have any publick Calamities to encounter, it 2.
will become us very ſeriouſly to reflect whence they come, and by whom they are ſent. That the Cauſe and Author of them is God, an Omnipotent and All-wiſe Providence; whoſe Pleaſure we are ſubject to, and have an abſolute and entire dependence upon; that he governs and diſpoſes all things, and holds thoſe vain Men in deriſion who *hope to burſt his Bands aſunder, and to caſt away his Cords from them*; that we and all the whole Creation are tied by Laws of an invincible neceſſity; and that the ſtrongeſt Combinations, nay the univerſal joynt ſtrength of the whole World, is much too weak to reverſe or reſiſt his Will. Moſt certain it is, that Providence, and Neceſſity, or Deſtiny, when we ſpeak ſtrictly and properly, are but one and the ſame thing; There is no eſſential difference between them, or the Laws upon which they proceed; and all they vary in, is only as to thoſe different reſpects, which we are uſed to conſider, and reaſon upon them in. Now to murmur and repine, and torment our ſelves, that Matters are not otherwiſe ordered with

us, is firſt of all an Impiety peculiar to Mankind; for all other Creatures ſubmit quietly and contentedly, and Man only hath the inſolence to be angry, and find fault, and fly out into ſawcy Paſſions, and diſcontented Complaints againſt his Maker. But beſides the wickedneſs of the thing, it is extreamly fooliſh; for all this rage is to no manner of purpoſe, nor does it mend the matter one whit. Our Miſtreſs is abſolute, and her Power (as I ſaid) uncontroulable, and thoſe who draw back the ſhoulder, and will not follow her contentedly, ſhe will drag him along, whether he will or no. * *This is the Obligation we are bound by, the Allegiance we all owe; to bear the Caſualties of this mortal State, and not be diſturbed at things, which it is not in our power to avoid: We are born under Government, but it is that of a gracious and good King, whom to ſerve and ſubmit to, is the only, the true way to make us free.*

Fate and the Dooming Gods are deaf to Tears. Mr. Dryd.

The beſt remedy our Caſe is capable of, is to conform our ſelves to Providence; to bring our Will to that of Almighty God, and ſo make a virtue of Neceſſity, which is the advice humane Wiſdom would give in this caſe; for † *the only way we can take to eſcape the hardſhip, is to be content with what we cannot help.* We may parry and play in Guard, but all this fencing againſt our Fate will not ward off the blow, but only irritate the wound, and add to the anguiſh. ‖ *You ſhould bear whatever happens cheerfully, as if you had wiſhed it might happen; for the truth is, could you have known before-hand, that God deſigned it for you, it would have been your Duty to wiſh for it.* Again, beſides that we ſhall come off eaſier by this means, we ſhall likewiſe have the ſatisfaction of doing our Duty, which is to follow our Leader, and obey Orders, let the Service, or the Poſt he commands us upon, be what it will. ‡ *The beſt thing you can*

* Ad hoc ſacramentum adacti ſumus; ferre mortalia, nec iis perturbari, quæ vitare noſtræ poteſtatis non eſt. In regno nati ſumus. Deo parere libertas eſt. Deſine fata Deûm flecti ſperare querendo.

† Non eſt aliud effugium neceſſitatis, quàm velle quod ipſa cogat.

‖ Læto animo ferre quicquid acciderit, quaſi volueris tibi accidere; debuiſſes enim velle, ſi ſcires ex decreto Dei fieri.

‡ Optimum pati quod emendare non poſſis; & Deum, quo Authore cuncta proveniunt, ſine murmuratione comitari: malus miles eſt qui Imperatorem gemens ſequitur. *Senec.*

do

do is to ſubmit to what you cannot cure, and to attend and follow Almighty God without murmuring or diſputing, for it is by his appointment, that all things come to paſs; and he is a very bad Souldier, who follows his general grumbling. This Reſignation of Spirit is ſo far from betraying any tameneſs or degeneracy, that it is directly otherwiſe; and ſuch ſubmiſſion proves the excellency of our Courage. Grumbling and Diſputing is the effect of Cowardice and Fear; it is mutinying againſt our Officer, and running from our Colours. * *Mean and little Souls flutter and ſtruggle, and repine; but they who do ſo, have not a very reverent Opinion of the Government of the World; for the plain Engliſh of theſe Diſcontents is, that ſuch Men are more ſollicitous to amend God's works, than their own.*

3. The firſt thing to be done for the relief of private Evils, and ſuch as other People bring upon us, and which we are apt to be very ſenſibly affected with, is, nicely and truly to diſtinguiſh them, that we may not have looſe confuſed Ideas, and ſo be led into miſapprehenſions about them. Now of theſe ſome are Diſpleaſing, and others are Offenſive to us. We oftentimes conceive a Diſpleaſure at Perſons, who have been guilty of no Offence; neither intentionally, nor actually: As when they either ask us, or deny us ſomething upon very good reaſons, which was at that time unſeaſonable, or inconvenient for us or them: We are all apt to be out of humour upon ſuch occaſions, and yet there is no offence given, no injury done. For offences, we muſt know, are of two ſorts, ſome croſs our Deſigns, and perplex our Affairs, by offering ſomewhat contrary to Equity and good Conſcience, and this is injuring us: Others have nothing to do with our Concerns, but are directed to, and terminate in our Perſons, which are thereby contemptuouſly uſed, or otherwiſe ill treated, and this Treatment may be either in Words or Actions; theſe are more grating, and harder to be born, than any other ſort of Affliction whatſoever.

4. The firſt and general Advice againſt all theſe ſorts of Evils, is, To eſtabliſh our minds in a firm Reſolution, not to be carried away by common Opinions; to conſider things, not as the World eſteems of them, but as they really are;

* Magnus animus qui ſe Deo reddidit; puſillus & degener, qui obluctatur; de ordine mundi male exiſtimat, & emendare mavult Deum, quam ſe.

weighing them and their Conſequences, in the juſt balance of Reaſon and Truth. For the generality of Mankind are tamely led by the noſe, wholly governed by Prejudice and Impreſſion. How many of thoſe, who call themſelves Men of Honour, think it a leſs affront to have a dangerous wound given them, than a Box on the Ear, and had rather die upon the Spot, than hear approbrious Language? In ſhort, Opinion meaſures and judges of every thing; and it is not ſo much the thing it ſelf, as the Opinion Men have of it, that provokes our Indignation; Our own Impatience does us more hurt, and creates us more uneaſineſs, than the Perſons who have occaſioned it. So that we our ſelves are more injurious to our ſelves, than ever thoſe we complain of were to us.

5. As for the other Rules, and ſuch as are more particular to our Caſe, theſe may be deduced firſt of all from our ſelves, (and here indeed we ought firſt to look, and fix our Thoughts) For theſe offences may perhaps be owing to our own Defects, or Faults, or Infirmities. Perhaps what was ſaid or done is only a little Raillery, grounded upon ſome defect in our Perſon, which they had a mind to mimick or expoſe. And how fooliſh is it for us to be out of humour, at that which is none of our Fault? The beſt way to cut off occaſion from thoſe we converſe with, and prevent their taking any advantage of this kind, is to be before-hand with them, by mentioning it firſt our ſelves; that they may perceive we are ſenſible of the thing our ſelves, and that it is not in their power to mortifie us, by reproaching a defect which we did not know before: If any fault of ours gave the occaſion, and we have deſerved this affront, what foundation can here be for Paſſion and Reſentment: It is then no longer an Offence, but a Correction and juſt Reprimand; and we ought to receive it as a Chaſtiſement, and improve under it accordingly. But very frequently, and indeed generally, our Peeviſhneſs and Diſcontent ariſes from ſome weakneſs of our own, which renders us jealous and humourſome. Now the way to cure this, is to correct our own Captiouſneſs, and be leſs nice and tender in thoſe points of Honour; which are ſo uneaſie to our ſelves and to other People: To arm our ſelves with a maſculine greatneſs of Soul, and deſpiſe the little Follies and Indiſcretions of the Company we converſe with. It is a ſhrewd preſumption that a Man is not ſound, when he roars out every time you touch him: And we muſt never expect to be eaſie as long as we live,

live, if we take exceptions at every trifling thing, every little freedom that paſſes in Converſation.

6. Another ſort of Directions may be taken from the Perſons at whom we are offended: Let us form to our own minds a general Repreſentation of thoſe we live among, and ſee what their humour, their diſpoſition, and way is. The greater part of Mankind find their chief ſatisfaction in doing ill, and make a Computation of their Power, by the privilege it gives them, to be inſolent and injurious to other People. Thoſe who delight in Innocence and Goodneſs are but very few in compariſon: This therefore we ought to reckon upon as a never failing Concluſion, that, which way ſoever we turn our ſelves, we ſhould be ſure to meet with ſome body or other diſpoſed to give us offence: For whereſoever we meet with Men, it is odds, but we meet with Injuries and Affronts among them. This is ſo ſure, ſo ruled a Caſe, that even Law-givers themſelves, whoſe peculiar buſineſs it is to reform the World, in their meaſures for diſtributive and commutative Juſtice, have found a neceſſity of allowing and conniving at ſeveral irregularities, which were never to be prevented. Now this Neceſſity of giving and taking offence ariſes, firſt of all, from the Contrariety, and inconſiſtence of Humours and Inclinations; from hence we are able to account for many offences taken, which were never intended to be given. Then again from the Coincidence, or oppoſition of Men's Intereſts and Affairs, which is the occaſion, that the ſame thing which contributes to the Pleaſure, or Profit, or Happineſs of ſome, tends to the Diſſatisfaction, or Detriment, or Miſchief of others: And according to all the Ideas we are able to form of the World in its preſent Circumſtances, thus it muſt be, and we cannot diſcern how it ſhould be otherwiſe. If the Perſon who gave you offence, be a fooliſh, or a raſh, unthinking Man, (and ſuch to be ſure he is, for a Wiſe and Good Man will be offenſive to no body, why do you complain of a thing done by one who hath not his Wits about him? You bear with a Mad-man, nay, you are ſo far from being angry, that you pity him; you laugh at a Buffoon, or a Child; and I pray how is a Drunken Man or a Fool, a Colerick, or an Indiſcreet Man, more worth your anger than any of thoſe? When ſuch Fellows therefore let looſe their Tongues upon you, the beſt way is to make no reply: Hold your Tongue, and leave Matters there. It is a brave and noble, yea, and a Cruel Revenge too, which we take upon a Fool, in

diſregarding

diſregarding and deſpiſing him; it robs him of all the pleaſure he promiſed himſelf by provoking us to paſſion, and plainly declares, that we think him an impertinent and inſignificant wretch, better than all the ſharpeſt repartee would poſſibly expreſs it. If we reply, this debaſes us and is a ſort of entring into compariſon with him; it is the ſhewing him too much reſpect, and doing an injury to our ſelves. For * *they give ill Language becauſe they cannot tell how to give better, they act as they uſe to do, and according to the beſt of their underſtanding, for the worſe they behave themſelves the more conſiſtent they are, and more of a piece with themſelves.*

7. Now the Counſel which Wiſdom would give in the caſe is moſt certainly ſuch as this. You muſt have a due Conſideration both of your ſelf, and of the Perſon who gives you the Offence: As to your ſelf, take care not to be guilty of a thing ſo miſ-becoming, ſo very much below you as the ſuffering your ſelf to be overcome, and put beſides your Reaſon. The imprudent Man who ſeems to ſuſpect himſelf, and flies out into rage upon every triſle, declares by this carriage, that he looks upon himſelf fit to be affronted, for indeed it is meanneſs and littleneſs of Soul, or a Conſciouſneſs of our own inſufficiency, that hinders us from being above reſentments of this kind, and deſpiſing what we are ſenſible does not belong to us. A Wiſe and good Man is not capable of being injured, but is firm, ſecure, and inviolable; for the quality that renders any thing inviolable, is not the being above the power or force of Men, but above the being broken or made the worſe for it: And nothing would fortifie us more againſt every manner of accidents than the poſſeſſing our Souls with this Maxim, That we can never be hurt indeed, but by our own ſelves; if our Reaſon be what it ought, and our Actions according to it, we are invulnerable. Hence it was, that *Socrates* hath taught us what comforts to apply in ſuch Extremities by his own Example. Anitus *and* Meletus *may kill me*, ſays he, *but they cannot hurt me.* And thus a good Man as he is not capable of ill within, and will not offer any, ſo he is impenetrable from without, and cannot ſuffer any real Injury: Virtue is a Wall of Braſs, the Scoffs and Affronts are all repulſed or lodged there, and not one of them comes through to touch his Perſon;

* Male loquuntur quia bene loqui neſciunt; faciunt quod ſolent & ſciunt, male quia mali, & ſecundum ſe.

and

and to all this ſelf-ſecurity we may likewiſe add another Conſideration from the Opinion and Eſteem of the World; for there is no body but will look upon the Aggreſſor as a very ill Man, and upon the Patient as one not deſerving to be ſo treated: As to the Party who hath thus affronted you, if you eſteem him no better than an impertinent or idle fellow, uſe him accordingly, and ſhew that you value him not by a generous diſdain; if he be otherwiſe, you ſhould plead his excuſe to your ſelf; you ought to preſume that he had (or at leaſt apprehended that he had) occaſion for what he did; That it was not done out of any malicious deſign, but through inadvertency or miſtake, want of breeding, or ſome other very pardonable defect; if not ſo, then you may be confident he hath ſeen his error, is angry at himſelf for it, and wiſhes moſt heartily it had never been done: Once more let me add, that we ought to play the good husbands, and make the moſt of Injuries and Offences; for indeed they are no ſmall advantages which theſe put into our hands, particularly, they are capable of turning to very good account two ways, with regard to each of the parties concerned in them. For firſt with regard to the perſon who did the Injury; this hath diſcovered the Man to us, we have ſeen a little more of the World; we know ſuch a one two well to truſt him another time; and have fair warning to avoid him ever after. But then Secondly, they help us to know our ſelves too, ſhew us our own infirmities, our breaches and blind ſides, where the Foe may get within us, and what we cannot hold out againſt; and this gives us warning to work upon thoſe breaches, and put them in a defenſible condition againſt the next attack upon us. Let us learn to amend that fault too, which occaſion'd the abuſe, that no other Man may have the like provocation to reproach us hereafter: This is the true way of defeating the malice of others, and doing right to our ſelves; for what nobler Revenge can a Man take upon his Enemies, than to turn their injuries and affronts to his own Profit, and to learn more Prudence and Conduct, and to grow the wiſer and better, more cautious and inoffenſive by being ill uſed. The World at this rate is an excellent School; and the more unreaſonable Men are, the more a Man of good ſenſe and temper may improve himſelf under their even unjuſt Corrections.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of External Evils with regard to their Fruits and Effects.

HAving thus consider'd the Causes, let us now enquire into the effects of our evils, and what fruits they produce; where again we shall meet with very powerful Antidotes and substantial remedies against them. Now these effects are many and great, general, and particular.

The general effects are such as concern the good, the support, the order, and improvement of the Universe. The World would be quite stifled and choak'd up, it would Stagnate and putrifie, if it were not sometimes stirred and changed, and put into a new form by such important and alterative accidents, as Plagues, and Famines, and War, and Mortality; these are the things that prune and purge it, and throw down that product which overburdens the soil; and by so doing they preserve the rest, and give them elbow-room: for were there no such evacuations we should not be able to move and live by one another. But then consider the grateful Varieties and Vicissitudes, the regular Successions and alternate Changes, by which the World is thus adorned and beautified, every part of the world finds some convenience by these alterations. For from Nations and Men coming to be transplanted by such means, the barbarous and wild and savage part of Mankind are polished and civilized; Arts and Sciences, Learning and Policy are spread wider, and communicated to every part of the habitable Earth; so that we are to look upon the Universe as one large Plantation, where some Trees are removed to a more convenient Soil, others are grafted and inoculated, others cut down to the root, that they make more regular shoots by the loss of superfluous suckers, others quite plucked up, but all this done in such order by the skillful Cultivater, that every thing tends to the profit and beauty of the ground. These enlargements of our Thoughts, and considerations of Universal advantage ought to content every Wise and good Man, and prevent irreverent reflections upon those wonderful works of God, which Men are too apt to accuse for barbarous and disorderly; or to look upon with amazement as strange and unaccountable. It is enough that they are the ordinances

ordinances of God and nature, and ought to ſatisfie us, that how odd ſoever they may appear with regard to that little ſpot of ground which is commanded by our own Eye, yet they do great and ſignal ſervice to the whole. For would we extend our proſpect, we ſhould quickly diſcern that what is loſt in one place is gained in another, or rather indeed to ſpeak more properly, that nothing is loſt any where, but all conduces to the juſt variety and convenience of the World in general. * A *Wiſe Man*, ſays one, *will take nothing amiſs that happens to him; for he will obſerve, that thoſe very things by which his particular Intereſts ſeem to ſuffer, are expedient, and greatly contribute to the preſervation of the whole; and that theſe are the methods by which the courſe of the World is continued, and every part of it brought to its juſt and neceſſary perfection.*

2. The particular and perſonal effects of theſe evils are different, according to the various tempers and conditions of the Men to whom they happen. To the good they are an exerciſe and trial to thoſe that are fallen, a relief and recovery, a warning and call to them that go aſtray; and to the obſtinately wicked, a diſpenſation of Puniſhment and Vengeance. Of each of theſe uſes I ſhall ſay but one word or two very briefly.

And firſt, theſe external evils provide the good Men excellent opportunities of exerting and improving their Virtue, which would otherwiſe want matter to work upon, and lie idle and undiſcerned. A good Man under affliction, is in the ſame circumſtances with Fencers in their Schools, or Mariners in a Storm, or Soldiers in an Action, or Philoſophers in their Academy; that is, he is upon his proper duty, attending the buſineſs of his profeſſion, and ſhewing his skill in it; for theſe are the very methods that inſtruct, and enter, and form, and finiſh him in Virtue, that eſtabliſh him in Conſtancy and Courage, and enable him to conquer and triumph over Fortune and the World: They bring him acquainted with himſelf, make him know his own ſtrength by frequent experiments, tell him what he may depend upon, and promiſe himſelf from it; nor do they only give him a true repreſentation of his paſt and preſent condition, but

* Vir ſapiens nihil indignetur ſibi accidere, ſciatque illa ipſa, quibus lædi videtur ad conſervationem univerſi pertinere, & ex his eſſe quæ curſum mundi officiumque conſummant.

they

they help to amend it too; they encourage and confirm his reſolutions of doing well, harden and accuſtom him to ſuffering, fix and determine his mind, ſecure his paſt conqueſts, and render him invincible for the time to come; Whereas on the contrary, a long calm of proſperity is exceeding apt to ſoften and enervate Men's minds, and to corrupt them by eaſe and leiſure, careleſsneſs and ſloth, inactivity and long diſuſe. *Demetrius*, for this reaſon uſed to ſay, that of all Men living he thought none ſo truly miſerable as thoſe who had never met with diſappointments, and croſſes, and trying afflictions, and compared their life to the dead ſea, where there is a perpetual Stagnation, and noxious vapours breed and reign for want of winds, and a vigorous commotion of the waters to break and diſperſe and drive them away.

3. To Delinquents and inconſiderate Offenders, theſe afflictions are a check and curb to hold them in, and prevent the wild and furious ſallies of vice unreſtrained; or elſe a rebuke and chaſtiſement, the rod of an Affectionate but Provoked Father, to reduce and reclaim them, that they may be more conſiderate and mindful of their duty hereafter, and abandon utterly thoſe courſes which have coſt them ſo much ſmart and pain. Thus it is with our minds as with our bodies; and the health of both is conſulted by the ſame applications. Theſe ſufferings are like the breathing of a Vein and ſeaſonable Phyſick, ſometimes made uſe of as preſervatives, to prevent the gathering of ill humours and divert them another way; at other times as correctives and reſtoratives, to purge the corrupted maſs and carry off a diſeaſe already formed.

4. To the Obſtinate and Incorrigible they are a Puniſhment and Plague, a Sickle to cut thoſe down ſpeedily, whoſe Iniquities are ripe for deſtruction, or elſe to make them more lingring and languiſhing ſpectacles of vengeance. And thus you may plainly diſcern very excellent and neceſſary effects of the troubles Men are uſed ſo bitterly to complain of, ſuch as may abundantly convince us how erroneous that opinion is, which looks upon ſuch diſpenſations as evils, and ought to prevail upon us to entertain them with Patience and a becoming temper of mind, to take them in good part as the inſtances and operations of the divine juſtice; and not only ſo, but to welcome them gladly as the uſeful inſtruments and ſure pledges of the tenderneſs and love, and careful providence of God; and eſpecially uſing our utmoſt diligence to benefit under them, and to anſwer the intention of that wiſe

wiſe and kind being, in whoſe diſpoſal all theſe things are, and who diſtributes them according to his own good pleaſure, and as they may be moſt ſuitable to every Man's occaſions.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Of External Evils, conſidered in themſelves particularly.

All theſe Evils which are many in number, and various in their kinds, are ſo many privations of ſome contrary good; for ſo much indeed is implyed in the very name and nature of evil: Conſequently the general heads of evil muſt anſwer and be equal to the ſeveral heads or ſpecies of good. Now theſe may very properly be reduced to ſeven. Sickneſs and Pain, (for theſe being Bodily indiſpoſitions, I join them together as one) Captivity, Baniſhment, Want, Diſgrace, Loſs of Friends, and Death. The good things we are deprived of in the forementioned Circumſtances every one ſees very plainly to be Health, Liberty, our Native Countrey, Wealth, Honour, Friends, and Life; each of which we have had occaſion to treat of at large in the foregoing parts of this Treatiſe. All therefore that remains to be done at preſent is to preſcribe ſuch Antidotes againſt theſe as are proper to them reſpectively; and that very briefly and plainly, without any nice or formal Reaſoning upon the Caſe.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Sickneſs and Pain.

IT hath been obſerved in the beginning of this Treatiſe, that Pain is the greateſt, and in good truth the only evil attending this Mortal Body of ours; the moſt ſenſible, the moſt inſupportable, that which is leaſt to be cured, leaſt to be dealt with or aſſwaged by conſideration. But ſtill, though this be not altogether ſo capable of advice as moſt other afflictions; yet ſome Remedies there are drawn from Reaſon, Juſtice, advantage and uſefulneſs, imitation and reſemblance of great perſons celebrated for their illuſtrious Virtue, and *Book* I. *Chap.* 6.

that

that branch of it which conſiſts of Patience, and theſe ſuch as they are I ſhall juſt propound to my Reader's Conſideration.

1. Firſt then the enduring what is tedious and troubleſome is a neceſſary incumbrance of life, and charged in common upon all living creatures, upon Mankind moſt evidently and eſpecially. And it is by no means reaſonable that providence ſhould work a Miracle for our ſakes, and exempt us only. How abſurd is it therefore to fret and perplex our ſelves becauſe that hath hapned to one Man in particular, which might and may happen every moment to every Man without exception.

2. Nay it is not only general and common but natural too. We are born to it, and cannot in any equity and juſtice hope to be exempted; for indeed ſhould we ceaſe to be ſubject to it, we muſt ceaſe to be Men. Whatever is a fixt and irreverſible Law of our Creation ought to be entertained with meekneſs and moderation: For we entred into life upon theſe terms, and the conditions of humanity expreſly indented for are old Age and Infirmities, Decays and Diſeaſes, Anguiſh and Pain. There is no poſſibility of avoiding theſe things; and what we can never get clear of, it will be our beſt Wiſdom to ſettle a reſolution of making the beſt of, and to learn how we may go through with it.

3. * If the pain be long it is but moderate; and conſequently very ſupportable; and a Wiſe Man will be aſhamed to complain of any thing leſs than extremities. If it be violent and exceeding acute it is but ſhort, and we ſhould not repine or be driven to impatience for a ſuffering which is quickly over. And yet this muſt of neceſſity be the caſe; for nature cannot ſuſtain it ſelf under the continuance of extream Torture: There muſt be an end either of that or of the Patient in a little time; and which of theſe two ſoever be the concluſion of it as to the ſuffering part, the matter comes all to one, and therefore let this give us courage and comfort.

4. Conſider again, that theſe ſufferings can go no deeper than the Body, we are not injured our very ſelves: every real injury takes off from the excellence and perfection of the thing; but now Sickneſs and Pain are ſo far from derogating from and doing any real prejudice to us, that on the con-

* Conſide, ſummus non habet tempus dolor. Si gravis brevis; ſi longus levis.

trary

trary they furniſh matter, and put occaſions in our way for a more noble exerciſing of Virtue than any that we owe to Eaſe and perfect Health: And ſurely where there is more occaſion of praiſe and Virtue there cannot be leſs good. If the Body be what the Philoſophers uſually call the inſtrument of the mind, why ſhould any one complain, for this inſtrument being applied to its proper uſe and worn out in the ſervice of its proper maſter? The Body was made on purpoſe to ſerve the Soul, but if every inconvenience which befalls the Body ſhall diſorder and afflict the mind, the order of nature is quite inverted, and the Soul from thenceforth becomes a ſervant to the Body. Would you not think that man unreaſonably querulous and childiſh, who ſhould cry and roar and take on heavily becauſe ſome thorn in the hedge, as he paſſed by, or ſome unwary paſſenger had ſpoiled or torn his Clothes? A poor broker, who was to make Money of the Suit, might be allowed ſome concern upon ſuch an occaſion; but a Gentleman and one of ſubſtance and condition would make a jeſt of it, and not eſteem it worth a thought, when ſo trivial a loſs was compared with the abundance he had left. Now this Body of ours is no other than a garment, borrowed for a little while that our Soul may make its appearance, and act a ſhort part in it, upon the ſtage of this lower World: But the Soul in the mean while is that which commands our value and regard; and our great affair is to ſecure the honour and quiet of this better part, while ſojourning in this buſie and tumultuous life. And what do we think may be the true reaſon why Pain provokes us to ſo great impatience? What indeed, but that we place our happineſs upon wrong objects, and do not ſet up our reſt, nor ſeek our ſatisfactions in the Soul. *Men grow into coldneſs and negligence of this part, and grow too familiar and fond of the Body. And Pain, as if it were ſenſible of this folly of ours, plies us hard in our tendereſt part, eſpecially when a Man ſhivers and trembles at its approach, as if it took a pride to inſult over ſuch unreaſonable fear and concern.

The advantages however of this ſo much dreaded miſery are conſiderable; it helps to wean our affections, and teaches us to work off our reliſh and delight from that which we 5,

* Non aſſueverunt animo eſſe contenti; nimium illis cum corpore fuit.

muſt ſhortly leave; for there is no one thing more aſſiſting to us in giving us a due ſenſe of the emptineſs of the World and what an errant cheat it is, than Sickneſs and Pain; and I think every Man muſt confeſs this to be a very conſiderable piece of ſervice.

6. It heightens the pleaſure conſequent upon it. For when a Diſeaſe hath had its courſe, the ſatisfaction of a recovery is much more ſenſible than any enjoyment of uninterrupted health. This chears and enlivens us, like Light out of the midſt of Darkneſs; and a Man would almoſt imagine that nature had contrived Pain on purpoſe, that by mingling ſome of thoſe ſharp intervals, eaſe and pleaſure might have due honour done them, and be rendred more acceptable and exquiſite.

7. Let us then reflect upon theſe few Suggeſtions, and ſee what conſequences they naturally offer to us. If our Pain be moderate, the virtue of Patience cannot be very difficult; if it be extream, the glory of enduring it as becomes us is proportionably great; if it appear inſupportable, our own cowardice and effeminacy have made it ſo; if there are but very few, who can bear it decently, let us try to be of that number; for the ſmaller it is, the more diſtinguiſhing and commendable it is to be in among them. Let us not lay the blame at nature's door for making us no ſtronger: This is all pretence, it is not natural weakneſs but affected nicety and tenderneſs that diſables us in this point. If we run away from Pain it will purſue us; if we ſurrender our ſelves to this enemy and ſuffer it to conquer us, we ſhall be treated with inſolence and barbarous uſage, and the reproach of tameneſs will ſtick hard upon us. If it tries to terrifie us and we ſtand our ground, the ſucceſs will be above our expectation; let us therefore defeat and diſappoint this deſign, by ſhewing our ſelves more reſolute and brave than it thinks for. For the greateſt part of the ſmart and anguiſh is owing to our own ſoftneſs and delicacy, our yielding and ſinking under it. * *We do not flinch from things ſo much becauſe they are hard to be born, as we create that hardſhip to our ſelves by dreading and ſhrinking at them.*

8. I may reaſonably expect that all the former arguments ſhould be lookt upon as flights of ſpeculation, Philoſophical

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* Non quia difficilia non audemus, ſed quia non audemus, difficilia,

notio ns,

notions, which Men of refined thoughts entertain when they are at eaſe, but would ſoon find impracticable if brought to the tryal; and therefore to obviate this objection, I have reſerved to the laſt place the inſtances and examples of perſons whoſe practice hath juſtified the poſſibility and mighty efficacy of all that hath been ſaid here, or is uſually urged in Books upon this occaſion. And theſe, not only of wiſe and extraordinary but of ignorant and common Men; Nay, even Women and Children are frequently mentioned in ſtory to have endured both long and acute pains and diſeaſes, and with a mind ſo ſteady and unbroken, that the anguiſh which hath taken away their lives was never able to ſubdue their conſtancy and courage. They have waited the approach of their torments, and encountered them knowingly, and met them gladly, and ſupported themſelves under them with marvellous chearfulneſs; nay, have even ſought and courted the ſevereſt and moſt exquiſite tortures humane nature is capable of ſuffering. The *Lacedæmonian* Boys are notorious for whipping one another, till ſometimes they expired under the ſcourge, and all this without the leaſt change of Countenance. A ſort of barbarous diſcipline, inſtituted to harden them, that they might be better qualified to do their Countrey ſervice when thus inured to ſuffering. *Alexander*'s Page was burnt to the very Bone with a Coal, and endured it without the leaſt complaint, rather than he would interrupt the Sacrifice. A *Spartan* Boy let his Bowels be eat out by a Fox, rather than he would diſcover his Theft. *Pompey*, when taken by King *Gentius*, who would have compelled him to reveal the ſecrets of the *Roman* ſtate, thruſt his finger into the Fire, and burnt it till *Gentius* could bear the ſight no longer, to convince him, that all Torture would be loſt upon him. The Caſe of *Mutius* with *Porſenna* was another inſtance of the ſame kind; and good old *Regulus* endured more than all of them from the *Carthaginians*. The account of *Anaxarchus* hath ſcarce any Parallel; who, when pounded in a Mortar at the Command of a Tyrant, cried out, *Beat on, beat on your Belly-full, you cannot touch* Anaxarchus *his ſelf, you only bruiſe the Shell of him.*

" But that which is a remedy indeed, is one peculiar to " Chriſtians, the ſure proſpect of a future and eternal ſtate; " the conſideration what cruelty and contradiction of ſin- " ners their Saviour condeſcended to ſuffer; and that parti- " cipation of glory and bliſs with him in Heaven, which is " ordained and reſerved for thoſe who ſuffer with and for

" him: that is, after his example in a good cauſe, and for " the ſake of Faith and a good Conſcience. Theſe reflecti- " ons will animate Men, not by rendring them inſenſible or " taking ſanctuary in nice and airy diſtinctions, but by fur- " niſhing arguments ſuperiour to the quickeſt and tendereſt " ſenſe of Pain. And accordingly we ſee what incredible ef- " fects theſe Religious comforts had in all the Primitive " Perſecutions; how triumphant they were in the midſt of " Racks and Fires and Croſſes. The *having reſpect to the* " *recompence of Reward*, The balancing the *light Afflictions* " *of a moment with the Eternal and far more exceeding weight* " *of Glory*; the committing this Body to the Ground, like " ſeed for a plentiful and joyful harveſt at the general Re- " ſurrection; the confidence in the promiſes of him who " cannot lye. Theſe inſpired the noble Army of Martyrs; " and theſe are able to ſupport all their followers, who have " a title to the ſame expectations, and are heirs through hope " to the ſame Kingdom. And all the Stoical Philoſophy put " together, cannnot miniſter the hundredth part of that " Conſolation, which thoſe two ſhort Sentences of S. *Paul* do,

Heb. 12. 11. " *No chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous but grie-* " *vous; Nevertheleſs afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit* " *of Righteouſneſs unto them which are exerciſed thereby*; And,

2 Cor. 5. 1. " *We know that if our earthly houſe of this Tabernacle be diſ-* " *ſolved, we have a building of God, a houſe not made with* " *hands, eternal in the Heavens.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Captivity or Impriſonment.

THis Affliction is very inconſiderable in compariſon of the former, and the conqueſt of it will prove exceeding eaſie to them, upon whom the preſcriptions againſt Sickneſs and Pain have found their deſired effect. For Men in thoſe circumſtances have the addition of this misfortune, confined to their houſes, their Beds, tied to a Rack and loaded with fetters; and this very confinement is a part of their complaint, though the leaſt part. But however we will ſay one word or two of it.

Now what is it that Captivity or Confinement impriſons? The Body, that which is it ſelf the cover and the Priſon of the

the Soul; but the Mind continues at large and at its own diſpoſal, in deſpight of all the World: How can it indeed be ſenſible of any inconvenience from a Priſon, ſince even there it ranges abroad as freely, as gaily, takes as noble, as ſublime, as diſtant flights, if not much more ſo, than it does in other circumſtances? The Locks and Bars, and Walls of a Priſon are much too remote to have any power of faſtening it down or ſhutting it in; they muſt needs be ſo, ſince even the Body it ſelf which touches upon, is linked to, and hangs like a Clog faſtened to it, is not able to keep it down, or fix it to any determinate place. And that Man will make a jeſt of all theſe artificial and wretched, theſe ſlight and childiſh encloſures, who hath learnt how to preſerve his native liberty and to uſe the privilege and prerogative of his condition, which is, to be confined no where; no, not even in this World. Thus *Tertullian* derides the cruelty of the Perſecutors, and animates his Brethren by telling that a * *Chriſtian even when out of Priſon had ſhaken hands with the World, that he defied and was above it; and that when under Confinement, the caſe was the ſame with his Gaol too. What mighty matter is it in what part of the World you are, whoſe principle it is not to be of the World? Let us change that name of ſo ill a ſound, and inſtead of a Priſon call it a retreat; where when you are ſhut up the fleſh may be kept to a narrow room, but all doors are open to the Spirit, all places free to the Mind; this carries the whole Man along with it, and leads him abroad whitherſoever it will.*

Priſons have given very kind entertainment to ſeveral valuable, and holy, and great Men; to ſome, a Gaol hath been a refuge from deſtruction, and the Walls of it ſo many fortifications and entrenchments againſt that ruine which had certainly been the conſequence of liberty; nay, ſome have choſen theſe places that there they might enjoy a more perfect liberty, and be farther from the noiſe and clutter and confuſion of the World. He that is under Lock and Key is ſo much ſafer and better guarded: And a Man had better live thus, than be crampt and conſtrained by thoſe Fetters

* Chriſtianus, etiam extra carcerem, ſæculo renunciavit, in Carcere etiam carceri; nihil intereſt ubi ſitis in ſæculo, qui extra ſæculum eſtis. Auferamus Carceris nomen, ſeceſſum vocemus; etſi corpus includitur, caro detinetur, omnia Spiritui patent; totum hominem animus circumfert, & quo vult transfert.

and hand-cuffs which the World is full of; ſuch as the places of publick buſineſs and concourſe, the Palaces of Princes, the converſation of great Men, the tumult and hurry of Trade, the vexation and expence of Law-ſuits, the envy and ill-nature, the peeviſhneſs and paſſions of common Men, will be continually clapping upon us. * *If we do but reflect* (ſays the ſame Author again) *that the World it ſelf is no better than a Priſon, we ſhall imagine our ſelves rather let out of a Gaol than put into one. The darkneſs by which the World blinds Men's minds, is thicker and groſſer, the chains by which it clogs and binds their affections heavier; the filth and ſtanch of Men's lewdneſs and beaſtly converſation more offenſive, and the Criminals in it more numerous, for ſuch in truth are all Mankind.* There have been ſeveral inſtances of perſons, who, by the benefit of a Priſon, have been preſerved from the malice of their enemies, and eſcaped great miſeries and dangers. Some have made it a ſtudious retirement, compoſed Books there, or laid a foundation of great vertue and much learning, ſo that the uneaſineſs of the fleſh hath been a gain to the ſpirit, and the confinement of the body was well laid out in a purchaſe ſo valuable as the enlargement of the mind. Some have been diſgorged as it were by a Priſon, thrown up when it could keep them no longer, and the next ſtep they made hath been into ſome very eminent dignity, as high as this World could ſet them; this remark the Pſalmiſt hath left us of the wonderful diſpenſations of providence: *He taketh the ſimple out of the duſt, and lifteth the needy off from the dunghill, That he may ſet him with Princes, even with the Princes of his people.* And he indeed who was an *Iſraelite* might well make this reflection, ſince even among his own Anceſtors they had ſo eminent an inſtance as *Joſeph*, of the mighty alteration we are now ſpeaking of. But others have been advanced yet higher, exhaled as it were and drawn up into Heaven from thence. But thus much is certain, that there can be no ſuch thing as perpetual Impriſonment; general Gaol-deliveries are unalterably

Pſal. 113.

* Si recogitemus ipſum magis mundum carcerem eſſe, exiſſe nos è carcere, quam in carcerem introiſſe intelligemus. Majores tenebras habet mundus, quæ hominum præcordia excæcant, graviores catenas induit, quæ ipſas animas conſtringunt, pejores immunditias expirant libidines hominum, plures poſtremo reos continet, univerſum genus hominum.

eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, an Article of the Law of Nature; for no Priſon ever yet took in a Man, whom it did not ſhortly after let out again.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Exile, or Baniſhment.

EXile is in reality no more than changing our Dwelling, and this hath nothing of ſubſtantial Evil in it. If we are afflicted upon the account, our grievance is not owing to what we complain of, but to our own humour and imagination. If we will go to the Reaſon of the thing, all places are alike, and a Man's All is every where equally: For two words indeed comprehend the whole of what a Wiſe Man values, and thoſe two are Nature and Virtue. 1.

The ſame Nature is common to all Countries, the ſame Sky, the ſame Elements. The ſame Sun ſhines, the ſame Stars riſe and ſet, and their Motion, their Extent, the Proportion they appear in, the ſame. And ſure, if any part of Nature be to be valued, that above us is much more worthy of Conſideration and Eſteem, than this Sediment and groſs, and droſſy part, which we tread under our feet. The fartheſt proſpect of the Earth which we can take, does not amount to more than Ten or Twelve Leagues: So that a Soul, which ſettles its Affections upon this part, ſhuts it ſelf up in a very narrow compaſs. But the Face of this glorious Firmament, adorned and beautified with ſuch infinite Conſtellations, which like ſo many grafts of Jewels gliſter over our heads, expands it ſelf; and that it may be more effectually and diſtinctly viewed, the Motion is perpetual and circular, and every part turned towards us; ſo that every point is viſible to every place, within the ſingle Revolution of each Day and Night. The Earth, which (taking the Seas, and ambient Atmoſphere into the account, is computed not to be above the hundred and ſixtieth part as big as the Sun,) is to Us incomparably leſs ſtill; for it is not viſible to us in any part, except that little ſpot, that ſingle Point upon which we ſtand. But, were it otherwiſe, what does this Change of our ſtanding ſignifie? We think it a hard caſe, to be born in one place, and driven to another: Have we any propriety in the place of our Birth? Our Mothers might 2.

have been delivered in any other place, as well as that where they were; and nothing is more entirely Caſual, than the particular Spot where we firſt drew Breath, for there was in Nature the ſame poſſibility of our being born any where? Beſides, every Climate produces and carries Men, ſuſtains them with its Fruits, and furniſhes them with all the Neceſſaries of Life; ſo that there is little fear of Periſhing any where. Every Country ſettles us among our Relations too; for all Mankind are ſo, nearly allied in Blood, and nearer yet in Charity and Affection. Friends too may be found any where, we need only be at the pains to make them, which will ſoon be done, if we are careful to win their Hearts by our Virtue and Wiſdom. Every quarter of the Habitable World is a Wiſe-man's Country, or rather indeed no part of it is his Country. It were an injury and diſparagement to ſuppoſe him a Stranger any where; and a weakneſs and littleneſs of Spirit in him to eſteem himſelf ſo. A Man ought to uſe his Privilege, and aſſert his natural Right, which conſiſts in living every where, as if he were at home, and dwelt in his own: In * *looking upon all places, as if he had a propriety in them; and upon his own Eſtate or native Soil, as if it were in common to all Mankind.*

3. But farther, what alteration, what inconvenience can poſſibly come to us, by this changing our Reſidence? Do not we ſtill carry the ſame Soul about with us? And will not our Virtue keep us company where ever we go? What can hinder a Man (ſaid *Brutus*) from carrying his Excellencies, all he is really and truly worth, into Baniſhment, or Captivity? The Mind and its commendable Qualities are ſubject to no confinement, circumſcribed within no determinate ſpace of ground; but can live, and act, and exert themſelves in all places indifferently. A good Man is a Citizen of the whole World, frank and free, content and cheerful wherever his Lot caſts him; always at home in his own Quarters; and always fixt and ſettled, however this Caſe or Portmanteau that incloſes and conveys him, may be hurried and jumbled from one place to another. † *The holy and immortal Soul is an Ubiquetary, of near reſemblance and affinity to God himſelf, and like him diffuſed equally, and ever preſent to all*

* Omnes terras tanquam ſuas videre, & ſuas tanquam omnium.

† Animus ſacer & æternus ubique eſt, diis cognatus, omni mundo & ævo par.

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the ſtages of time, and all the diſtances of place. And whereſoever a Man feels himſelf well, and eaſie, and in full enjoyment, that is his home, call the Country by what name you will. And it is evident, that Eaſe and comfortable Enjoyment is not entailed upon particular Cities or Climates; this is what no place can give, he can only depend upon his own mind for it, and that can give it him in any place equally.

How many very ſignificant Men have found cauſe to chooſe and impoſe a voluntary Baniſhment upon themſelves? How many others, when ſent and driven away, and afterwards invited back again, have refuſed to return into their own Native Country; and been ſo far from thinking their Exile an inſupportable Miſery and Puniſhment, that they have taken great delight and ſatisfaction in it; and reckoned no part of their time ſo well ſpent, or ſo worthy the name of living, as that in which they were debarred their own Country. This was the caſe of ſome generous *Romans*, *Rutilius*, and *Marcellus* in particular; And again, how many do we read of, whom good Fortune hath taken by the hand as it were, and led them abroad, put them in the way of Honour and Preferment in foreign Lands, ſuch as they could have no probable proſpect of ever attaining at home?

CHAP. XXV.

Of Poverty, and Want, and Loſſes.

THis is a very vulgar, and (like the reſt of theirs,) a very filly and poor ſpirited Complaint; for it ſuppoſes the whole, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of a Man's Happineſs, to depend upon the advantages of Fortune, and looks upon a low and mean Condition, as a real and ſore Evil. But now, to ſhew what that is in truth, we muſt obſerve, that there are two ſorts of Poverty: One is, That Extremity of it, which we properly call Penury, or want of Bread; when thoſe ſupplies are lacking, which are neceſſary to the ſupport of humane Nature. And this is a Calamity, which happens but very ſeldom: For Providence hath been ſo bountiful, and Nature ſo prudent, that there are but a few of theſe abſolutely neceſſary things. The very Frame of our Bodies is a good defence in this caſe, and ſo far from expoſing

poſing us to a needy Condition, that a little will ſerve the turn, and that little is to be had almoſt every where: Nay, it is to be had in ſuch quantities, as will not only reach to the keeping Life and Soul together, but are a ſufficient Competency for moderate and frugal Perſons. If we do not affect to lay it on thick, and ſquander away our Proviſions; if we would take our meaſures from Reaſon and Nature, and be ſatisfied with what theſe deſire, and preſcribe to us; we ſhall ſeldom or never want enough for our purpoſe. But if we will create to our ſelves fantaſtical and imaginary wants, nothing can ever ſatisfie us. * *He that lives by Nature,* ſays *Seneca, can never be Poor; and he that lives by Fancy, can never be Rich; for the former will gladly take up with a little, but the latter graſps at all, and there is no end of it.* A Man that is maſter of any ſort of Trade, or bred up to any Profeſſion; nay, he that hath neither of theſe advantages, if he have but the uſe of his Hands, is ſafe from theſe Extremities, and will find no juſt reaſon to fear, or to complain of this firſt ſort of Poverty.

The other ſort conſiſts in the want of thoſe things, which exceed a ſufficient proviſion for the uſes of Nature, and miniſter to Pomp and Pleaſure, Delicacy and Superfluity; what we commonly call a Decency, and this is in truth the thing moſt Men are ſo mightily concerned for; loſs of rich and ſumptuous Furniture, the not having a Down Bed, and a Table well ſpread, or a ſtately Houſe; ſhut out from the Comforts and the Ornaments of Life. But this, when all is done, is not Want, but Niceneſs; and that is the very Diſeaſe we labour under. Now all complaints of this Nature are highly unjuſt, for what they dread as Poverty, is rather to be preferred and wiſhed for: We ſee the Wiſeſt Man that ever lived, was for neither Poverty nor Riches, but only ſuch Food as was a convenient Subſiſtence for him. It is more agreeable to nature, more truly rich, more quiet and ſafe, than all that abundance Mankind are ſo fond of. Firſt, it is more congruous and agreeable to our Condition, becauſe Man came Naked into the World, and he muſt go ſo out; and how can he call any thing his own, which he neither brought along with him, nor can carry away with him? The Poſſeſſions we pretend to here, are like the Furniture in an

* Si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper; ſi ad opinionem, nunquam dives. Exiguum natura deſiderat; opinio immenſum.

Inn;

Inn; ours to use while we stay, but not to remove when we leave the House: And therefore all we ought to look at is our present Accommodation. Secondly, it is more true Riches, for a larger Mannor none can be possest of. He that hath enough, hath all the World. *Godliness with Contentment is great Gain*, says the Apostle, it is safer and more quiet: For here is no Fear to perplex, no hope of Booty to tempt, no danger of Enemies to fence against; Poverty is secure in the midst of *Banditi*. A little Man, when covered all over with his Buckler, is less liable to danger, than a bigger and stronger, who is in many parts exposed, and cannot bring his whole Body within the compass of his Shield; such a condition, as it does not burden and fatigue a Man with great Troubles, so neither does it make him capable of great Losses. And therefore these sort of People are always more easie, and free, and cheerful, for they have not so much to take care of, nor can they suffer so much by any storm that shall happen to blow. Such a Poverty as this is snugg and close, gay, and jolly, and secure; all foul Weather flies over its head; it makes us truly our own Men, masters of our Lives, without the hurry and noise, the squabbles and contentions, which are the necessary incumbrances of plentiful Fortunes, and devour the greatest part of their Ease and Time, who stand possest of them. And what precious things are these to be called, the Goods of this World, that are big with so many Mischiefs, such substantial and vexatious Evils, that expose us to Injuries, enslave us to Jealousies and Suspicions; to anxious Fears, and inordinate Desires; and have so many thousand artifices to trouble and disquiet us? He that is discontented with the loss of these things, is miserable indeed; because he is deprived of his Possessions, and understanding both; and so does more than double his loss. The Life of Men in moderate Circumstances is a condition much like that of Coasters; but that of the rich is like Sailors out at Sea. These are tost and driven, and cannot make Land though they would never so fain; they must wait a favourable Gale, and the Current of the Tide to carry them in: The former are always near home, and have it in their power to Debark whenever they please. 1 *Tim.* 6

To all these Considerations we shall do well to add one more; That of Great, and Generous, and justly Celebrated Persons, who have despised such Losses, nay, have welcomed, and improved them to their advantage, and thanked Almighty

Almighty God for them, as ſo many ſignal Bleſſings. Such as *Zeno* after his Wrack, the *Fabricij*, *Serrani*, and the *Curij* among the *Romans*. And this is an extraordinary Attainment in Virtue, when a Man can find his account, and diſcern, and ſatisfie himſelf with the wiſdom and kindneſs of Providence, in inſtances which the generality of the World look upon with the greateſt Horrour and Averſion. The Gods were heretofore painted Naked, to intimate, that they are above both the Neceſſities and Gayeties of this World; and how Godlike a Quality the Philoſophers heretofore eſteemed the deſpiſing of them, we may learn by that voluntary Poverty, which ſo many of them embraced; at leaſt, if it was the work of Fate, and not their own Choice, by that eaſie Content and Acquieſcence of Spirit, with which they entertained it. To ſumm up all then in one word, to Perſons of Prudence and unprejudiced Affections, Men of elevated Souls, refined and purged from the droſs of Senſuality and Avarice, this condition of Life will appear preferrable; but to all People, who think at all, it is very tolerable.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Infamy, or Diſgrace.

THis Affliction is of ſeveral ſorts, according to the different Senſes, of which the Title here is capable.

If by Diſgrace, be meant, the loſs of Honour, or Dignity, or offices of Importance and Truſt, the Man is rather a Gainer than otherwiſe, and hath made a very advantageous Exchange. For what are ſuch promotions but ſplendid ſlaveries, by which a Man hires himſelf out to the Publick, and lays out his Property, and the enjoyment of his Perſon in the Service of other People? Theſe Honours ſhine indeed and gliſter, but with that dazling light they kindle Envy and Jealouſie, burn up the Owner, and at laſt go out in Exile and Poverty. Let a Man but refreſh his memory with the Hiſtories of all Antiquity, and the moſt memorable paſſages of Great Men; ſee how thick a cloud they ſet in, and whether, almoſt to a Man, thoſe that were moſt renowned for Gallantry and Virtue, did not finiſh their courſe, in Baniſhment, or a Priſon; by Poyſon, or ſome other violent Death. See the declining *Ariſtides*, *Themiſtocles*, *Phocion* and *Socrates* among

among the *Greeks*; *Camillus* and *Scipio*, and *Cicero*, and *Papinian* among the *Romans*; *Jeremiah* and other Prophets among the *Jews*. Inſomuch that a Man may ſay, Calamity and Diſgrace is the very Livery and Mark of diſtinction of the beſt and braveſt Men; the uſual Reward which the People beſtow upon thoſe that have done them the beſt Service.

If this word be interpreted of common Fame and Opinion, every Wiſe Man ſhould have Spirit enough to deſpiſe That, and never trouble himſelf at all about it. He does but diſparage and degrade himſelf, and betray his want of improvement in the ſtudy of Wiſdom, who is got no higher in this noble Science, than to be concerned at thoſe falſe, raſh Judgments, and ſcandalous Reports, which are made and ſcattered at random; and which neither make a Man the better for their Commendations, nor one whit the worſe for their Cenſure and Reproaches.

CHAP. XXVII.

Loſs of Friends.

BY Friends, I underſtand Children, Relations, and all whom Nature or Acquaintance have rendred near and dear to us.

And here, firſt of all, we ſhall do well to examine pretty ſtrictly into the true foundation of this Concern; whether the Complaints we utter, the Tears we ſhed, and all the ſorrow and tender Reſentments we pretend, be grounded upon their Intereſt, or our own. I make no queſtion, but every Man will anſwer, that he grieves for their ſakes; but then moſt People muſt give us leave to doubt the Truth of this; and not take it ill, if we be Infidels in the caſe, till ſatisfied by ſome more ſubſtantial Argument, than the meer authority of having their bare word for it. It is but an officious Diſſimulation of tenderneſs and natural Affection, to put on an inconſolable Melancholy, and be eternally lamenting the Misfortunes of our Friends, or the Dangers and Calamities of the Publick; for would we but draw aſide the Curtain, and probe our Souls to the quick, Self would be found at the bottom, and the true cauſe of our Griefs will appear to be that private Intereſt of our own, which is involved, and interwoven

interwoven with theirs, this is the very thing that affects us ſo ſenſibly. And what is this but a ſpice of Envy, rather than true and generous Affection? For that very Death, or abſence of our Friends, which we bewail under the ſpecious Title of their Loſs and Misfortune, is in reality their mighty Gain, and greateſt Advantage. * The true uſe and conſequence of Death is the putting a final and abſolute Period to Men's Miſeries, the placing them in a condition incapable of ſuffering. Had God in his Wiſdom intended us a happier and more eaſie Being upon Earth, no doubt he would have contrived, that it ſhould have laſted longer. But, as Matters now ſtand, and conſidering the Evils our Lives are beſet with, it is a mercy he hath made them ſo ſhort.

If then we would ſpeak out, and confeſs the truth impartially, this Affliction looks at home, and we lament the loſs, becauſe our own Affairs ſuffer in it. Now this at the firſt bluſh is evidently diſhonourable and ſelfiſh; and we ſhall have much ado to juſtifie our being ſorry, that thoſe we profeſs ſo dearly to love are in eaſe and happineſs. If we loved them, as our Saviour ſays, in the like caſe, we ſhould much rather rejoyce; and if they loved us, it is but a decent gratitude to be content with ſome inconveniences, when the ſuffering of theſe is ſoftned by the conſideration of their unſpeakable Advantage. For † *to be troubled at our own Loſs may argue that we love our ſelves, but it can never prove, that we love our Friends.*

But, after all, there is an excellent and never failing Remedy in ſtore for our Affliction, which all the malice and power of Fate can never wreſt out of our hands. And that is, a Reflection, that theſe Loſſes are not irreparable: For ſo long as we ſurvive our Friends, ſo long we have opportunities of making new ones. Friendſhip is one of the greateſt Bleſſings humane Life can boaſt of; and there is this mighty advantage in it, which other happineſſes cannot pretend to, that it is one of the eaſieſt to be attained. God makes Men, but Men make Friends: And they that do not want Virtue, need never want Friends; for this is the inſtrument of acquiring them; and that which will always be ſerviceable in ſupplying the number of thoſe that are taken from us. If then Fortune hath robbed us of this Treaſure,

* Mœrere hoc eventum, invidi magis quam amici eſt.
† Suis incommodis angi, non amicum, ſed ſeipſum amantis eſt.

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let us take care to reimburſe our ſelves; and by this means we ſhall be ſo far from living deſtitute, that the parting with thoſe we had, will only give us an opportunity of enlarging our Affections wider, and adding to the number.

Of Death.

THis Subject hath been already treated of ſo largely and fully in the Eleventh Chapter of the Second Book, that I have nothing new to offer upon it here. And therefore to avoid being tedious to my Reader, by cloying him with Repetitions, I ſhall only beg his leave to refer him back to that Paſſage.

The ſecond Diviſion of Evils, conſiſting of ſuch as are Internal, to wit, the Diſquieting Paſſions of our own Minds.

PREFACE.

FRom theſe ſeveral Evils already inſiſted on, ſeveral tormenting Paſſions are begot and bred in our Minds. For when any of thoſe Afflictions are conſidered abſolutely, and in themſelves; there ſprings up Fear in us, if we apprehend them as future and approaching; or Grief, if we reflect upon them as preſent, and at that inſtant actually oppreſſing us. And if theſe Calamities do not immediately affect us, but others ſuffer in them, then the Paſſion we are moved to, is Pity and Compaſſion. When to the Conſideration of their own Nature, we join that additional one of their Cauſes or Occaſions, and reflect upon them as done or procured by ſome other Perſon, than the Paſſions provoked by them are. Anger, Hatred, Indignation, Spight, Envy, Jealouſie, Revenge; and all thoſe other Reſentments, which diſpoſe us to bear a grudge, and look with an evil Eye upon the Perſons that create us uneaſineſs and trouble. Now this Virtue of Fortitude conſiſts in the entertaining theſe misfortunes regularly, and agreeably to right Reaſon and Equity; in behaving our ſelves gallantly under them, and ſo preſerving

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our Souls free and undiſturbed by any of the Paſſions apt to be excited, and ſo grow outrageous upon theſe occaſions. But in regard they owe their very Being to theſe Afflictions, if a Man can manage the Rules and Remedies here already preſcribed, ſo as to gain an abſolute Conqueſt over the Evils themſelves: Theſe Paſſions will be cruſhed in the Egg, and all farther directions concerning them are wholly ſuperſeded. And this indeed is the beſt and moſt effectual way, to ſtifle and cut off the firſt Tendencies towards them. Efficacy and Succeſs muſt unavoidably wait upon this method, as that Fire is ſure to be quenched, from which all combuſtible Matter that might feed it, is withdrawn in time. But though this taking off the Fuel be the beſt, yet is it not the only way of keeping down this flame; and therefore I will provide for the other Courſe, by adding ſome Directions againſt each of theſe Paſſions in particular; which deſign will take up the leſs of our Time and Pains, in regard each of them hath formerly been drawn at length, and that in Colours ſo natural, ſo black and hideous, that it may reaſonably be expected, thoſe Repreſentations ſhould work us up to a due horrour and deteſtation of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Remedies againſt Fear.

LET us not be too haſty, and anticipate our Misfortunes; but be content to ſtay till they overtake us. Why ſhould we run forward to meet thoſe Miſeries, which at the ſame time we would fain run away from? Poſſibly they may not carry ſo far, but be ſpent, or fall to the ground before they reach us. Our Fears are every jot as fallible as our hopes: Perhaps the time which we expect with terrour, to bring our Affliction, may come big with Joy, or at leaſt bring a Comfort equivalent to the Sorrow. How many millions of ſurpriſing Accidents may interpoſe, and ward off that Thurſt, which we apprehend muſt give us our mortal Wound? Lightning, they tell you, will be diverted from its courſe by the motion of a Hat, and the fortunes of great States, and whole Nations are blaſted, and blown down in an inſtant by accidents, as ſlight as the Breath of ones Mouth. Give the Wheel but one whirl, and that which was at the top is tumbled down to the bottom; and it very frequently happens,

pens, that the Perſons who were our Terrour, become our Pity or our Scorn; and the Thing, from whence we looked for nothing but Ruin, is the beſt inſtrument and inſurance of our Safety. Nothing is ſo liable to Miſtakes as humane Proſpects: What the Prudence of Man hopes for, diſappoints him; what this fears, vaniſhes, and ſlips from under him, and what it never dreamt of happens to him. Almighty God keeps his Counſels to himſelf; he alone knows what he hath to do: But his Meaſures and Methods are dark and diſtant from humane Sight; and this is the occaſion of the many amazing Changes we ſee in the World; that what we Project and Form to our ſelves in one way, God decrees and brings about in another. Let us not make our ſelves unhappy before our time; and it is very likely we may never be ſo at all: The future, which cheats ſo great a part of Mankind, may probably cheat us among the reſt, to our advantage. It is a famous Maxim in the practice of Phyſick, that the acuteſt Diſtempers have no Prognoſticks to be depended upon: And thus far it holds in our Fortune too, that the more furious and threatning her Symptoms are, the leſs we can form any certain Judgments from them. While there is life, there are hopes, is as good a Rule, as juſt a Comfort, with regard to our Affairs in Diſorder, as it is with reſpect to our Bodies in Sickneſs.

This Fear is not always the effect of Temper and Complexion, but very often of Delicacy, and a too tender Education. For we apprehend many things to be more grievous than really they are, meerly for want of being hardened in our Youth, and accuſtomed betimes to difficult and laborious Undertakings. And upon this account, we ſhould find great benefit in uſing our ſelves a great while before hand, to that which is apt to ſtrike a Terrour into us; repreſenting to our Imaginations the dreadfulleſt Dangers, that we can poſſibly fall into, and growing familiar with them by degrees; making ſome hazardous attemps by way of Gallantry and Tryal, that ſo we may bring our Courage to the touch, be before-hand with miſchance, and wreſt the weapons of Fortune out of her hands. For we ſhall find it much eaſier to reſiſt her, when we are the Aggreſſors, than when ſhe puts upon the Defenſive. At ſuch times, we have the Law in our own hands; can take leiſure to arm as we pleaſe, can make the moſt of every Advantage, and ſecure our Retreat; whereas, when ſhe comes on, and Attacks us, ſhe ſurpriſes, and ſingles us out at pleaſure. We ſhall do very well there-

fore to exerciſe our skill upon her, and, by beginning the Combat unprovoked, practice, and grow perfect in the Art of defending our Poſt: To ſound ſometimes a falſe Alarm, to ſee how we ſhould receive it, if it had been in earneſt, and a real Engagement. To ſet before our Eyes inſtances of aſtoniſhing Dangers, which the greateſt and worthieſt Men have been driven to; and recollect, that ſome have eſcaped the diſmalleſt that we can imagine, thereby to prevent Confuſion and Deſpair; and that others have periſhed under the ſlighteſt and moſt inconſiderable, thereby to awaken us out of our fooliſh ſecurity, and convince us, that we are no where ſo ſafe, that Conſideration and Prudence ſhould be laid aſide as unneceſſary.

CHAP. XXIX.

Againſt Grief.

GRief hath been formerly delineated, under the Characters of the moſt tormenting, moſt prejudicial, and moſt unjuſt paſſion of all others. The greater reaſon to be ſure we have to acquaint our ſelves with proper Remedies againſt it. And theſe are of two kinds, Direct or Oblique.

I call thoſe Direct, which we derive from Philoſophy, and the force of Reaſon; ſuch as are employed in facing the Calamity, and learning to diſdain and contemn it; perſwading our ſelves, that theſe External miſadventures are no real Evils, or if there be any thing in them, which may juſtifie ſo harſh a name; yet that they are ſo ſmall and ſlight, as not to be worth the diſordering our Minds about them; that any notable change in our Temper and Mind is more than the greateſt and moſt grievous of them all ought to obtain from us; and that to ſpend our Breath in Complaints, and our Days in Melancholy upon their account, is highly unjuſt and miſ-becoming. (For at this rate the *Stoicks*, and *Peripateticks*, and *Platoniſts* have delivered themſelves upon theſe occaſions.) This method of keeping our ſelves above Grief, and every painful Paſſion, is indeed very beautiful and excellent; what challenges, not only our Commendation but our Wonder, becauſe it is exceeding Rare, and none but Souls of the firſt rate ſeem to be qualified for the undertaking.

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There is another of a meaner and more practicable Dispensation, the effect of Philosophy too, but not in its *Acme* and utmost Perfection; for this is a more popular Method, and condescends to the Infirmities of Mankind; not so nobly descended, but of more general use. And this is what I call Oblique, because it consists in quieting the uneasie thought, by drawing off the Mind from its present Anguish to some more pleasant and agreeable, or at least to some fresh Object. This is properly shifting the Scene, declining, or, according to the modern way of expression, shamming the Misfortune. A remedy exceeding common, and such as Mankind are fain to take refuge in upon several other occasions, as well as this. For, if we observe the thing nicely, it will appear, that many Cures are wrought both upon our Bodies and Minds this way. Thus when we are assaulted by Temptations, Divines advise, that we would not trust our selves alone, but flee into Company. Thus when there is any strong Defluxion of Humours upon the Vitals, which cannot be carried clear off, Physicians divert the Morbifick Matter, and throw it into some of those parts, where the Lance, or the Searing-Iron may be able to deal with it. Thus Men that travel over dangerous and frightful Precipices, shut their Eyes close, or look another way. Thus the Men of Courage in Fight, do not reflect upon their Danger, or think they are grappling with Death; but find themselves transported and busied with the Heat of Action. And of the many renowned Heroes, who have suffered calmly and patiently, nay, even of those who have died by their own choice, or their own hands, (which some *Greeks* and *Romans* heretofore were vain enough to do meerly for the Honour and Reputation of despising it; and others have been so brave and constant to undergo, in the confidence and assured hope of a better Life, as the Christian Martyrs; the Scholars of *Hegesias*, and others after the reading of *Plato's Antiochus*; or for the getting quit of the Miseries of the present Life; or whatever other Motives they had;) still this was but a Stratagem of Diversion; for these Motives took their thoughts off from the main point in Difficulty. For that which they aspired after, or that which they fled from, made the more vigorous impression; and either quite swallowed up, or mightily asswaged the Terrour of what they were about to suffer. But few or none of these had that firmness of Soul to consider the Calamities themselves; to converse with, and come close up to them; to see them in their frightfullest

forms, and yet not ſtart at them. This was a glory reſerved for *Socrates*, and *Flavius* condemned by *Nero* to die by the hand of *Niger*, and ſome very few beſides. We may therefore content our ſelves very well with diverting our Minds by ſome other Conſiderations, when any croſs Accidents, or other external Calamities aſſault us. The common People ſeem to be ſenſible of ſome more than ordinary Efficacy in this Preſcription, when, upon all Melancholy occaſions, they adviſe their Friends not to think of that which gives them the Diſorder. And thoſe, who undertake to adviſe or comfort Perſons in Affliction, will do well to conſider what Counſel they are capable of following; to infuſe ſome other thoughts into them, by gentle and inſenſible degrees, ſo looſening and undermining the Object of their trouble, and trying to plant another in its room. For this taking the ground of their Melancholy from under them, before they are well aware of it, will prove a more real Conſolation (in the firſt and furious Paroxyſms eſpecially) than the moſt Philoſophical, or which is yet better, the moſt Chriſtian Harangue in the World. For though every Man may know, and urge pathetically enough, ſuch Arguments as Reaſon tells us, it is fit Melancholy Perſons ſhould ſubmit to; yet theſe may all be loſt, if the Application be out of time: And therefore it is very neceſſary, that Men ſhould proceed with Judgment, and Tenderneſs; that they ſhould obſerve, both in what manner the Paſſions are to be treated, and when they are fit to be treated with, when they will bear coming up to the point; and when they muſt be pacified by ſome powerful Diverſion.

CHAP. XXX.

Remedies againſt Compaſſion.

MY Reader may poſſibly be ſtartled at this Title, ſuſpecting, that it ſavours too much of Inhumanity; but to abate his Surpriſe, I muſt remind him, that there are two ſorts of Pity. The one firm, and brave, virtuous and commendable, ſuch as we are told Almighty God and the bleſſed Spirits partake of; and this conſiſts in applying our inclination, and actual Endeavours to relieve the Afflicted, yet ſo as not to take the Affliction upon our ſelves, nor do any thing

thing in diminution of the juſtice of the Cauſe, or the dignity of our Character. The other is a womaniſh and ſenſeleſs Pity; full of Tenderneſs and Concern; which proceeds from weakneſs and effeminacy of Soul, concerning which I have ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore, in that part which deſcribed the ſeveral Paſſions. Now for the conquering and compoſing this ſecond ſort; Wiſdom directs us to ſuccour the Afflicted, and to eaſe his Burden, but not to put under our own Shoulder ſo far, as to bear the Load with him. In this Senſe it is, that God is ſaid to be Pitiful; and his Bowels and Yearnings muſt not be interpreted of the ſame uneaſineſſes we feel upon theſe occaſions, but of the ſame readineſs to do good, and to extend his help, which we find in our ſelves upon feeling thoſe uneaſineſſes. As the Phyſician does all he can for his Patient, and the Counſellor for his Client; but then it ends in diligence and induſtry, and making the moſt of their Caſe; but never goes ſo far, as laying their miſcarriage to heart. The Wiſe Man is deſirous to aſſwage the Pain, but not content to ſmart with it; nor to darken and diſorder his Mind with the Vapours of that Melancholy, which he labours to quiet and compoſe. God Commands us to have a regard to the Poor, and to qualifie their Afflictions as well as we can; to plead their Cauſe for them, and to defend their Right; but yet at the ſame time he charges us to watch over our Paſſions, and take care that we be not balanced even by good Nature and Pity it ſelf, againſt Equity and Juſtice, and the Reſults of true Reaſon.

Book I. *Chap.* 32.

CHAP. XXXI.

Remedies againſt Anger.

THeſe Remedies are many and various, ſuch as the Mind ought to lay in, and be ſtrongly armed and guarded with long before; Like People that expect a Siege; for it will be too late to begin to fortifie, when the Enemy hath opened his Trenches, and plays his Batteries upon us. They may be reduced to three Heads; The firſt are ſuch as ſecure all the Paſſes, and cut off the approaches and firſt beginnings of this Paſſion. For it is infinitely eaſier to repel, and guard the Avenues againſt it, than either to ſubdue and bring it to

Rule, or to beat it out again, when once it hath got within us. We ſhall do well therefore to conſult our ſafety betimes, by delivering our ſelves from all thoſe cauſes and occaſions of Anger, which were heretofore obſerved and explained, when we were deſcribing the nature and riſe of this Paſſion. Such in particular as theſe that follow, 1. Weakneſs of Judgment; 2. Indulgence and Effeminacy; a Sickneſs of the Soul, which muſt be cured by hardening it againſt any Accident, which can poſſibly happen. 3. Niceneſs, and humourſome Fancies, fondneſs for little Trifles, which muſt be corrected by bringing our Appetites, to plain and eaſie and ſimple things; for this indifferency and ſimplicity of Manners is the Mother of inward Peace and Content. And therefore * *let us be prepared and capable of every thing, ſatisfied with what comes next, and eſteeming thoſe conveniences beſt and moſt acceptable, which are neareſt at hand, and will coſt us leaſt trouble.* This is the general Rule given by Philoſophers; and would be of great uſe, for the croſſing theſe particular humours, gives birth to furious Paſſions and infinite Inconveniences. *Cotys*, upon receiving a very Noble Preſent of Beautiful, but brittle Ware, broke all the Veſſels immediately, to prevent his being angry, whenever they ſhould happen to be broken by any other hand. This is what I cannot much extol, by reaſon it plainly ſhewed a diſtruſt of his own Vertue and Reſolution, and condemned him of Cowardice and Fear. He had therefore done a great deal better, in ſparing that extravagant way of Prevention, and ſettling in his Mind a firm Reſolve not to be moved at ſuch an Accident, whenſoever it ſhould happen. 4. Curioſity, which makes us eager and inquiſitive into things which we had much better live in contented Ignorance of. Thus *Cæſar*, when upon his Victory, he took the Letters, and Memorials, and ſeveral other Papers of Conſequence, written by his Enemies, burnt them without ever examining what they contained. 5. Credulity, and eaſineſs to receive every new Impreſſion. 6. And above all the reſt, a cavilling and captious Humour, jealouſie of other People's Behaviour, and fancying they deſign Injuries and Affronts to us. This indeed is very much beneath a Man of Spirit and Generoſity, for how much ſoever it may ſeem to favour of Pride, and

* Ad omnia compoſiti ſimus, quæ bona & paratiora, ſint nobis meliora & gratiora.

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ſo indeed it does, yet this is a falſe Pride; and the Opinion of ones ſelf at the ſame time, that it is more than it ought to be, is yet degenerate, and of a Baſtard breed, mingled with meanneſs, and a little Soul; and therefore, wanting Solidity, for this ſelf-conceit, and being conſcious of ſome notable Defect, it expoſes the Perſon yet more by this peeviſh and ſuſpicious temper. For he that looks upon himſelf under the Contempt of another, is in ſome ſenſe leſs than he; at leaſt he debaſes himſelf, and becomes ſo either in Reality, or in Opinion, by theſe diſtruſts, and niceneſſes in point of Reſpect. * If therefore we would expreſs a juſt and generous Senſe of our own Worth, we ſhould put any other interpretation rather than this, upon the doubtful paſſages of Converſation. Imagine them to proceed from Folly, or Indiſcretion, an unthinking Gayety, ſome defect in the Perſon, or what he did not obſerve, or could not help; if it come from our Friends, let us call it too great freedom, and the priviledge they take upon intimacy with us. If from thoſe under our own Government, we ſhould not ſuppoſe they knew they did amiſs; or ever were ſo ſtupid and fool-hardy, to provoke a Perſon, who they know hath power to chaſtiſe and make them ſmart ſeverely for their Inſolence. If it proceed from mean and inſignificant Fellows, we can neither receive any Dignity, nor ſuffer any Indignity from ſuch hands. Our Honour is not at their diſpoſal, and therefore we ſhould not deſcend ſo low, as to be angry, whenever they pleaſe to provoke us. *Agathocles* and *Antigonus* made a jeſt of thoſe that affronted them, and ſcorned to puniſh them, when they had them at their mercy. *Cæſar* had a peculiar Excellence this way: *Moſes*, and *David*, and the other celebrated Patterns of Virtue in Holy Writ have done ſo too. † *A great Poſt ſhould have a great Soul to fill it.* The nobleſt Conqueſt is to ſubdue our ſelves, and to leave it in the power of no other Perſon to diſorder us. Flying into Paſſion is a ſhrewd ſymptom of Guilt; and a Conſciouſneſs, that we deſerve all the indignities put upon us. He cannot be a truly great Man, who bends under another Man's ill treatment; a Conqueſt there muſt be on ſome ſide; for if we do not ſubdue our Anger, it will ſubdue us; and therefore the only way to preſerve our Liberty, and our Honour, is to get above this

* Nemo non eo, à quo ſe contemptum judicat, minor eſt.
† Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet.

rebellious Paſſion and † look down upon the Tempeſts gathering below with ſcorn and Contempt.

2. The ſecond diviſion of remedies conſiſts of ſuch as are fit to be made uſe of, at the time when any provocations to this paſſion are offered to us, and when we feel it is going to make inſurrection. And theſe are, 1. keeping the body conſtantly in one poſture, and not allowing our ſelves in the leaſt motion; ſitting ſilent, and keeping our thoughts within our own Breaſts. For any ſort of agitation of our Limbs, Hands, Feet, but eſpecially of the Tongue, ſets the blood and humours preſently into a ferment, and kindles a fire in the Soul. The beginning of contention is like the letting out of water, and it is the ſecond word that makes the quarrel. 2. A prudent reſerve; backwardneſs in crediting what we hear; ſlowneſs in reſolving; allowing ſpace to think and conſider and ſtate the merits of the cauſe, and ſuſpending our determination and reſentment till all this be fairly done: For could we once but bring our ſelves to reaſon upon the point, we ſhould preſently give a check to this growing Fever. A Philoſopher adviſed *Auguſtus* never to let his anger looſe, till he had firſt repeated the Letters of the Alphabet; and ſome Chriſtians have given the ſame counſel in effect, but better in the diverſion they preſcribe when they direct us to ſay over the Lord's Prayer, before we give any vent to the boyling paſſion: All we ſay and do in heat, ſhould be ſhrewdly ſuſpected and carefully watched, and therefore it is but fit we ſhould make a halt *. *Allow your ſelf in nothing when you are angry, becauſe there is nothing ſo ill, which you would not at ſuch a time be content to allow your ſelf.* We ought to be afraid and extreamly jealous of our ſelves, for while our minds are in diſorder, it is impoſſible we ſhould do any thing properly and as we ought. Reaſon at ſuch a time is intangled in the paſſions, and can do us no more ſervice than wings do a Bird whoſe feet are faſt in the Lime-twigs: we may flutter and ſtruggle, but ſhall very hardly be able to extricate our ſelves by all the efforts we can make; and therefore we ſhould never truſt our ſelves, but take ſanctuary in the company of ſome friend, and there mellow

† Injurias & offenſiones ſupreme deſpicere.

* Nihil tibi liceat dum iraſceris; Quare? Quia vis omnia lice-

re.

and

and compoſe our paſſions by his calm advice and wiſe converſation. 4. Another good expedient, when we feel the ſtorm gathering, will be to divert and diſperſe it, by ſomewhat that is agreeable and entertaining; and in this caſe no diverſion is better than Muſick to ſmooth and ſweeten the paſſions, and by a kind of Sympathetick power to make perfect harmony and true concord in the Soul.

The third parcel conſiſts of ſome good conſiderations, 3.
which the Soul ought to be tinctured and throughly ſeaſoned with beforehand. As firſt, a contemplation of the behaviour and wild diſorderly motions of perſons in paſſion, thoſe indecencies and deformities which may very reaſonably be expected to beget in us a mighty averſion to it. Upon this account ſome of the Philoſopers adviſe angry Men to look in the Glaſs, and to ſatisfie their own ſenſes how horridly theſe exceſſes disfigure them. Secondly, let us alſo fix our eyes and hearts upon the charming, the admirable beauties of meekneſs and moderation. Obſerve, how exceeding graceful and becoming a mild and ſweet temper ſhews, how engaging to others, how beneficial to our ſelves; for this well conſidered, would prove a powerful Loadſtone, and attract the affections of all the beholders. This advice is more eſpecially expedient for perſons of quality and high rank, becauſe fortune hath placed them on high, made them more conſpicuous than the reſt of Mankind, and therefore greater care ſhould be taken to ſet off all their deportment with decency and to the beſt advantage: For as their actions are of greater and more general concernment, ſo their faults have a more pernicious influence and are leſs to be retrieved than thoſe of common Men. Laſtly, there is the regard we ought to have for Wiſdom and virtue, that ſcience which it is the buſineſs and deſign of this little book to train men up in; for indeed Philoſophy and Religion ſhew themſelves in no one inſtance ſo much as in the command of our Paſſions, and the preſerving our minds firm and ſteady and impregnable. We ſhould raiſe our Souls up above this earth, and bring them to a temperament and diſpoſition like that of the upper regions of the air, which is never darkened by clouds, nor agitated by ſtorms, nor diſturbed by thunder, but quiet and ſerene, and always the ſame. Thus neither ſhould this Soul, this Cœleſtial and divine part of us be blackned with grief, or diſordered by anger, but kept in a gentle and uniform motion, conſiderate and ſlow, like the Orbs and Planets, which the higher they

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are the more ſoftly they move, and are freer from Precipitation, as they approach nearer to purity and perfection.

4. Now it is neceſſary to inform my Reader, that all theſe directions are to be underſtood of thoſe inward reſentments and diſorders, which are kept cloſe and cheriſhed in our minds, and thoſe heart-burnings which kindle a long and laſting fire in our breaſts, and break out in uncharitable grudges, bitter hatred and averſion, and furious deſires of revenge. For as to that other ſort of anger which is outward and viſible, that ſhort blaze quickly in and as quickly out again, where there is no malice, no reſentment left behind, and the only deſign of it is to make others ſenſible of their faults, whether our inferiours by chaſtiſements and ſmart reproofs, or thoſe upon the level with us, by expoſtulating with them and ſhewing the injuſtice or indiſcretions they have been guilty of; this is of infinite uſe, highly neceſſary to be put in practice, and exceeding commendable when rightly managed.

It is much for the advantage both of our ſelves and of thoſe with whom we converſe, to be thus angry upon ſome occaſions, provided always we keep within the bounds of moderation and prudent conduct; and a little vehemence does well to awaken people into a better ſenſe. There are a ſort of people who value themſelves upon reſtraining ſuch reſentments, and keeping in their paſſion as they call it; which though very convenient when we have our ſuperiours to engage with, or ſuch as we have reaſon to be very tender of giving any offence to, yet is no good rule for our general behaviour: They who boaſt of it, make indeed large pretenſions to temper and government of their paſſions, and are mighty Philoſophers in their own eyes and eſteem; but yet they frequently burn and fret inwardly, and gain a Conqueſt upon themſelves, which coſts them more than the thing is worth: It were much better to give it vent, and let their reſentments flame out a little now and then, than that they ſhould glow and torment them within. For this covering of our anger incorporates and makes it of a piece with our Souls, and the haſty Man is much rather to be commended when ſoon pacified again, than the fretful and moroſe, the ſullen and the ſilent. If this weapon muſt wound ſomewhere, it were much more adviſable to draw it upon others, and give them a ſlight hurt, than that the Point ſhould be turned back upon our ſelves and ſtab us to the heart.

* All

* *All vices are leſs dangerous when the effects of them are viſible and apparent, but never ſo deſtructive as then, when they lurk ſecretly and impoſe upon us by an artificial and counterfeit virtue.* Thus a ſore skinned over and rankling underneath threatens ill conſequences, and wounds are laid open to prevent a Mortification.

And as theſe outward demonſtrations of anger may be for our own eaſe, ſo may they likewiſe be capable of doing great ſervice to other people; upon ſuch perſons eſpecially as will not ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded and argued into their duty. For with Servants and thoſe who are actuated by no other principle but fear, there is an abſolute neceſſity of either feeling or at leaſt putting on ſomewhat of warmth and reſentments; otherwiſe all order would be loſt, and nothing done under our inſpection as it ought to be. But then thoſe expreſſions of Anger muſt be ſure to have theſe following qualifications: 1. The returns of them muſt not come too thick, nor be provoked upon every ſlight occaſion; for uſe will harden thoſe to whom they are directed; alterations are never to be made by any thing that is grown familiar; nor can we ſave that authority from contempt, which interpoſes with eagerneſs and violence upon trivial and inſignificant miſcarriages. 2. They ſhould not be random-ſhot nor loſt in the Air; not ſpent in fretting or vexing our ſelves, or railing and reproaching them behind their backs, but diſcharged upon the perſon who gave the provocation, that he may feel the ſmart of his own folly. 3. They ſhould be delivered gravely and pertinently, and carry ſomewhat of tartneſs and ſting with them, without any mixture of Jeſting or Laughing, that we may convince them of our being in very good earneſt, and ſtir them up effectually to better care for the future, as well as puniſh them for what is already paſſed. In one word, this ſort of Anger is in the nature of Phyſick, and it will be our wiſdom ſo to time and ſo to apply it, that it may have a kindly Operation and work a thorough Cure in the Patient. 5.

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* Omnia vitia in aperto leviora ſunt, & tunc perniciosiſſima, cum ſimulatâ ſanitate ſubſidunt.

The ſeveral Remedies preſcribed here, though particularly inſiſted upon with regard to Anger only, will yet be very applicable and uſeful in the correcting of the following Paſſions.

CHAP. XXXII.

Remedies againſt Hatred.

TO defend our ſelves effectually from the inſults of this Paſſion, we ſhall do well to bear conſtantly in mind that old rule of *Epictetus*, (and a moſt excellent and uſeful obſervation it is) *That every thing hath two handles, and that every Man hath it in his choice, whether of them he will lay hold of it by*; Take it by one and it will ſeem heavy and grievous, but by the other it will be light and eaſie to us. Let us rather be ſure to take every thing by the better handle, and look upon it in the moſt advantageous light. That is, put the beſt and moſt favourable interpretation upon all that happens to us, and ſo ſhall we find by experience, that what we hate and find fault with hath a great deal to ſoften and recommend it to our acceptance. For Providence hath in infinite wiſdom ſo ordered the matter, that there is not any one accident poſſible to us in this World, which a dextrous and skillful Man may not turn to ſome account. And even in that which gives us greateſt offence, there is more ſubject for lamentation and complaint than there can be for hatred and juſt Averſion. He who does an ill or unbecoming thing to us, hath done the firſt wrong, and ſuffered the greateſt damage in it himſelf: For he hath loſt the uſe of his Reaſon and betrayed his own virtue, which are injuries ſo ſubſtantial that nothing we can ſuffer at ſecond hand can be comparable to them. Let us therefore take this accident in another proſpect, and view it there; let us give a freſh turn to our Paſſion, and change Hatred into Piety; let us take pains to make the perſons who have tempted us to hate them worthy of our love and eſteem. Thus *Lycurgus* is ſaid to have dealt with a Man that put out his eye; inſtead of proſecuting ſo ſenſible an injury,

jury, he took another courſe of puniſhing him, which was by his ſevere remonſtrances and good inſtructions to render him a vertuous, modeſt, and peaceable Perſon ever after.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Remedies againſt Envy.

IN oppoſition to this fretful and tormenting Paſſion, let us conſider and weigh nicely the nature of the thing we ſet ſo high a value upon, and grudge another the fruition of. We are apt to envy our more proſperous Neighbours, their Riches and Honours, their Preferments and the favour of Great Men: But all this is reaſoning without Book, and want of attending to the condition of the purchaſe; we are not ſenſible how dear theſe things have coſt their owners. Were this rightly underſtood, it is highly probable if they were offered to us upon the ſame terms, we ſhould think it our wiſdom to decline ſtriking the bargain. Flattery and Attendance, Anxiety and Care, Sufferings and Injuries, Affronts and Repulſes, loſs of Liberty, and ungenerous compliances with the Paſſions and Pleaſures of thoſe we make our court to; Violations of Juſtice and contradiction to our own Conſciences, theſe are uſually the price ſuch advantages come at: Thus much however is moſt certain, that there is nothing in this World worth the having which can be had for nothing. To hope for Wealth and Honour, a Plentiful Eſtate, or a gainful Office upon other Terms than they uſually go at, is to deſire that we may be made an exception to the reſt of Mankind; to repeal an Univerſal Law; or at leaſt to break and pervert a general Cuſtom received and eſtabliſhed all the World over: It is taking the Commodity and keeping our Money too. Why ſhould you then who ſet up for the Character of Honour and Virtue be diſcontented, becauſe you are not poſſeſt of thoſe advantages which are never to be acquired but by ignominious and reproachful methods, and muſt be bought at the expence of Modeſty and Decency? If this be the caſe, theſe ſplendid appearances call rather for your Pity than your Envy: Either the Object of your Paſſion is a real Good, or it is not; if it be a fantaſtical and imaginary good only, it is beneath this reſentment, nay it is inconſiſtent with it.

it. For no Man is envious upon a ſuppoſition of a treacherous and deceitful outſide, but upon an implication of ſubſtantial and intrinſick worth: But if it have this, and be a real and ſolid good, then ought it to be matter of Joy and Pleaſure. For the Laws of Humanity, and thoſe of Chriſtianity much more oblige us to deſire, and take delight in one another's Happineſs; and the exerciſe of this Virtue with regard to other peoples ſatisfaction and good Fortune would be a very conſiderable addition to our own.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Remedies againſt Revenge.

1. FOr the beating down this cruel paſſion, ſeveral Conſiderations may be of uſe to us; as firſt of all, That there is not any action of our Lives ſo truly honourable and glorious as that of pardoning and paſſing by injuries and affronts, nor any attaintment which requires greater skill than this to maſter and excuſe it readily and gracefully. Every body knows but too well how to proſecute Wrongs and demand Satisfaction; but the remitting and receiving thoſe that have done them into grace again, is a Glory reſerved for Princes, and truly great Souls: If then thou wilt prove thy Soveraignty, ſhew that thou art King of thy ſelf, and do a truly royal act by forgiving freely, and extending thy kindneſs to thoſe that have moſt juſtly merited thy diſpleaſure.

2. Secondly, Remember that this is of all others the nobleſt Conqueſt, to convince the World that thou art impregnable, and above the reach or reſentment of injuries and Affronts. For by this means they all rebound back again upon the head of the Author; and like blows upon Anvils when they make no impreſſion, only benumb and put the party to pain, who laid about him with ſuch impotent malice and fury. To continue Revenge, is to give our Enemy the ſatisfaction of knowing that he hath hurt us; and he that complains declares himſelf worſted in the Controverſie. So ſay the Moraliſt; * *He that is impatient for ſatisfaction, ac-*

* Ultio doloris confeſſio eſt; non eſt magnus animus, quem incurvat Injuria. Ingens animus & verus æſtimator ſui non vindicat injuriam, quia non ſentit.

knowledges

knowledges himſelf in pain; that Soul cannot be truly great, which bends beneath an Injury: A generous Spirit, and one that truly values himſelf, never revenges a wrong, becauſe he is too big to feel the ſmart of it.

3. You will reply perhaps, that it is very hard though to ſuffer Injuries and Offences; grievous in it ſelf, and ſcandalous to the World; I know it very well, and therefore my Advice is, that you would not ſuffer them; but vanquiſh and get ſo abſolute a maſtery over them, that nothing of this kind ſhould reach up to you. And this to be done in a fair and honourable way, by diſdaining the thing and the Perſon that is guilty of it; or, if you pleaſe, advancing the Conqueſt higher ſtill, and reclaiming him. *Cæſar* was remarkable for both theſe good Qualities: No Victory is ſo deſireable, none ſo triumphant, as that which makes your Enemy buckle under you by kindneſs undeſerved: That which lays him with his mouth in the Duſt, and ſtrikes him dumb at his own Baſeneſs, and ſo ſhames his Spight into Friendſhip: For what can melt him, if this will not? What can deſerve Laurels ſo juſtly, as the being thus invincible, and not ſuffering any Aggravations an Injury is capable of, to ſtop our hands, or get the better of Virtue and Reaſon? This indeed is a Reſolution we ſhould ſettle to our ſelves, as conſidering, that the more grievous the Crime, and the bitterer and more implacable the Spight, the more fit it is for us to pardon it: And the better we could juſtifie taking a ſevere Revenge, the more it makes for our Honour and Commendation, to take none at all.

4. Remember how great a Contradiction it is to all Equity and Reaſon, that the ſame Perſon ſhould be Judge and Party both in the ſame Cauſe; and yet this is an Abſurdity, which every one that undertakes to revenge his own Quarrels unavoidably runs upon. This ought therefore conſtantly to be left to the Arbitration of a third Perſon, or at leaſt a Man ſhould never take it into his own hands, without adviſing with his Friends; following ſuch meaſures, as they who are calm and indifferent Judges, think proper; and not leaning to the raſh, and hot determinations of our own diſordered Minds. The Old Poetical Fables have given us a beautiful Repreſentation of this Matter, in their accounts of the Heathen Deities, and the Limitations of their reſpective Provinces and Powers. *Jupiter*, they tell you, hath a right to caſt ſuch Thunderbolts, as are favourable to Mankind, and portend good Events, by vertue of his own Deſpotick Authority:

rity: But when any Thunder is to be diſcharged upon wicked Men, and thoſe Bolts are let fly, which carry Devaſtation and Ruin, and any ſort of miſchievous Effects; This he hath no right to do of his own head, nor without the advice and aſſiſtance of twelve Gods met in Counſel. This was a very ſignificant Thought, and ſhewed the importance of the Occaſion; That even the Supreme of all the Heavenly Powers, who had unlimited Commiſſion to do good to all the World of his own head, ſhould yet have it reſtrained, and his hands tied up from hurting; ſo much as one ſingle Perſon, till the matter and merits of the Cauſe had been ſolemnly debated. But the Reaſon couched at the bottom, deſerves our attention: Kindneſs and Beneficence there can be no danger in, no miſtakes, no exceſſes of this kind are pernicious; But when Revenge and Puniſhment come under Deliberation, this is ſo nice a point, that even the wiſdom of *Jupiter* himſelf was not ſecure from all poſſibility of Errour; and therefore an aſſembly of diſ-intereſted Perſons was requiſite to direct and moderate his Anger.

5. And this Moderation and Temper is what every Man ſhould make it his Buſineſs to acquire, and be well fixed in: Which with reſpect to the caſe now before us, is but another name for Clemency. For by that I mean, ſuch a mildneſs and ſweetneſs of Spirit; ſuch an inclination to forgive and be kind, as curbs and holds in the violent Careers of Paſſion; and makes us move coolly and regularly. This will arm us with Patience, will convince us that we cannot be injured in reality, except from our own ſelves; and that for the wrongs others maliciouſly intend us, ſo much and no more will ſtick, as we faſten and bind upon our ſelves by reſenting the Provocation. This will ſecure us the good will, and affections of all Mankind; and will ſeaſon all our Behaviour with that Modeſty and Decency that cannot fail to render our Converſation innocent, courteous and agreeable, and univerſally deſired.

CHAP. XXXV.

Remedies againſt Jealouſie.

1. THe only method of any Efficacy for avoiding this Paſſion, is to take care to deſerve the advantage we deſire. For Jealouſie is little elſe at the bottom, but the diſtruſt and miſgiving

giving of ones own Mind; and an Argument, that we are conſcious of our own want of merit. When the Emperour *Aurelius* was asked by his Wife *Fauſtina*, what he would do, if his Enemy *Caſſius* ſhould win the Field, his anſwer was, *I do not ſerve the Gods ſo ill, that they ſhould have ſuch an Affliction in reſerve for me.* So they that partake of another's Affection, and are tempted to any ſuſpicion of loſing it, will do well to ſilence ſuch uneaſie Suggeſtions, by telling themſelves, The Regard I have for him is ſo ſincere, that I dare be confident he will not rob me of a treaſure I value ſo highly. An aſſurance of our own faithfulneſs, and deſerving better uſage, is the beſt pledge of our Friend's kindneſs and fidelity to us in return.

He that purſues a Prize virtuouſly, will be content, that 2.
others ſhould ſeek it in the ſame way. For this does but ſerve to awaken, and illuſtrate, and exalt his worth. Weakneſs only creates fear of Rivals, becauſe this ſuſpects, that when we come to have our merits laid in the balance with thoſe of other Competitors, our Imperfections will be more diſtinctly ſeen, and we ſhall ſuffer by the Compariſon. Whereas otherwiſe, if you take away Emulation, you eclipſe the honour of Virtue, and quench the moſt powerful Incentive to good and gallant actions.

As to that particular kind of Jealouſie between Married 3.
Perſons; the Counſel expedient to be given on the Man's part ſeems to be this. That if any reproach happen to them from the diſloyalty of their Wives, they ſhould recollect, what great and renowned Fellow-ſufferers they have had in this Calamity; who yet bore it with exemplary patience, and made no words of their Misfortune. Such were *Lucullus*, *Cæſar*, *Pompey*, *Cato*, *Auguſtus*, *Antony*, and a great many beſides. But you will ſay, the World hath diſcovered your ſhame, and it is grown common talk. And pray, who is there, that the World does not talk of to their prejudice, more or leſs, whether they have any ground for ſuch Diſcourſe or no? How many Perſons of Honour and Virtue have you your ſelf heard branded with the infamous Title? If you make a buſtle, and blaze abroad your Diſgrace, the Ladies will only have the advantage of the better Jeſt. And the commonneſs of this Affliction one would think, ſhould long ago have worn out all the uneaſineſs of it. But however, put the worſt of the Caſe, that you are in reality the thing you ſuſpect; yet how is this a juſt Calamity? it is no reflection upon your Virtue, or your Wiſdom; the

World is moſt unreaſonable and abſurd in loading the innocent Perſon with Infamy, and rendring that ridiculous, which is in no degree a Fault. But if they will proceed by wrong meaſures, your own breaſt ſhould follow thoſe that are right and equitable. Nay, even in reſpect of others, there is ſome remedy left ſtill: For it is in your own power to render your Virtue ſo illuſtrious, that it ſhall ſtifle and ſwallow up this Misfortune; and make your name never mentioned, among Wiſe and Good Men at leaſt, with one whit the leſs Eſteem. They will cover your Infamy by their juſt Commendations, and curſe the wicked occaſion of it; who is ſo much the more profligate, and abandoned, deſpicable and deteſtable, for uſing a Good Man ill.

4. As to the Women, they are not ſo eaſily ſatisfied, becauſe their very Nature ſeems more diſpoſed to Suſpicion and Curioſity. But the beſt Advice I can give them, is to diſſemble any apprehenſions of this kind; which is the true and prudent *Medium* between two very vicious and fooliſh Extremes. The one, that ſilly tormenting of themſelves, which devours their Spirits, deſtroys all their ſatisfaction, and flies out into tranſports of Fury and Rage. The other, that tame Negligence practiſed in the *Indies*, and ſome other Eaſtern Countries; where Wives uſe their utmoſt endeavours to advance the honour of their Husbands (which is there thought to conſiſt in the number of Wives and Miſtreſſes) or their ſatisfaction, or the increaſe of Poſterity, by turning Bawds and Procurers. This is a piece of ſervice, which I think they might very well be excuſed. But when all is done, the only cure for this Evil on both ſides, is ſuch an affectionate and diſcreet, ſuch a modeſt and reſerved Carriage, as ſhall miniſter no manner of occaſion for calling the fidelity of either Party into queſtion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Temperance, the fourth Cardinal Virtue.

Of Temperance in General.

1. TEmperance is capable of a double Signification: Sometimes it is taken in a general Senſe; for Moderation, and that Temper, which we commonly ſay ſhould be preſerved

ſerved in all manner of things whatſoever. In this comprehenſive Interpretation, it does not denote any one Virtue in particular, but the Complex of them all in common; and is that quality, which ſeaſons and gives a reliſh to good actions of every ſort. In this Latitude we are under perpetual obligations to it, but chiefly ſo, in thoſe matters, that admit of Controverſie; and engage us in Differences and Diſputes. For the due obſervance of it thus underſtood, there needs but this ſingle Direction, of laying aſide all perſonal and ſelf-ended Conſiderations, and make it our entire buſineſs to ſtick cloſe to our Duty. For all lawful and commendable Affections are temperate; Hatred, and Anger, and Cruelty, are exceſſes much beyond the limits of Juſtice and Duty; and are only ſecond-hand Remedies, neceſſary to be uſed upon them, who refuſe to be kept to their Duty by the power of Reaſon, and the ſofter arts of Perſwaſion.

But when this Term is uſed in a more reſtrained Signification, then it imports a check and regulation of things pleaſant and delightful to Senſe; and ſuch as our natural and carnal Appetites eagerly long after, and are gratified by. At preſent we extend it a little farther, for the Rule and Meaſure of a Man's Duty in all kinds of Proſperity, as Fortitude was ſaid to be in every ſort of Adverſity: So that Temperance ſupplies the place of a Bridle, and Fortitude that of a Spur; this checks our Career of Gayety, that quickened our ſluggiſh Fears, and rouzed us out of Deſpondency. With theſe two in Conjunction, we are able to manage that brutal, and reſtiff, and wild part of us, which conſiſts of the Paſſions; and ſhall not fail to demean our ſelves well and wiſely, in every condition, and change of Fortune: Which is in truth the very ſumm and ſubſtance of Wiſdom, and the very perfection I deſire my Reader ſhould aſpire to. 2.

The general Object then of Temperance, is all manner of Proſperity; every thing that is pleaſurable and gay, but eſpecially and more peculiarly Pleaſure, which this Virtue regulates and retrenches. All that part, which is ſuperfluous and unnatural, and vicious, it pares quite away; and that which is natural and neceſſary, it keeps within due meaſures. Thus we find it deſcribed by an Old Author, * *Pleaſures are* 3.

* Voluptatibus imperat, alias odit & abigit, alias diſpenſat, & ad ſanum modum redigit; nec unquam ad illas propter illas venit; ſcit optimum eſſe modum cupitorum, non quantum velis, ſed quantam debeas.

her Province and proper Dominion; over theſe ſhe preſides, and exerciſes her Coercive power. Some ſhe deteſts and utterly diſcards, others ſhe corrects and diſtributes in their juſt proportions. She never chooſes any meerly for their own ſakes, and the beſt meaſure of gratifying our Appetites ſhe declares to be, the taking not ſo much of any of theſe Objects, as we have an inclination to, but ſo much only as is fit for us. This is the authority and ſuperintendance of Reaſon over thoſe eager and violent Affections, which carry our Wills towards Pleaſures and ſenſual Delights. The curb of our Soul, the inſtrument to ſcumm off thoſe Ebullitions, which by the Heat and Intemperance of the Blood are apt to boyl over; that ſo the Mind may be preſerved uniform, and in conſiſtence with Reaſon: And not debaſe it ſelf, by ſubmitting, and accommodating its meaſures to ſenſible Objects, but preſerve its rightful Superiority; and force them to ſerve and ſute themſelves to the Dictates of the Mind. By this we wean our Souls from the childiſh delights of the World, and qualifie them for a more ſubſtantial and generous ſuſtenance. In ſhort, it is a Rule, that ſquares all things by the proportions of Nature, Neceſſity, Simplicity, Eaſe, Health, and Strength, and Hardineſs: For theſe are things that commonly go together, and they are the meaſures and bounds which Wiſdom ſets out. As on the other hand, Art, and Luxury, Superfluity, Variety, Multiplicity, Difficulty, Sickneſs, a weak and tender Conſtitution, bear one another company, and are the uſual attendants of Intemperance and Folly. * *The Neceſſaries of Life come cheap and eaſie, all the Labour and Toil is about the Delights and Entertainments of it. Nature intended we ſhould take up with ſuch things as ſhe hath made ready at hand; and deſigned to free us from trouble; but we have created it to our ſelves, and made Life one perpetual difficulty, by nauſeating and diſdaining every thing that is eaſie.*

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* Simplici curâ conſtant neceſſaria, in delicijs laboratur. Ad parata nati ſumus: nos omnia nobis difficilia facilium faſtidio facimus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of Prosperity, and Advice thereupon.

THat Prosperity, which comes to us leisurely and regularly, in the usual Course of the World, and a common concurrence of visible Causes and Effects, (as particularly by our own Industry, or Frugality, Prudence and good Management; or by eminent Accomplishments and Deserts) is abundantly more stable and safe, and less exposed to the Envy of other People; than that which drops, as it were, into a Man's mouth, and is let down from Heaven upon him, to the surprise of all that know him, and beyond the very utmost of his own most Sanguine hopes. 1.

Prosperity is a State of infinite hazard and danger: As soon as ever this fair Gale begins to blow, all that is light, and empty in the Soul, is immediately carried up with the breath of it. Nothing hath so pestilent an influence, to stupifie and ruin Men, and make them forget themselves: They perish, and are spoiled, like Corn born down by a full Ear, and Branches broke with excessive quantities of Fruit. And therefore it is necessary, a Man should be sensible what slippery ground he stands upon, and look to his steps accordingly; but especially he should beware, that he be not carried to Insolence and Contempt of others, Pride and Presumption with regard to himself. These are Vices so incident to Mankind, that the least Temptation will suffice for them. And as some People (according to the Proverb) will be drowned in two foot of Water; so there are some too, who upon the least smile of Fortune, swell and look big, scarce know themselves, and are intolerable to all their Acquaintance. Of all the Pictures of Folly, which the World can furnish us with, this seems to be drawn most like the Life. 2.

From the unsteadiness of Mind it is, that we are able to give a rational account, why Prosperity should be so very short and uncertain, as generally we find it. For Persons in this Condition are for the most part ill-advised, and this Inadvertency makes frequent and quick Revolutions; changes the Scene from Joy and Grandeur, to Calamity, and Sorrow, and Want; alienates the Affections of Providence; provokes Almighty God to take back again what Men make 3.

ſuch ill uſe of. To all which we may add the ſecret and undiſcernable Reaſons of his Diſpenſations, or, to expreſs the thing in a more ſecular Phraſe, that Inconſtancy of Fortune, which from a fond Mother changes her humour unaccountably to all the Severities of a cruel and curſed Stepmother.

4. Now the propereſt Advice upon this occaſion, is for a Man to reſtrain and moderate his Opinions and Affections of the good things of this World; not to eſteem them too highly, nor imagine himſelf one whit the better or the worſe Man, for the Enjoyment or the Want of them; and the natural Conſequence of this ſo low Valuation will be, not to deſire them with any degree of vehemence. If they fall to his Lot, to accept them as the Gift of a bountiful Maſter; and to ſerve him with them thankfully and cheerfully; but always to look upon theſe, as foreign and additional Advantages; no neceſſary, no inſeparable part of Life: Such as he might have been very well without, and ſuch, as, while he hath them, are not to be made any great account of, or ſuffered to change the temper of his Mind, either higher or lower. For, * *What Fortune hath made yours, is none of yours. He that will live ſafe and eaſie, muſt decline thoſe treacherous Baits, thoſe Limed twigs of Fortune. For what hath ſhe in her diſpoſal, worth engaging our deſires, or fixing our Heart and Hopes upon?*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Pleaſure, and Directions concerning it.

1. BY Pleaſure I underſtand a Perception, or Senſation of that which is agreeable to Nature; a delightful Motion or tickling of the Senſes; as, on the contrary, by Pain is meant ſome diſagreeable Senſation, which produces Sorrow, and is grievous to Nature. But thoſe Philoſophers, (as the Sect of the *Epicuræans* in particular,) who reſolved the chief Happineſs of Man into Pleaſure, and paid it greater Honour than we think fit to do, took it in another Signification, and

* Non eſt tuum fortuna quod fecit tuum. Qui tutam vitam agere volet iſta viſcata beneficia devitet, nil dignum putare quod ſperes. Quid dignum habet Fortuna, quod concupiſcas?

extended

extended the thing no farther than a privation of Grief or Uneaſineſs, ſuch as they thought fit to expreſs by Indolence. According to their notion, humane Nature was capable of riſing no higher, than the not being uneaſie. This is a ſort of middle State, a Neutrality between the firſt and vulgar acceptation of the Word, and Pain: And bears the ſame Proportion, with regard to this Life, which ſome Divines have thought *Abraham*'s Boſom does to the next; A Condition between the exquiſite Happineſs of Heaven, and the extreme Torments of Hell. 'Tis a ſweet and peaceable ſedateneſs of Body and Mind; an uniform, conſtant, and fixed Pleaſure; which carries ſome reſemblance to that *Euthymia*, or tranquility of Soul, which other Philoſophers eſteemed our chief Good: Whereas the other is an active and ſenſible Pleaſure, full of vigorous and ſprightly motion. At this rate, there would be three diſtinct Conditions, of which Mankind are capable; two in extremes, Pleaſure and Pain; which are neither ſtable nor durable, but both of them ſickly, and in exceſs; the Mean between them firm, and ſound, healthful and permanent; to which the *Epicureans* attributed the name of Pleaſure, (and ſuch indeed it is, when compared with Pain) and placed the ſupreme happineſs of our Nature in it. This unhappy Name brought that general ſcandal upon their Sect, which the oppoſite Parties of Philoſophers inſult over with ſo much Pomp and Triumph. For after all, (as *Seneca* with great Ingenuity confeſſes,) there was no hurt but in the Name; no offence, but what was meerly Titular; for to thoſe who will be at the pains of a nice Examination into their Lives and Manners, it will appear, that none ever advanced Doctrines of ſtricter Sobriety, none were greater Enemies to Vice and all manner of Debauchery, none more diſtant from thoſe Reproaches to a rational Soul, than the Men of this Profeſſion. Nor indeed was it without a fair appearance of Reaſon, that they gave this name of Pleaſure to that ſo much exalted Indolence of theirs. For this Titillation of the Senſe comes at laſt to this, and ſeems to make it the ultimate end and aim of all the more feeling ſatisfactions we find in it; as for inſtance, the delight we find in Meats and Drinks, pretends to nothing more, than to deliver us from that torture and thoſe eager cravings, which Hunger and Thirſt had brought upon us; and, by ſatisfying the Appetite, to place us in a Condition of Eaſe and Repoſe, till the ſame Wants return again upon us.

2. The learned World have behaved themſelves very differently upon this occaſion. They have determined very peremptorily on both ſides, and, (as is uſual, with hot and poſitive People,) have both over-ſhot the Mark: Some have perfectly adored Pleaſure, and exalted it into a Deity; others pretend the greateſt Deteſtation of it, and expoſe it for a Monſter: They ſtart and tremble at the very Name, and cannot allow it to import any thing but what is full of Guilt, and a Scandal to humane Nature. Thoſe who condemn it without more ado, proceed to Sentence upon theſe following Conſiderations. They tell you, that it is, Firſt, a ſhort and tranſitory Enjoyment, a fire of Thorns, kindled and extinct in a moment, eſpecially if it be vigorous and exquiſite; for in proportion as you add to the Degree, ſo much you take off from the duration of it. Secondly, That it is a nice and tender thing, the leaſt Accident corrupts and embitters it; that a drop of Pain will ſowr an ocean of Pleaſure. Thirdly, That it is mean and baſe, attended with ſhame, and attained by thoſe parts of our Body, which Nature hath placed out of ſight, as if ſhe were out of Countenance at the gratifying our own Inclinations. This however is true but of ſome Pleaſures; for there are ſome, which affect Pomp and Oſtentation. Fourthly, That we are quickly cloyed with it. Men are formed in ſuch a manner, that their Conſtitutions will not bear the long continuance of any exalted Pleaſure. There is a certain Impatience attends it, and we ſoon grow weary of what we moſt eagerly deſired but juſt before. Whereas, on the contrary, Nature hath made us hard and tough, and able to weather out very long Pains, as hath been obſerved formerly: This ſhort Pleaſure too, is often followed by long Remorſe; it produces monſtrous Miſchiefs, and is more fruitful in nothing, than in the ruin of ſingle Perſons, and Families, and whole Countries. But the fault they inſiſt moſt upon, is, That, when Men are moſt intent upon gratifying it, it does ſo entirely poſſeſs and tyrannize over them, that it uſurps the whole Man, and will not ſo much as admit Reaſon to interpoſe, or ſhare in the Entertainment.

3. On the other hand, the Advocates of Pleaſure plead not guilty to this Indictment, and alledge in defence of their Cauſe; That Pleaſure is natural, created by Almighty God himſelf, and contrived for the good of the World, made ſubſervient to the Preſervation and continuance of his Creatures; Nature, which is the Parent of Pleaſure, ſeems convinced

vinced of its neceſſity, in that all the actions, by which Life is ſuſtained, are ſeaſoned with, and recommended by it. And yet all Philoſophy hath allowed, that the way to live well, is to follow the Dictates of Nature. God placed Man, during the ſtate of Innocence, in a place and condition richly, furniſhed with vaſt variety of Delights: And the very name given by *Moſes* to Paradiſe, is in the Hebrew Language *Pleaſure*: And not only ſo, but, if we raiſe our Eyes and Thoughts above this World to the higheſt perfection, which Religion bids us aſpire after. What are the felicities of the Saints above, but a laſting, and uninterrupted Series of Pleaſure? *They ſhall be filled with the Pleaſures of thy Houſe, and thou ſhalt give them Drink out of thy Pleaſures, as out of the River*, ſays the Pſalmiſt, when he would deſcribe the Satisfactions of the holieſt Men. Theſe, I confeſs, do not mean thoſe groſs and carnal Satisfactions, which this Term is abuſively made to denote; but it ought not by any means to be confined within that compaſs, as if nothing that is truly generous and great could be intended by it. Theſe things ought to be included, when we ſpeak in vindication of Pleaſure; and the other have no reaſon to be diſdained, when regulated by Equity and Reaſon. And, accordingly we find, that the moſt renowned Philoſophers, and acknowledged patterns of Virtue, ſuch as *Zeno*, *Cato*, *Scipio*, *Epaminondas*, *Plato*, and the Immortal *Socrates* himſelf, did not think it below them to taſt the Comforts and Diverſions of Life; nay, deſcended ſo far, as even to Diſcourſe, and write Tracts of thoſe, which ſome now by an affected nicety, pretend to accuſe, (as you have heard,) and would in their mighty, but miſtaken zeal for Virtue, fain baniſh out of the World, under the odious Character of Pleaſures of Senſe. *Eden.*

4. Since therefore Wiſe Men have been ſo much divided in their Opinions upon this Subject, it will be neceſſary for us to proceed cautiouſly; and to diſtinguiſh theſe Pleaſures into their ſeveral ſorts; without which we ſhall never be able to come to any juſt and true Reſolution of the Caſe ariſing hereupon; nor ſatisfie our ſelves, which are lawful Pleaſures, or how far any are ſo. Firſt then, we muſt take notice, that ſome Pleaſures are natural, and others unnatural; This Diſtinction being of all the reſt moſt important to our preſent purpoſe, will be conſidered more particularly by and by. Some again are pompous, and ſhowy, nice and difficult; others are ſilent and ſecret, eaſie and ready at hand. Pleaſure is not ambitious of Splendor and Obſervation, but eſteems

eſteems her own ſolitary Enjoyments, Wealth enough, without concerning her ſelf what other People think of her; and enjoys her ſelf more in Retirement, than in the eye of the World. Thoſe again, that are ſo very eaſie, as to be always at our command, grow flat, and nauſeous, and loſe all their reliſh, except there be now and then a little Uneaſieneſs or Obſtruction, to ſet an edge upon our Appetite. There are likewiſe ſpiritual, and corporeal Pleaſures: The ground of which Diſtinction is not any real Separation capable of being made between them; for Pleaſure of every kind affects the whole Man; and extends to every part of the Compoſition; and one part hath not any one reſentment peculiar to it ſelf, which the other does not likewiſe ſhare in; nor can have while this intimate Union of Soul and Body continues the preſent Life to us. But that which is the true foundation of this Diſtinction, is, that there are ſome Sentiments, which affect the Mind, more than they do the Body, and may therefore very fitly be called manly Pleaſures; as being more proper to us, better ſuited to our Faculties and powers of Perception, than they are to thoſe of Beaſts; And, as they are more worthy in reſpect of the Faculties they are commenſurate to, ſo are they likewiſe more ſteady and durable. Such, for inſtance, are thoſe Satisfactions, which enter at our Eyes, and Ears; for theſe two Senſes are the Doors of the Soul, and the Objects they receive, only paſs through there, in their way to the Soul; which entertains, feeds upon, and digeſts them, and finds long Refreſhments and Delights from them. But the Body taſts but a very little part of theſe Satisfactions: Others again, the Body ingroſſes almoſt wholly to it ſelf; ſuch as thoſe of the Touch, and the Taſte; which are more material, and of a courſer Compoſition: Such as Brutes keep us Company in. And ſuch Pleaſures are received, performed, and finiſhed, by the Body, and its Organs. The Mind hath no other advantage in them, than by Reflection only; and what muſt needs belong to it, while it continues an aſſiſtant and Companion to the Body. And theſe are ſhort, and tranſient, the crackling of Thorns, the flaſh of a Meteor; born, and bred up, and dead in a moment.

5. Now the main thing we are concerned to know upon this occaſion, is, how it will become us to behave our ſelves in the fruition and government of our Pleaſures. This is the Leſſon, that Philoſophy pretends to teach, and the particular difficulty Temperance makes proviſion againſt. And here firſt,

firſt, we ought to put a very great difference between natural, and unnatural Pleaſures: By the unnatural, I do not underſtand thoſe only, which are contrary to Nature, and ſuch uſages as the Laws have eſtabliſhed and approved; but even thoſe which are the moſt natural of all others, are comprehended under this Title, in caſe they degenerate, and run out into Superfluity and great Exceſſes. For theſe things are not within the Verge of Nature, for She concerns her ſelf no farther, than meerly to ſupply our Neceſſities and real Wants, which (however) we have leave to enlarge a little, and that we may not complain of ſcanty meaſure, are free to conſult Convenience and common Decency. For Example, it is a natural Pleaſure, to be ſheltered by a good tight Houſe, and to have our Nakedneſs covered with good warm Cloaths; for theſe ſecure our Perſons from Wind and Weather, and bitter pinching Blaſts; and are ſome defence againſt the attempts of wicked Villains. But now, that thoſe Cloaths ſhould be of Tiſſue or Embroidery, or that Houſe built of Jaſper and Porphyry; this there is no occaſion for, and the ſatisfaction which would reſult from their being ſuch, is not any natural Pleaſure. Again, they may be unnatural, if they do not come to us in the way, and method of Nature; as, if they are ſought with Anxiety and Induſtry, procured by Artifice, prepared by Medicines, or any other Stratagems of humane device and invention, to create, to heighten, to force, either the Appetite, or the Pleaſure by which it is gratified. So they are likewiſe, when formed and beaten out originally in the Mind, by the ſtrength of imagination, or the violence of Paſſion, and ſo are afterwards communicated to the Body; which is juſt inverting the order of Nature: For the uſual Courſe is, that Pleaſure ſhould begin in the Body, and from thence paſs on to the Mind. And indeed, as that Laughter, which is forced by Tickling, is not natural nor pleaſant, but rather a convulſion and violence upon Nature; ſo that Pleaſure, which is courted, and induſtriouſly contrived, kindled up firſt in the Soul, and from thence deſcending to the Body, is not a regular and natural Pleaſure.

Now the firſt Rule, which Wiſdom would preſcribe with regard to Pleaſures, is, to condemn, and utterly abandon all the Unnatural, as Vicious, and Spurious; and to allow and entertain ſuch as are Natural. For, as thoſe who come to a Feaſt without any invitation, ſhould be turned home again; ſo thoſe Pleaſures, that obtrude themſelves upon us, without 6.

even

even being bidden by Nature, are to be looked upon as Buſie-bodies and Smell-feaſts, and either denied entrance, or thruſt out of Doors again. But neither may we think our ſelves at liberty, to entertain the true Gueſts as we pleaſe, for even theſe muſt be treated by Rule, and with Moderation. And thus you have the Duty and Buſineſs of Temperance in general laid before you at once; The whole of which may be reduced to theſe two good Offices; excluding all unnatural Pleaſures, and regulating thoſe that are natural.

7. Now the Regulation of natural Pleaſures will depend upon the due Obſervance of theſe three Rules.

Firſt, That whatever we indulge our ſelves in, be no way Offenſive, or Scandalous, Injurious or Prejudicial to any other Perſon. For where any of theſe is the plain and natural Conſequence of the thing, we muſt forbid our ſelves the fruition of it, and ſeek out ſome more innocent and unexceptionable Entertainments.

Secondly, That this Liberty be not to a Man's own Prejudice, by impairing his Health, caſting a Blemiſh upon his Reputation, devouring his Time, encroaching upon his Duty, or being diſagreeable and unbecoming his Office and Character in the World.

Thirdly, That even thoſe, which are clear of all the former Inconveniencies, be taken in due meaſure and proportion; and our Affections moderated with regard to them. As we are not to act againſt the grain in all we do, ſo neither muſt we lay any of thoſe things which are moſt with it, too cloſe to our Hearts; we ſhould neither court our Pleaſures, nor run away from them; neither be averſe to them, nor doatingly fond of them: But take their Sweets, as we do that of Honey; a drop or two upon the Tip of our Finger, not lay it in by whole handfulls; not engage too deep in them, I mean, nor make them our Buſineſs, and the main deſign of Life; much leſs intoxicate and loſe our ſelves in them. For theſe are additional Comforts, Recreations and Diverſions only, to render our Continuance here eaſie, and give us a better reliſh of Life; to refreſh and recruit our Spirits, and ſuſtain them under the Fatigues of a troubleſome World: As Sleep is intended to make us forget our cares a while, and inſpire us with new vigour; that we may return to our work again, and be more ſprightly and freſh in Buſineſs. In a word, they are made to uſe, and not to live upon. But eſpecially, we ought to be very vigilant, and

and guard our ſelves ſtrictly, againſt their deceitful Inſinuations: For many of them are bought at too dear a rate, and do us more hurt, than all their ſatisfactions can ever compenſate. They leave a Sting behind, and create laſting Remorſe, and great Diſquiets of Heart: And this is done after a very ſubtle and treacherous manner. They put themſelves forward, and amuſe and cheat us by ſome preſent Gratifications, but hide the Hook that lies under this Bait. They put on the Face of Friends to cover their murderous Intentions; careſs and embrace us with a ſeeming tender Affection, but hug us ſo cloſe with a deſign to ſtrangle us. Thus the Pleaſures of Intemperance go before the Pains and ſick Qualms of it; and thus do the generality of thoſe Delights, which heat of Youth is ſo prone to, and plunges it ſelf ſo unwarily in. Then we venture in over head and ears, but when we are drowned in them, the Infirmities of Old Age ſucceed; and then they forſake us quite, and leave a miſerable Spectacle behind them, as the tide of Ebb does its Nuiſances and Carkaſſes upon the Shore. The delicious Morſels, which were ſwallowed ſo greedily, turn to Gall and Choler upon our oppreſſed Stomachs, and end in Repentance, and bitter Reflections. And the Dregs of our foul and polluted Enjoyments ſtick faſt to our Souls, and, by their poyſonous corroding quality, infect and corrupt our Diſpoſitions, and ſettle into ill habits, and inveterate Diſeaſes.

Now, as Moderation and Regularity in our Pleaſures, is a moſt decent and beautiful, a moſt uſeful and profitable thing, agreeable to the Laws of God, the deſign of Nature, and the dictates of Reaſon: So on the contrary, Extravagance and Exceſſes of all ſorts are odious and deformed, hateful to God and Man, and the moſt deſtructive that can be, both to the publick Good, and Men's own private Intereſt. Pleaſure unduly taken ſoftens and enervates the Soul, enervates and preys upon the Body, makes Fools of the Wiſe, and Cowards of the Brave. What a lamentable inſtance of this was *Hannibal*, whoſe Courage was more broken by the Luxuries of *Capua*, than by the rugged Paſſes of the *Alpes*, or all the Efforts of the *Roman* Armies? This gave occaſion for the *Lacedæmonians*, who denounced open War againſt all manner of Effeminacy, to be called *Men*; and the *Athenians*, who were ſoft, and delicate in their way of Living, to be reproached with the Nick-name of *Women*. When *Xerxes* undertook to puniſh the City of *Babylon* for a Revolt

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Revolt they had made, and to ſecure himſelf againſt any danger that might come from that Quarter for the future: The Method he took, was to bring all the Exerciſe of Arms, and other laborious and fatiguing Practices into Diſuſe; and to let looſe all manner of Pleaſures and ſenſual Delights among them, with free Liberty for every Man to revel in theſe without Check or Controul.

Secondly, It baniſhes all the braveſt and moſt Heroick Virtues from the Mind, where it hath taken poſſeſſion; for theſe are ſerious and ſevere, conſiderate and hardy, and cannot be endured by a Maſter of ſo contrary a Temper; nor indeed were it poſſible for them to live under ſo effeminate and diſſolute, ſo careleſs and unthinking a Government.

Thirdly, It quickly degenerates, and ſinks into its contrary Sentiment, which is Pain and Uneaſineſs, Diſlike and Remorſe. As the Freſhes run apace to the Sea, and loſe the ſweetneſs of their native Rivers, in Tides of Salt Water. Thus the honey of Pleaſure in the Mouth, upbraids the Eater, and turns to the Gall of Pain upon the Stomach. * *All exquiſite Pleaſure ſtands upon a tickliſh point, and all its generous Taſte is upon the turn; ſowrs, and changes, and is ſwallowed up in Pain; the very moment it riſes to exceſſive Joy, Grief dwells upon the confines, and one ſtep beyond its own bounds, brings you into this troubleſome Neighbours ground.*

Laſtly, It is the Seminary of all manner of Miſchief, and final Ruin. This is the Lure to draw us in, and when we are once in, we ſtick at nothing: This is the conveyer of ſecret Intelligences, the betrayer of Councils and Truſts, the contriver of Treaſons, and under-hand Deſigns againſt the Peace and Safety of Mankind. In ſhort, the love of Pleaſure ruins private Perſons by Prodigality and Injuſtice, diſhonours and ſtains whole Families by Debauchery, and ſhameleſs Lewdneſs: Propagates Diſeaſes, and entails Beggary upon Children yet unborn; corrupts publick Juſtice; murder's Kings, overturns Governments, and ſcatters Confuſion and Miſery over the face of the whole Earth. Thus much may be moſt juſtly ſaid of Pleaſure in general, which being now ſufficiently enlarged upon, we will proceed to conſider the ſeveral kinds of it in particular.

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* In præcipiti eſt, ad dolorem vergit, in contrarium abit, niſi modum teneat: Extrema gaudii luctus occupat.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of Eating and Drinking, Abſtinence and Sobriety.

THe true deſign of Meat and Drink is Nouriſhment: To ſuſtain the Infirmities, and repair the continual decays of the Body; and a moderate, natural, and agreeable uſe of them ſatisfies and maintains it, makes it a ſerviceable inſtrument for the Mind; whereas on the contrary, all unnatural Exceſſes weaken and overwhelm it, draw on grievous and noiſome Diſeaſes, which are the juſt and natural Puniſhments of Intemperance. * *Health is a plain and ſimple thing, and requires a cauſe of the ſame kind to produce it: Diſtempers are many and various, and nothing contributes more to them, than variety of Diſhes, and high Feeding.* When Men complain of their Head for ſo many troubleſome Defluxions, and thoſe Humours which fall upon the Vitals, and lays the foundations of the moſt dangerous Diſeaſes, they ſhould do well to remember, how juſtly the Brain might return upon them, that old ſaying, † *Do you give over pouring in, and I will give over pouring out.* While we are perpetually filling the Veſſel, how is it poſſible it ſhould not over-flow? But alas! theſe Conſiderations are now grown quite out of faſhion. Exceſs and Pomp, Variety and nice Cookery, are come into Reputation. We have learnt to eſteem our Meals, and to meaſure our welcome, by the number of Diſhes, the different ſorts of Meats, the height of the Sawces, and the ſuperfluity of the Entertainment. Nay, ſo prodigious is our Vanity, that after we have ſet more before our Friends, than can be wholeſome for them to taſte of, or fit for us to ſpend, we make ſolemn Excuſes for our want of Proviſion, and are ſorry we have nothing better to receive them with. 1.

How exceeding prejudicial, both to a Man's Body and his Mind, full Meals, and the jumbling ſeveral ſorts of Meat together, Curioſities and *Qualques Choſes*, and high Dreſſing are, every one might eaſily be convinced by his own Experience. Gluttony and Drunkenneſs are groſs and paltry Vices; they 2.

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* Simplex ex ſimplici cauſâ valetudo; multos morbos, ſupplicia Luxuriæ, multa fercula fecerunt.

† Deſine fundere, & ego deſinam fluere.

diſcover

diſcover themſelves, and ſufficiently publiſh their own Shame in the Countenances and Geſtures of the Perſons addicted to them. The beſt and leaſt forbidding whereof is a dozed, and heavy look; and indeed, the beſt Quality ſuch Men can have, is to be ſtupid and dull too. For certain it is, no Man yet, who is a ſlave to his Belly, was ever capable of doing any glorious or conſiderable Action. And, generally ſpeaking, we find them trifling and inſignificant Fellows, if not down right Beaſts and Sots. But Drunkenneſs eſpecially hath theſe curſed Effects, and puſhes Men upon the baſeſt, the moſt extravagant, and unaccountable actions in the World. Of which *Alexander* is a miſerable Inſtance, though otherwiſe a wonderful Prince; who in heat of Wine killed his old dear Friend *Clytus*, and when he came to be ſober; had like to have killed himſelf in Revenge. In ſhort, what can be ſaid bad enough of a Vice that robs the Mind of Underſtanding, and the Body of Sence; makes grown People Children again, and Men of Wit mere Naturals, and driveling Fools?

3. Sobriety therefore, which preſerves us from theſe nauſeous and deteſtable Exceſſes, deſerves our good Eſteem for its Effects at leaſt. For although it be none of the moſt exalted Virtues, nor exceeding difficult to be maſtered, by Men of any tolerable Senſe, yet it leads the way to ſeveral other Virtues, and promotes many excellent Qualities. It chokes and crops our Vices in the very Bud, and intercepts the Proviſions, by which they ſhould ſubſiſt. It is the Mother of Health, and the beſt Phyſick for all manner of Diſeaſes; and the moſt probable inſurer of long Life. *Socrates* owed the vigorous and confirmed Health he enjoyed purely to Abſtemiouſneſs. *Maſiniſſa*, who was a Pattern of it to all Kings of after Ages, begot Children at Fourſcore and Six years Old, and won a Battel of the *Carthaginians* at Ninety Two. Whereas *Alexander*, who had naturally one of the beſt and ſtrongeſt Conſtitutions of any Man that ever lived, killed himſelf with Drinking in the very Flower of his Age. Several Perſons (as *Atticus* particularly) who have been given over by Phyſicians, of the Gout, and other Diſtempers, looked upon to be incurable, have been perfectly recovered by Abſtinence, and a ſparing regular Diet. And what can we deſire more for the Body, than a long, and a healthful Life? What can recommend any Virtue to Men fond of the World, if this will not? But then it is of equal advantage to the Soul too. For by this means our Heads are kept clear

clear and unclouded, our Faculties awake and ſprightly, we are capable of thinking, and fit to be adviſed. All the very great Men in Story have been particularly eminent for their Sobriety; not only Philoſophers, and ſuch as made pretenſions to a ſtrict and ſeverer Virtue, but all that have been Excellent, and whoſe Names live upon Record, for any ſort of Greatneſs whatſoever. Such were *Cyrus*, and *Cæſar*, the Emperour *Julian*, and *Mahomet*. Such was *Epicurus* too, who, though a profeſt admirer of Pleaſure, and run down as a Scandal to Philoſophy for eſpouſing it, was yet famous for theſe abſtemious Virtues, above any of his Accuſers. The *Curij* and *Fabricij* are more celebrated in the *Roman* Hiſtory for their frugality and ſimplicity of Diet, than for the greateſt and moſt glorious Conqueſts they ever won. And though the *Lacedæmonians* wanted neither Courage, nor Succeſs, nor a Reputation equal to both, yet the Character they valued themſelves upon, and pretended moſt to, was that of ſtrict Diſcipline, Frugality and Sobriety.

4. Now this is a Virtue which muſt be fallen in love with betimes; Youth is the proper time for embracing it; while it can be called a Virtue; while we have more opportunities of gratifying our Appetite; and while that Appetite is keener too. For how wretched is it, how ridiculous, to take Sanctuary here in our old Age, when we have made our ſelves living Hoſpitals, and are all over Aches and Pains? This is a folly, like that obſerved in the *Athenians.*; who are ſaid never to have asked a Peace, but in Mourning Weeds, for their Friends and Relations ſlain in Battel; when all their Men of Note were loſt, and they no longer in a condition to defend themſelves. This is what our *Engliſh* Proverb calls * *Shutting the Stable-door when the Steed is ſtollen; and turning good Husbands, when we have brought our Noble to Ninepence.*

5. It will be very adviſeable, not to uſe our ſelves to delicious and artificial Meats, for fear our Body ſhould by degrees come to reliſh no other, and ſuffer for the want of them. For in truth, theſe make our Appetites humourſome, and give us both a falſe Hunger, and a deceitful Nouriſhment. Theſe may feed our Diſeaſes and ill Humours, but the plainer and courſer our Diet, the truer ſtrength and more kindly Nouriſhment it imparts. Theſe therefore we ſhall do

* Sera in fundo parſimonia.

well to accuſtom our Palates to, if we would ſecure our Eaſe and Health: For they are eaſie and every where to be had; and ſo our deſires are not like to be diſappointed when we want, and they are alſo lighteſt of digeſtion and moſt agreeable to Nature when we have them.

CHAP. XL.

Of Luxury and Exceſs in Apparel, and their contrary Virtues, Frugality and Modeſty.

1. CLoathing was obſerved in the beginning of this Treatiſe, to have been none of thoſe things which are natural and neceſſary, nor to have been originally in uſe with Mankind; But it is meerly artificial, invented for our convenience, and in requeſt with no other Creature in the World. Now it is uſual with all Inventions to increaſe and multiply; every day refines and improves them ſtill more, till at laſt there is no end of their Variety. Multiplicity is the certain Character of Art, as Simplicity is of Nature. The conſequence then of Apparel being Artificial, is that it runs into infinite Fantaſtical forms, and differs in proportion to People's Fanſies and Humours. Accordingly we find, that the greater part of Tradeſmen and Handicrafts Men deal in ſuch Commodities and Manufactures as are converted to the defence and ornament of the Body. But it were well if this only were regarded; for from hence they are come to ſuch Extravagancies and Abuſes, that our Garments are no longer a covering to our Defects, and a ſupply to our Neceſſities, but a neſt of Vanity and Vice *. Theſe are the great occaſion of Quarrels and Diſputes; for the diſtinction of property ſeems to have begun in this point: When things were moſt in common, every Man had a peculiar title to the Cloths he wore, which is intimated by the *French* Language in particular, expreſſing all manner of Rapine, by *Stripping*, *Dérober*; and the *Engliſh* Word *Robbing*, is very probably an Alluſion to the ſame thing.

2. This Vice hath always been moſt remarkable in the Female Sex, and if it be not entirely theirs, the Scandal is the greater to thoſe Men who deſcend ſo low: For there is not in the whole World a ſurer ſign of a poor and little Soul,

* Nidus Luxuriæ.

than

than this ſtriving to recommend ones ſelf, and gain reſpect by ſuch deſpicable means as Dreſs and Rich Cloths: None will inſiſt, none depend upon theſe Ornaments but they who have no other. How wretched a thing is it to conſider the Care and Coſt laid out upon Luxury and Shew, and the general neglect of thoſe ſhining Habits of the Mind; that Virtue, that Bravery which ſhould enable us to make a beautiful Appearance, and ſet us off in real and ſolid Excellences? The *Lacedæmonians* prohibited any but common Women to wear gay and ſumptuous Cloths; this was lookt upon as the mark to diſtinguiſh ſuch infamous people by; but the Ladies of Reputation deſired to be known by their ſevere Honour and ſhining Virtues.

Now the true and lawful uſe of Apparel is to keep out 37
Wind and Weather, and all other ſeverities and inconveniences, which our Bodies would ſuffer by being expoſed to the open Air: And it is a great fault to divert the thing from this to other vain and Sinful purpoſes. In order to anſwering their proper end it is plain, Clothes need not, they ought not to be expenſive; for the richer they are, the leſs are they qualified to defend and ſecure our eaſe: But then ſome regard muſt be had to Decency too, and diſtinction of Qualities; all which may be done with Gravity and frugality, obſerving the juſt medium * between affected Slovenlineſs and effeminate Nicety. *Caligula* made himſelf ridiculous by the ſoftneſs and Fantaſticalneſs of his Habit; and *Auguſtus* was as much admired and commended for the Modeſty and Gravity of his.

CHAP. XLI.

Of Temperance with reſpect to Carnal Pleaſure; which is, Chaſtity, or Continency.

COntinency is a Virtue of very difficult Practice, and 1
requires an exceeding ſtrong and vigilant guard over our ſelves: For all our perfections of this kind are ſo many violences upon nature and inclination, which are not in any caſe to be withſtood without much Toil and Painfulneſs, and very obſtinate Reſolutions, but in this before us eſpeci-

* Nec affectatæ ſordes, nec exquiſitæ munditiæ.

ally; becauſe here the propenſions to Vice ſeem to be ſtrongeſt, and the Sollicitations to it more frequent and importunate than in any other inſtance whatſoever.

2. But ſtill the greater the difficulty of this Conqueſt is, the greater is its Commendation, and the more juſt and glorious its Triumph. And very neceſſary it is, that every Man ſhould rally his Forces and engage manfully in this War with himſelf. Continency is allowed no poſitive Virtue, and imports no more than a Man's governing and reſtraining himſelf ſo far as not to act contrary to his Duty. It produces no fruit, but conſiſts in privation and a forbearing to act; and therefore Virginity muſt always imply Barrenneſs. This is the caſe of Continency conſidered abſtractedly and in its own nature, which at this rate is of no higher a Claſs in the ſcale of Virtues than the abſtaining from Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, or any other ſort of Vicious Exceſs. But if we conſider it in a Chriſtian and more exalted Senſe, then it imports a great deal more: for thus there are two concurring Qualifications which make it a very noble Virtue; the one is a ſettled purpoſe to continue in it pure and unblemiſhed, with a Chaſt Mind and mortified Affections, no leſs than a Body holy and undefiled: The other, that this be done for Religious and Excellent ends, to gain greater advantages of becoming Singular, and exemplary in Piety and all manner of goodneſs. For (as St. *Auguſtin* ſays,) *It is not the Single State that we commend in Virgins, but their Abandoning the World, and Conſecrating their Souls and Bodies entirely to God:* Witneſs the Veſtals of Old, and the Five Fooliſh Virgins in the Parable, whoſe Celibacy ſtood them in no ſtead at all. And here I obſerve by the way, how Abſurd a Vanity and Popular an Errour that is, which in common ſpeech calls the Ladies who have no blemiſh upon their Reputation, and who either are Chaſt in the Single Life or Faithful in the Married one; Women of great Virtues and great Honour. Honour! For what? Is Honour ſunk ſo low, that the meer not doing evil and not violating one's Duty in the moſt Scandalous inſtance muſt pretend to that name? Why do we not by the ſame Reaſon ſtyle thoſe Men of Honour who are under the ſame Circumſtances? Nay, there would indeed be more Reaſon for this than the other, becauſe the manner of the World puts more Opportunities of offending in theſe reſpects, and expoſes Men to ſtronger Temptations, than Women are liable to. But in truth, Honour is ſo far from being a Recompence due to the

the abſtaining from evil, that it is not every ſort of good, which when punctually performed can lay claim to it; but (as was ſaid before) thoſe kinds and degrees of good only which bring advantage to the World, and which, beſides their being beneficial, have coſt great toil and trouble, and been atchieved with conſiderable difficulty and danger.

But beſides; how few of theſe Continent perſons arrive even at a common and very practicable Virtue? How many of them do we find ſcandalouſly tainted with other Vices, and making up for this ſelf-denial by indulgences to ſome more darling Humour or Paſſion? Particularly, how exceeding few are there who eſcape the Temptations to Vanity and Preſumption, and Spiritual Pride, and while they take marvellous Content in their own perfections are very liberal in their Cenſures and Condemnations of other People? Does not experience frequently convince us, how very dear ſome Husbands pay for the Fidelity of their Wives; who while they diſpoſſeſs the Devil in one part of their Souls and preſerve their Honour entire, do yet erect a Throne for him, and let him reign Triumphant in another? If then this Virtue beget inſolence and Malice, Cenſoriouſneſs and Imperious Pride, it is like to turn at laſt but to very poor account. And thus clogged will very ill deſerve the name of Virtue, whatever it might be allowed otherwiſe: Not that I am over ſcrupulous, or would ſtand with the Sex for a Complement; and therefore, provided the flattering them with this title of Honour, will contribute any thing to the making them more tender of it, and encourage the Modeſty and Decency becoming their Sex and Condition, I ſhall be content to promote the diſcharge of their Duty at any rate, though it be by ſtraining a point to gratifie an uſeful Vanity. But to return; It is likewiſe obſervable, that Incontinency when ſimply and ſtrictly conſidered, like other faults which are what we call Corporeal, and tending to gratifie the Carnal inclinations of Humane nature, hath no mighty Malignity in its own ſingle ſelf; (it being only an exceſs of what is natural and not contrary to Humane nature,) but then there is a train of vices ſo black and hideous attending it, and ſome or more of them ſo inſeparable from it, that the danger of being entangled in thoſe ſnares is infinite, and the conſequence very fatal: For this is one of thoſe ſins that never go alone, but is accompanied with other Devils more and more wicked than it ſelf; tainted with baſe and villainous circumſtances of perſons and places, and times

prohibited and unpardonable; Intrigues carried on, and beaſtly ſatisfactions contrived by the wickedeſt methods; Lyes and Tricks, and all manner of Deceit; Subornation and Forſwearing, and Treachery; to all which we may add that which is by no means inconſiderable; the loſs of Time, the diſtraction of Thought, the interruption of Buſineſs, and other unbecoming Follies, which draw very great and juſt Scandals, and inſupportable miſchiefs after them.

3. Now becauſe this Vice hath every Quality that can render an Enemy formidable, ſince it is both violent and deceitful, and attacks us at once with open force and ſecret ſtratagems, our Care muſt likewiſe be double; Firſt to arm and prepare our ſelves for the Combat, and then to watch diligently the approaches, obſerve its Feints, and be well aware of thoſe baits and wheedling Inſinuations which are laid on purpoſe to decoy us into Ambuſhments and Ruine: And the more theſe inclinations ſooth and cajole us, the more ſuſpicious we muſt be, and turn the deaf Ear to their flattering importunities. Among other Conſiderations therefore fit to be oppoſed to ſuch Temptations, theſe that follow may not be improper to reflect upon: That another perſon's Beauty is nothing at all to us, what we can never call or make our own; That it is no certain happineſs even to them who have it, but turns as often to their prejudice, and is at leaſt equally diſpoſed to do ſo as to their Advantage: That in ſhort, it is a flower always withering and in decay; a very ſmall and fanciful thing, little elſe but the outward skin, nay leſs than that, the Colour and Complection of it only; And therefore, if in this we would admire the delicacy and skill of nature let us prize it here, as we are wont to do thoſe much more aſtoniſhing Beauties of the Sun and Moon, for their Excellencies and the good influences they ſhed. When we enjoy this Beauty, and have made it our own property by fair and honeſt means, let us even then remember that this is a very low and mean ſatisfaction, ſo far from being peculiar to the dignity of Humane nature, that Brutes all partake and are moſt of them ſuppoſed to exceed us in it; That the immoderate uſe of Pleaſure waſtes the Body, ſoftens and effeminates the Soul, enfeebles and darkens the underſtanding: That a world of people have fallen miſerable Sacrifices to their inordinate Luſts, ſome in the loſs of their Lives, others of their Fortunes, and others of their Senſes, but the Reputations murdered by it are innumerable. Conſider again, that there is more honour, nay, I will add more

pleaſure

pleaſure too, in vanquiſhing theſe deſires than in complying with them. And all the tranſports of fruition are flat and dull, nauſeous and inſipid, in compariſon of thoſe raviſhing ſatisfactions which overflow in our Souls, when we have gained a virtuous and noble Conqueſt over our ſelves. And this is the general Senſe of Sober Mankind; for there is no one Action in the Life of *Alexander* or *Scipio*, in which their Hiſtorians ſo juſtly glory, as that of the treatment they gave to their beautiful Captives, and the tenderneſs for their Honour, which the Fortune of War was generally thought a privilege to violate. This Continency and Conqueſt of themſelves is more highly commended than all their ſucceſſes, and hath more engaging Charms than the faireſt of their Priſoners could ever boaſt of. Theſe I ſay, are Conſiderations pertinent and proper enough, but it cannot be expected they ſhould have a conſtant efficacy: For this Vice abounds with Sophiſtry and cunning, and as it will not be reaſoned with ſometimes, ſo at other times it will not be ſafe to go about it; And therefore in caſes of violent Aſſaults, the beſt courſe will be to betake our ſelves to our heels and get looſe from the Temptation. And it is very obſervable, that the Holy Ghoſt which bids us in all ordinary caſes *Reſiſt the Devil*, with a promiſe *that he ſhall flee from us*; yet when he mentions *Youthful Luſts*, the advice is, that *we would flee from them*. Debates as well as delays are dangerous here, the Cauſe muſt be referred to a Judge under ſhrewd ſuſpicions of Corruption; and therefore the ſafeſt Iſſue we can make is to throw it out and never give it the hearing. Buſineſs, Recreation, Company, any thing to divert this ſtream of our Thoughts and Affections into another Channel: There can be no difficulty in the Choice; for in ſuch caſes the worſt Company a Man can poſſibly be in is to have none but his own. *Jam.* 4. 7. 2 *Tim.* 11. 22.

4. Now we are to obſerve, that both the Virtue of Continency and its contrary Vice is of ſeveral kinds and different degrees: The chief and that which I ſhall ſpeak to at preſent is the Conjugal ſort, that mutual and inviolable Fidelity between Man and Wife, which, as it was the firſt and higheſt Obligation, ſo is it the moſt ſacred, the moſt important, and that which both Publick Society and Private Perſons are deeply and inevitably intereſted in: And therefore this ought to be held in the moſt Profound Veneration and Eſteem; and not ſuffered to become the Jeſt and common ſcorn of profligate Lewdneſs; the Diverſion of a

Theatre; or the boaſted Triumph of a Man of the Town. The Parties concerned in theſe holy Engagements muſt have no Affections, nor cheriſh any deſires beyond the Chaſt Embraces of each other; but utterly Abandon the very wiſhes of ſtollen and unlawful delights, and be content *to Drink* Prov. 5. 15. *the Waters of their own Ciſtern*; and *the running Waters of their own Well*; that is, pure and innocent, unpolluted and untroubled delights of a faithful and lawful Marriage; as the Wiſe Man expreſſes it, according to the uſual ſignificancy and extraordinary decency of the Scripture Stile. They that allow themſelves in other liberties, fall into the blackeſt and moſt complicated guilt imaginable; they violate and Sin againſt their own Bodies, by making them Veſſels and Inſtruments of Uncleanneſs and Diſhonour; they tranſgreſs againſt all manner of Laws which any Man can be bound by. The Laws of Revealed Religion which forbid us to proſtitute our ſelves to filthineſs and ſhame, and have commanded the ſtricteſt purity of Converſation; the Law of Nature, which forbids the invading another Man's property; and the tenderer the right is to him, the more deteſtable is the injuſtice; the Law of Reaſon and Equity, which enjoyns fidelity and ſtedfaſtneſs to promiſes and mutual Contracts; the Laws of the Land, which have Eſtabliſhed Marriages as the only conveyance of Right, and giving a Title and Propriety in ſuch caſes; the undoubted Rights of Families, by grafting in a foreign growth upon the natural Stock, injuring the other Children, and transferring the fruit of a Man's Induſtry, his Acquiſition or his Inheritance, to Strangers and Interlopers; the Laws of Juſtice and Charity, by ſtarting difficulties and Diſputes among Friends and Relations; alienating the Affections of Parents from their Children, and diſſolving in great meaſure the Duty of Children to their Parents, when there are theſe Jealouſies among them; and leaving a laſting and indelible ſtain upon the Unfortunate (though innocent) Poſterity of ſo ſuſpected a Race.

As to the other parts of this Vice I add only in one word; that though Adultery be the higheſt, yet it is not the only Violation of it; Men would therefore do well to ſee how many Aggravations of this kind juſt now mentioned concur in any of thoſe allowances they make to themſelves; to lay aſide the byaſs of their preſent Paſſion, and even in caſes of ſimple Fornication, ask their own Conſciences how they ſhould like to have the honour of a Siſter or a Daugh-

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ter ſo injured by another perſon; and if they think but ſcurvily of ſuch a blemiſh in a near Relation, this at leaſt makes the gratification an offence againſt Reaſon and Equity, and natural Juſtice; nor is it in ſuch circumſtances for a Man to alledge that the partner of the crime is no other Man's, it is enough to Condemn him that She is not his own.

CHAP. XLII.

Of Ambition, and Temperance with regard to the Deſire of Honour and Fame.

THat this is a Deſire which ſtands in great need of being tempered and reſtrained, no Man can ſuffer himſelf to doubt who at all conſiders the inordinacy of the Affection, the injurious courſes it puſhes the Patient upon, and the infinite miſchief it does to ſociety, when the Reins are let looſe and we give it its head. But though the free Range of this Affection be ſo pernicious, yet we ought to take notice, that (according to what hath been formerly delivered upon the ſame occaſion) all Ambition, all thirſt either of Honour or of Reputation is not to be condemned without any diſtinction, but that as it may be ordered and managed, there is a great deal of good as well as hurt in the thing. For thus much may undoubtedly be alledged in its behalf, that it is of very great advantage to the State; ſince as the World now goes, the generous and publick ſpirited Actions are moſt of them owing to it. This puſhes Men on to hazardous Attempts, and thus we find it hath ever done; for, even among the Ancients, it is not to be ſuppoſed that all their ſo much celebrated Heroes were acted by a truly Philoſophical Spirit. There were indeed your *Socrates*, and *Phocion*, and *Ariſtides*, and *Epaminondas*, your *Cato's* and *Scipio's*, who ſeem to have been Charmed by the bright Ideas of Virtue, without any the leaſt mixture of additional and mercenary Conſiderations; but then there were a great many more who were manifeſtly moved by other Springs, ſuch as *Themiſtocles*, and *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, who courted Fame, and were led on by the proſpect of Greatneſs and Renown. And, though it be very true, that the Gallant Exploits of ſuch Perſons when nicely examined, and conſidered

conſidered with regard to their proper Motives and the principles their Authors went upon, be not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the product of Virtue but of Ambition only; yet ſtill they muſt be acknowledged of general uſe and benefit, and the conſequences of them to the publick in all reſpects the very ſame, as if the inducements had been the moſt refined and perfect that Humane nature is in any Caſe capable of. Now beſides the force of this Conſideration to commend it, the Philoſophers have allowed it to be excuſable at leaſt upon two occaſions; the one is, when the Actions it excites Men to are profitable and good, but not in a degree of perfection eminent enough to pretend to the title of Virtuous; becauſe they lie in common to all Mankind, and the good or ill diſpoſitions of our minds incapacitate, no perſon from excelling in them. Of this kind particularly are Arts and Sciences, Humane Inventions, Military Courage, and all manner of Induſtry in general: The other is, when we find it neceſſary to preſerve the favour and good Opinion of ſome perſon upon whom our intereſt depends; for though it be a ſtanding rule in Philoſophy, never to make the Opinion of others the meaſure of our Behaviour, yet there is this reſerve, and allowed Exception, that we may govern our ſelves upon ſuch principles, to avoid the inconveniences which either the want or Contempt of other Men's approbation may happen to involve us in.

2. But indeed for a Man to practice Virtue merely upon this account, and aim at Honour and Reputation as if this were the proper wages and recompence of doing well, is not only a very vain and erroneous, but a moſt dangerous and deſtructive principle. This were a horrible diſparagement indeed, that Virtue ſhould be rendered ſo precarious as to derive all its value from hence, and to engage our Affections upon no better Conſiderations than what are drawn from the judgment of the World: Every body muſt needs diſcern the courſeneſs of this Alloy, and that ſuch payment ought not to paſs upon us. Virtue certainly is not yet ſo debaſed as to go a begging, and deſiring teſtimonials for a ſubſiſtance. This reward is much below her ſeeking; and therefore we ſhould ſo fix our minds with true and noble Ideas of her, and ſettle our affections ſo firmly upon the thing it ſelf, that this accidental luſtre of the honours attending her may not dazle the Eyes of Reaſon, but leave us ſtill the Diſcretion, to make a difference between receiving theſe as acknowledgments due for our good Actions, and

and propounding them to our minds, as the end and adequate Reward of them: So ſhall we be eſtabliſhed upon a true bottom, and proceed upon reſolutions ſincere and immoyable, ſuch as will ſtand like ſo many Barriers about the Soul, and guard it againſt the vain aſſaults of vanity and Ambition, and every mean and ſelfiſh inducement.

A Man ſhould be thoroughly perſwaded of the ſufficiency and ſelf-ſatisfaction of Virtue, that it asks no Nobler a Theatre to repreſent its excellency in than one's own Conſcience; this is ſpectator and audience enough, and if this applaud the Action the matter is not great who diſcommends it. The higher the Sun is above the *Horizon*, the leſs ſhadow it caſts; and the more Sublime any Man's Virtue is, the leſs affectation of Honour and Fame it is attended with. Nor is the ſimilitude improper, if we conſider the nature of the thing: For Glory is in earneſt a very ſhadow, it follows thoſe that flie from it, and runs away from thoſe that purſue it. We ſhould always remember who ſent us hither and what we are doing. That Life is a Play where the parts are infinitely various, but no Man chooſes what he will act; he acquits himſelf well who ſtudies the humour of the part aſſigned him, and performs it agreeably to its Character, or (as *Epictetus* ſays upon another occaſion,) that we live in this World, as People ſit at an Entertainment, where every well mannered Man will be content to feed upon that Diſh which the Maſter of the Feaſt helps him to, without reaching over the Table, and ſcrambling and ſnatching from other People's Plates. If then a Preferment, or ſome Office of Honour and Truſt be offered to us, if we are capable of diſcharging it, let us accept it gladly, but modeſtly too; and let us do the duty of it faithfully and ſincerely; aſſuring our ſelves, that God hath ſet us our Poſt; and that by committing to us a publick Truſt, he expects we ſhould ſtand Centry, and be continually upon the Guard; that by our vigilant care thoſe who are committed to our charge may ſleep ſecurely. And for all this Laborious Attendance, let us propoſe no other Recompence or Commendation, than that only of our own Conſciences; and the ſweet ſatisfactions of doing what becomes us; or if others do, (as without queſtion, they will) ſee and approve our Good works; let us deſire, that the Teſtimony of our having done well, may be graven in the Hearts of our Countrey, rather than publiſhed by Statues, and pom-

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pous Frontiſpieces, and long flattering Inſcriptions. In a word, let this be a Principle with us; that the Fruit of noble, generous Actions cannot poſſibly be loſt; that the glory of having done them is an ample Compenſation: And that, when Virtue deſcends to go out of her ſelf, and look abroad for a Reward, ſhe undervalues her own worth, and muſt take up with things beneath her. To deſpiſe Greatneſs, and expoſe the vanity of ſetting our Hearts upon it, is no ſuch mighty matter. He that loves himſelf, and can make any tolerable Judgment of Happineſs, will be content with a moderate and eaſie Fortune; the Stations that are at the top of Mankind, as they excell in Dignity, ſo they exceed in Harms, and Difficulty, and Trouble; and thoſe that are at the very bottom, tormented with Poverty, and anxious uncertainties of Subſiſtence, are equally to be declined. Here is too much Buſineſs, or too much Suffering, for any Man of ſound Wiſdom to wiſh, none but ſickly Palates will be fond of either. *Otanes*, one of the ſeven, who had a joynt Right to the Principality of *Perſia*, quitted his Pretenſions to the reſt of the Competitors, provided that he and all his Family might live quietly under that Government, and be free from all Subjection, except ſuch as the old ſtanding Laws obliged them to. This was truly great, neither to affect to command, nor bear to be commanded; and other inſtances of contemning Honour and Greatneſs, we have ſeveral in Story; for even *Diocleſian* diveſted himſelf of the Empire, and *Celeſtine* quitted the Papacy; ſo little have the Charms of Sovereignty it ſelf been found upon Tryal, and ſo far from impracticable is the utmoſt pitch of the Virtue oppoſite to Ambition.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of Temperance in Speaking.

THough the government of the Tongue do not uſually come under this head of Temperance, yet all People, I ſuppoſe, will allow, that there is not any inſtance, in which Moderation is more uſeful and neceſſary; and that this is ſo eſſential a part of Wiſdom, that no Treatiſe upon this Subject can be tolerably complete without it. *He that offendeth not in word, the ſame is a perfect Man,* (ſays St. *James,*) and the Reaſon is evidently what he gives there at large, that the Tongue is all in all: Good and Evil proceed from it; Life and Death depend upon it. Which being formerly illuſtrated at large, all that lies upon me to do more at preſent, is only to lay down ſome ſhort and plain Directions, for our Conduct and good management of ſo very important a Member. 1. *Book* I. *Chap.* 23.

Let our Diſcourſe then be ſober and ſparing, the knowing how and when to be ſilent is a mighty advantage, and contributes exceedingly to our knowing how to ſpeak; for he that is unskilfull in one of theſe Points, can never be expert in the other. To talk much and to talk well are Qualities that ſeldom or never go together; and therefore one of the Philoſophers made it his Obſervation, that the moſt accompliſhed Men, are generally they that ſay leaſt. Thoſe that abound in words, are commonly barren both in good Senſe, and good Actions; like Trees, which when they ſhoot in great quantities of Leaves, bear little Fruit; or lean Corn that runs all into Straw. The *Lacedæmonians,* (of whom we have made ſo frequent mention, for their noble improvements in Virtue and Valour,) were no leſs memorable for Silence, and made this one part of their ſolemn Profeſſion, to Educate their Youth in a modeſt and reſerved way of Converſation. So juſtly, ſo generally is this ſort of Reſtraint approved and commended; ſo neceſſary, ſo prudent, that Prayer of the Pſalmiſt, that God would enable him by his Grace, to *ſet a Watch before his mouth, and keep the door of his lips.* An Emblem of this we have in the Moſaical Inſtitution; where, among many Typical repreſentations of Moral Duties this ſeems to be one; That every Veſſel was unclean, which had not a Cover faſtened to it: 2.

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And the wiſeſt Author that ever wrote, hath left us this Mark to diſtinguiſh Men by, *The Heart of Fools is in their mouth, but the Tongue of the Wiſe is in their Heart.*

3. A ſecond Qualification abſolutely neceſſary upon this occaſion, is Truth; without this the end of Speech is utterly perverted and loſt. For Speech was principally deſigned to be aſſiſting to Truth, in bringing others to the knowledge of it, by repreſenting every thing in its native and proper Colours; and diſcovering the myſteries of Errour and Deceit; that being thus detected, they may no longer have it in their power to miſ-lead our Judgments. For what indeed is Speech, but a Key to our Thoughts? An inſtrument of communicating what we feel, and ſee, and deſire, and ſo of transfuſing our whole Hearts into the boſoms of them with whom we converſe? Now this makes it obvious to every conſidering Man; that Fidelity and exact Truth ought to be an inſeparable attendant upon every Word we utter; for there is no other method of conveying our Intelligence; no other Glaſs in which we can ſee one another's Souls; and therefore it is as much as all the benefits of Converſation, and Commerce, and this noble Prerogative of Mankind is worth, to take care, that the Mirrour caſt no falſe Reflections. He that falſifies in his Diſcourſe, ought to be treated as a common Enemy; deteſted as a Traytor to publick Society; For if when once this Footing fails us, we have no freſh ground to ſtand upon, all Faith and Security is given up, and we know not where to have Men, nor what to make of them. How vile the Sin of Lying is, hath been declared before. They who practice it out of deſign, are of all wretches the moſt profligate and deſpicable; and they who do it in Raillery, ſhould conſider how inſolent a thing it is to banter and abuſe the Credulity of Mankind; and that Truth and mutual Faith are things much too ſerious and too weighty to be made a Diverſion, and ſacrificed to the itch of an unmannerly Jeſt.

Chap. 10.

4. Thirdly, Our Expreſſions ſhould be Natural and Modeſt and Chaſt; provoking no bluſhes, offenſive to none, even the moſt nice and purged Ears; our Diſcourſe free from Vehemence and Contention; for in ſuch caſes Men ſeem to be more concerned for themſelves than for the Truth; and to ſpeak, not ſo much the reaſon of the thing, as their own Paſſions. Speech was deſigned for a mutual Comfort and Improvement; to inform and mend Men's Minds, not to corrupt and ſeduce them, And therefore, as Artifice and Affectation

ſectation is nauſeous, ſo Indecency and Lewdneſs, and every thing that tends to Obſcenity or Licentiouſneſs, is wicked and abominable.

Fourthly, Our Diſcourſe ſhould be ſerious and ſignificant, profitable and advantageous; not trifling, and impertinent and vain. The little Tattle of the Town, what is done at the Court, or the Park, or the Play-Houſe; how People were dreſſed, and how they behaved themſelves; repeating idle Verſes, ſcraps of Plays, and little fooliſh Jeſts, and telling frivolous Stories; though they make up ſo very conſiderable a part of modiſh Converſation, are yet, (to ſpeak freely,) ſigns of a great poverty of Thought, and have more of the Buffoon, than of the Man in them. He that provides no better Entertainment for his Company, than all this amounts to, is at a very low Ebb; and ſhews, that he hath ſpent a great deal of time to very ſmall purpoſe. How very little hath a Man to do, that employs himſelf at this rate: And what precious account does all that leiſure turn to, which hath been laid out upon qualifying himſelf for ſo noble and accompliſht a way of Diſcourſe? Under this head of Trifling and Impertinence, I think we may very well reckon that Folly of entertaining Company with long accounts of our Selves, and our own Affairs; what Feats we have done, or what Calamities we have ſuffered; for of what conſequence ſoever theſe things may be to us, they are of none at all to the Perſons we tell them to; except it be to give them a taſte of our Folly, and from a diſlike of our Converſation, to avoid the ſame abſurdity in their own. We fancy, becauſe theſe Accidents are pleaſing to us, that they are ſo to them; but alas! the difference of Perſons ſhould be conſidered; for to render the Story agreeable to tell, there needs no other Recommendation, than that our ſelves are at the bottom of it; but then the very ſame reaſon renders it as nauſeous to the Hearer, not only becauſe he finds no Concern of his own there, but from that natural Averſion and Diſdain we bear to Men, who are always big and full of themſelves, and have the vanity to ſuppoſe, that whatever relates to them is worthy to be the Concern of all they converſe with. 5.

But eſpecially, we ſhould be careful not to tranſgreſs this Rule of profiting others, by running into the contrary extreme of Injurious or Offenſive Language; For Speech is in the very original intention of it, an Inſtrument, and Harbinger, a Reconciler, and Uniter of Mankind, and therefore,

fore, to apply it to any purpoſes contrary to theſe, is to abuſe, and pervert the nature and deſign of it. This Conſideration was never more neceſſary than now; and, if applied to the modern way of Converſation, would ſoon convince us, how vainly thoſe Perſons pretend to Wit, and Senſe, and Honour, whoſe whole Diſcourſe conſiſts of Slander, Detraction, Mockery or Reproach, ſacrificing the reputations of the abſent to an ill-natured Jeſt; or expoſing and ridiculing their Defects, by Mimickry, and Buffoonery; all which are infinitely unbecoming the Character ſuch Men aſpire after, and a Diverſion too baſe and barbarous for any Wiſe or Good Man to allow himſelf in.

6. Our Diſcourſe ſhould be Eaſie and Pleaſant, Courteous and Entertaining; not Rough and Harſh, Difficult and Troubleſome. For this reaſon it will require ſome prudence in the Choice, or the declining of our Subject. We ſhould contrive, as much as poſſibly we can, to ſtart nothing but what will keep our Company in good humour; never to engage in Controverſies, where any that are preſent ſhall find themſelves concerned; for this either diſobliges, if they think fit to let the Argument fall; or elſe it draws them into Diſputes, and occaſions Warmth, and Uneaſineſs; and perhaps Coldneſs, and angry Reſentments afterwards. But, though there ſhould be no perſonal Intereſt in the caſe, yet nothing of Controverſie in general ſhould be induſtriouſly begun; for common Diſcourſe is not the proper ſeaſon for that. If the Queſtion be Subſtantial and of great Concernment, the reſpect of a private Conference is due to it; but if it be ſome nice and ſubtle point, it is not worth ſo much as our common Talk. Such Queſtions have been aptly enough compared to Crabfiſh, of which ſome are all Shell, and when we have taken great pains to open, and prepare them for our Palates, nine parts of ten muſt be thrown away, and a very poor pittance remains fit for Eating. Their difficult and abſtruſe Speculations raiſe a Noiſe and a Duſt, but when we examine what account they turn to, little comes of them, but Heat, and Calmour, and Contradiction.

7. Our Expreſſions ſhould be ſtrong and clear, our Arguments ſinewy and full; not looſe, and flat, and languiſhing; and therefore we ſhould obſerve and avoid the formality of Pedants, the ſtiff-ſet way of Pleaders, and the impertinent Affectation of the Ladies.

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This particular ſort of Temperance extends likewiſe to one very neceſſary Virtue, which I think may not unfitly be called the Continence of the Tongue: That I mean, of keeping Secrets; which, though already ſpoken to in the Chapter concerning Fidelity, I thought not improper to make another mention of here. And the rather, becauſe I take Secrets here in a more large and comprehenſive Senſe; ſo that the Virtue at preſent preſcribed, does not only oblige us not to diſcloſe thoſe things, which were committed to our Truſt, under the Seal of Secreſie; but alſo to ſuppreſs, whatever in Prudence and our own Diſcretion, appears unfit to be divulged. All that is dangerous, or of ill conſequence; all that can any way reflect upon our own, or be injurious to another's Reputation. In a word, ſo ſtrict a Guard, ſo ſteady a Conduct in all our Converſation, that our Tongue may not out-run our Judgment; and that neither our own Conſciences, or thoſe we keep Company with, upon the ſevereſt and moſt impartial Recollection, have cauſe to accuſe us, of ſaying any thing which was not fit to be ſaid. This is of greater Importance, and needs to be more diligently attended to, than People ſeem generally well aware of; and yet it is no more, than every Man's own Reflections upon the indecent Gayeties, and unthinking Freedoms, in Converſation, and the many ill Effects and hard Cenſures theſe produce, may ſoon convince him of: And ſatisfie him, not only of the Beauty and Comelineſs, but of the ſafety and great advantage there is, in a modeſt and cautious reſerve. While the word is kept in, it is entirely our own; but if it once break looſe from us, it can never be retrieved; we have loſt all our Property and Juriſdiction, and muſt ſtand to the courteſie of the World; who will make what uſe they pleaſe of it, and very ſeldom are juſt or good-natured enough, to make the right uſe, or to underſtand it as innocently as we intended it. 8.

Chap. 8.

Now as the advantage of Speech in general is an Excellence peculiar to Mankind, and ſets us above Brutes; ſo Eloquence exalts thoſe that are Maſters and Profeſſors of it, above the rate of common Men. For this is the Art, or Science of ſpeaking, a more accurate and exquiſite way of Communicating our Thoughts; of enforcing and adorning Reaſon: This is the Rudder of the Soul that ſteers and turns Men, and ſets us at the Helm of our Audience, to carry them whither we pleaſe: It falls in with the Heart, and ſecretly moves our Paſſions, like the Chords in Muſick, 9.

which, in a skilful Compoſition, conſpire together to make a more perfect, and delightful Harmony.

10. By Eloquence I mean, all that is neceſſary to make an accompliſhed Orator. For this does conſiſt, not only in perſpicuity, and purity of Expreſſion, the Elegance and Propriety of the Words, the happy Choice and regular Diſpoſition, the fulneſs and roundneſs of the Period, and the juſtneſs of a ſweet and muſical Cadence; but it muſt alſo be aſſiſted and ſtrengthned by other Ornaments and Graces, and Motions of the Perſon himſelf: Every Word ſhould be inſpired with Life and Vigour; firſt, by a clear and ſweet Voice, a proper and diſtinct Pronunciation, riſing and falling, gently and eaſily, as is beſt accommodated to the matter and deſign: Then by a grave and unaffected Action, where the Countenance, the Hands, the whole Body, the every part and geſture ſpeak as well as the Mouth, all follow the movements of the Soul, and give a lively Image of the Affections within. For the Orator is the Repreſentative of his Audience, and muſt firſt of all in his own Perſon put on the ſeveral Paſſions, which he labours to infuſe into others.

> * *We weep and laugh as we ſee others do:*
> *He only makes me ſad, who ſhews the way,*
> *And firſt is ſad himſelf; then* (Telephus)
> *I feel the weight of your Calamities,*
> *And fancy all your Miſeries my own.* Ld. Roſcom.

It is in ſuch caſes with the Standers by, as it was with *Braſidas* and his Enemy, who drew the Dart out of his own Wound, with which he ſtabbed him to the Heart. Thus Paſſion is firſt conceived and formed in our own Mind, then born and brought into the World by appoſite Expreſſion, and afterwards, by a ſubtle and quick Contagion, conveyed into others, and begets its likeneſs there. By this ſhort Reflection it ſufficiently appears, that Men of ſoft and gentle Tempers, are not cut out for Orators. Their Spirits are too ſedate and ſluggiſh to communicate any powerful Impreſſions. They want the Force, and Fire, the Sprightlineſs and Activity, that is neceſſary to animate what they ſay. And when ſuch Perſons would diſplay the moſt maſterly

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*——Si vis me flere, dolendum eſt——
Primum ipſi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia lædent,
Telephe.—*Hor. de Arte Poet.*

beauties

beauties of Eloquence, they languiſh and faulter by the way, and drop ſhort of the Mark. Thus *Cicero* reproached *Callidius*, who accuſed *Gallus* with a ſneaking Voice and languiſhing Action, by telling him, that his Coldneſs and Indifferency betrayed the falſeneſs of his Charge. But when a Man hath all that Vigour and Ornament touched upon before, his Words will be as ſtrong and compulſive as the Commands of a Tyrant, with all the Pomp and Terrour of his Guards about him. They will commit an irreſiſtible Violence upon the Soul; not only perſwade and draw, but drag his Auditory whether they will or no, lead them in Triumph, and eſtabliſh to themſelves an Abſolute and Arbitrary Dominion over the Minds of Men.

It may perhaps be objected in prejudice of Eloquence, that all this Skill is needleſs; ſince Truth alone is ſufficiently powerful and perſwaſive, and ſtands in need of no ſtudied and artificial Practices, to vindicate, or to recommend it. And indeed, were the Minds of Men free, and pure, unprepoſſeſt with Paſſion, or Intereſt, or any other prejudicate Opinion, the Objection muſt be allowed to have a great deal of weight in it. But we are to conſider and deal with Men, according to the ſtate we find them in; a ſtate of Corruption and Prejudice, in which Art, or Nature, Miſinformation, or ill Habits have bribed and byaſſed their Affections, and made them draw the wrong way, and bent them violently againſt the Truth. And thus they come to require a ſort of Treatment, very different from that, which is moſt agreeable to their original Conſtitution. As therefore we are forced, firſt of all to ſoften and open the pores of the Steel by Fire, that it may afterwards receive that Liquor which tempers it, and grow harder in the Water: ſo the warmths of Eloquence are neceſſary to put the Spirits in motion, and by rendring the Minds of Men more ſupple and pliable, to give them a ſtronger and more laſting tincture of Truth. This is the true and proper deſign of Eloquence; and the end it ſhould conſtantly aim at, is, to fortifie and protect Virtue againſt Vice, Truth againſt Falſhood, and Innocence againſt Calumny and falſe Accuſation. The Orator (ſays *Theophraſtus*) is the true Phyſician of Souls, and his buſineſs muſt be to Cure the Venomous Bitings of Serpents, by the Charms of his Muſick; that is, The poyſonous Slanders, and falſe Inſinuations of wicked Men, by the harmony of Reaſon, ſet out to the beſt advantage. But ſince there is no poſſibility of cutting off ill Men from the uſe of this ad- 11.

vantage too, ſince they will be ſure to ſeize and uſurp the Weapon, for the more effectual Execution of their miſchievous Deſigns; we are the more concerned not to go into the Field Naked, but to beat them at their own Weapon, and with equal Induſtry and Skill to Counter-work them; that ſo Virtue and Truth may not be circumvented, or tamely loſt, for want of proper Preparations to defend it. Several indeed have abuſed their attainments of this kind to very villainous purpoſes, and made Eloquence the inſtrument of Ruin and Oppreſſion to private Perſons, and whole Communities of Men. This is a melancholy Truth; too manifeſt to be denied. But then the Conſequence of granting it muſt be, not to deſpiſe or ſet aſide the thing, upon the account of any ill Effects, that have followed upon the miſemployment of it. No, This is a Misfortune common to every thing, that is uſeful and excellent; for none of theſe are ſo neceſſarily confined to Goodneſs, but that they are capable of being perverted to very great Evil. Nature hath provided them with an Aptitude and Efficacy; but it will depend upon the Diſpoſition of the Perſon that manages thoſe Powers, what ſort of Effects thoſe natural Abilities ſhall be applied and determined to. For even that Reaſon and Underſtanding, which is the peculiar Prerogative of Humane Nature, and ſets us above Brutes, is moſt miſerably abuſed; turned againſt God and our ſelves, and made the occaſion of our more inexcuſable Ruin; but this is only an accidental Misfortune, far from the natural tendency of ſo noble a Privilege. And he, who would argue from hence that Mankind had better want theſe Faculties, may juſtly ſeem to have degenerated into Brute, and to be forſaken of all that Reaſon, which he ſo wildly and ſo raſhly condemns.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PReface, Page 6. line 11. read *Probity*. p. 23. l. 10. r. *as well as*. In the Account of the Author, p. 2. l. 15. r. *improving*. Lib. 1. p. 97. l. 8. r. *depoſ'd*. p. 209. l. 1. r. *the*. p. 227. l. 5. r. *deforms and defaces*. p. 315. l. 21. r. *waſhing*. p. 332. in Note r. *mors eſt. Innocentes*.